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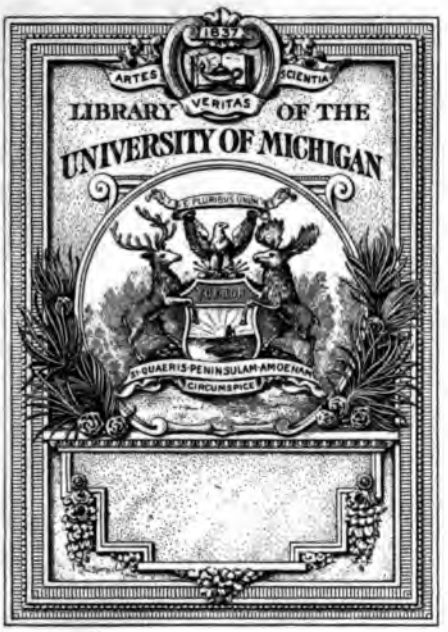
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TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

1. *Schools Enquiry Commission. Report Relative to Technical Education.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1867.

2. *Copy of Letter from B. Samuelson, Esq., M.P., to the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, concerning Technical Education in various countries abroad.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 26th November, 1867.

3. *Geological Survey of the United Kingdom: Museum of Practical Geology, and Royal School of Mines.* Seventeenth session, 1867-8. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

4. *The London Daily Papers, January 24th and 25th,* 1868.

5. *The Birmingham Daily Papers, January 7th,* 1868.

6. *The Manchester Daily Papers, January 15th,* 1868.

7. *The Leeds Daily Papers, February 8th,* 1868.

8. *Progress of the Working Classes,* 1832-67. By J. M. Ludlow and Lloyd Jones. London: Strahan. 1867.

WE remember nothing more remarkable in the political and social history of this country than the sudden prominence which the subject of education has acquired during the last six months. The passing, by the Conservative party, of a Reform Bill, more extensive than that which they had rejected as too sweeping the year before, to a certain degree prepared the country for other important and startling changes. Mr. Lowe, when he found that all his protests against an extension of the franchise were in vain, declared that it was then become necessary to educate our masters, and thence-

forward he should be ready to support the most decisive measures for bringing the working classes under instruction. Yet even he could scarcely have foreseen how rapidly the country would adopt his conclusion. Parliamentary Reform had been a matter of discussion for fifteen years, the education question in its present form—the claim of the whole nation upon the State to receive instruction—has scarcely been promulgated for a greater number of weeks. At the present moment it is the one prominent subject. There is not a member of Parliament who does not find it necessary to form some opinion upon it. Men who have entered the House of Commons in order to improve their position, and to advance financial projects which needed 'lobbying,' find themselves now compelled to pronounce a decision upon the most difficult social and political problem of the day. Such as these will attempt to escape the responsibility by repeating a few glib phrases about the advantages of education, and will wait for the time when their political leaders will spare them further trouble by devising a scheme which they will support as party men. It is possible that in this way they may evade a difficulty which they are certainly by no means qualified to surmount. No such evasion is possible for those of our legislators who lay claim to the title of statesmen. They are bound by every consideration which can influence them, by the duty which they owe to their country, by the necessity of laying down a clear policy for their party, by the desire to maintain their own reputation—to propound a practical answer to the great question of our time—How shall the nation be educated?

This year's problem differs remarkably from last year's. Parliamentary reform was a comparatively simple matter. It contained but two elements, extension of the franchise and a re-arrangement of the constituencies. Educational reform is exceedingly complex. Educational reformers have to determine whether education shall be voluntary or compulsory, and if compulsory, whether it shall be enforced by the parish or by the State. Whether the schools shall be supported wholly, or in part, by local rates; whether they shall be denominational or secular; whether Government shall be responsible only for primary schools, or shall be called upon to establish schools of a higher class; whether education at these higher schools shall be theoretical or practical. Closely related to these questions are those relating to the improvement of our chief public and grammar schools. How far Parliament will be able to master simultaneously all these branches of the one great subject is very doubtful.

The reasons which induced our legislators to undertake this

formidable task are manifold. In the first place there is Mr. Lowe's argument:—we must educate our masters. We have given political power to a class hitherto for the most part without it, and for our own sakes we must teach them to use that power rightly. Theoretically it would have been more statesmanlike to educate first and enfranchise afterwards, to train the sailor before giving him control of the ship. Practically it is certain that the people would never have obtained the franchise if they had waited until they had been taught to exercise it. No class likes to part with power, and the middle class was not likely to show greater self-sacrifice than any other. Moreover there is no doubt that the right use of a weapon is taught by practice. The soldier cannot learn gunnery from books alone, nor the sailor seamanship in the school of navigation. The new electors will probably make some mistakes, and suffer for them, and so learn to avoid other and more serious blunders which they would not have learnt to avoid by all the teaching of parish schools and mechanics' institutes. A further inducement to take up the question of education is to be found in the anti-social theories avowed by some of our trades' unions. It is impossible to view without alarm the doctrines propounded by some of these associations. Doubtless others, equally unsound according to the laws of political economy, were defended by the landed class and the aristocracy before the repeal of the corn laws. But there was not the same danger in their case that there is in the case of the operatives. The first trusted to an unjust law which the nation repealed; the second defy all law, and hence the urgency of enlightening them both as to political science and political obedience. Another cause which has powerfully stimulated the agitation for education is the removal of Parliamentary Reform from the political programme. We do not intend to cast any slur upon the sincerity of our political leaders when we say that they understand the importance of keeping themselves before the country. Their very *raison d'être* consists in their activity. If they have no reform to propose there is no further need of them. The party which has come to the end of its legislative repertory is already moribund. It cannot be denied that under Lord Palmerston the Whigs were very nearly falling into that state. They are now shewing signs of fresh life, and none is more noticeable than the interest which this party is taking in education. Cynics may call the new programme a mere party cry and bid for office; wise men will see in it the proof of a re-awakening to the consciousness of great responsibilities. There is still one other cause of the present educational movement. It is this cause,

and the consequences which it involves, that we propose to consider on the present occasion.

Nothing has aroused educational reformers so much as the conviction that England has fallen behind other countries in those branches of industry which require special training. The first International Exhibition taught us, what indeed we were prepared to find, that we were unable to compete with the continent in trades allied to the fine arts. In glass, china, jewellery, and articles of *virtu*, we were far in the rear of France and, perhaps, of other countries. Eleven years later, in the second of the English exhibitions, it was seen that we had made astonishing progress, which was admitted by none more fully than our former successful rivals. Last year's exhibition at Paris has afforded us another revelation, by no means so agreeable. We never felt any shame in being found less artistic than our neighbours, even while we strove to amend our short-comings. England never claimed to be the home of art. It was the *utile* rather than the *dulce* to which she devoted herself. She prided herself upon her great manufactures; her productions in iron and her machinery, and the results of her mineral wealth. She did not suppose that any of the nations of the old world would ever be able to compete with her in these. She thought that her larger supply of the raw materials,—iron and coal—would always secure her superiority. But to her dismay she began to find that countries with far more limited resources, were competing with her in the world's markets, and when, a little later, she had the opportunity of comparing her productions with those of her new rivals, she was obliged to confess what her own sons told her,—that she had been fairly distanced.

This matter was brought before the public notice under the following circumstances. Several months ago a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the condition of and the instruction given in the grammar and other schools of the United Kingdom not included in the enquiry of the public schools' commission. One of the commissioners, Lord Taunton, had on May 15th, 1867, some conversation with Dr. Lyon Playfair upon the position occupied by Great Britain at the Paris Exhibition. At Lord Taunton's request, Dr. Playfair embodied his views in a letter addressed to the Commissioners. In that letter he said that the general opinion of British mechanical and civil engineers and of chemical and textile manufacturers was, that their country had made very little progress in the peaceful arts of industry since 1862. They were also agreed in thinking that the great advance made by France, Prussia, Austria, Belgium,

and Switzerland was due to two principal causes—the good systems of industrial education for the masters and managers of manufactories and workshops which exist in those countries, but of which England possesses none, and the absence of those absurd and injurious trade union rules which in England compel men to work on an average ability, without giving scope to the differing powers and differing industry of the men. The commissioners were so much impressed by this letter, that they addressed a copy of it to the most eminent English jurors at the Exhibition, with a request that they would express their opinion upon it. The letter and the replies were subsequently published in a Parliamentary report, the commissioners rightly deeming that the matter was too urgent for them to delay publicity until they had completed the very extensive enquiry which, as we write, they have completed. The jurors in almost every instance confirmed Dr. Playfair's opinion. Canon Norris, formerly an inspector of schools, said that while in the matter of primary education we are well abreast of Austria, France, and Prussia, in the matter of higher instruction, of all that tends to convert the mere workman into the artisan, these countries are clearly passing us. Professor Tyndall wrote, that 'in virtue of the better education provided by continental nations, England must one day, and that no distant one, find herself outstripped by these nations both in the arts of peace and war.' Mr. Huth, of Huddersfield, wrote that he agreed with Dr. Playfair *in toto*, and that he had long been convinced it was the want of industrial education which prevented our country from making the progress made by other nations. Mr. Frankland, professor of chemistry at the Royal School of Mines, was particularly struck both by the want of progress in the chemical manufactories of this country, and the great advance made by Germany, France, and Switzerland. He thought that the managers and foremen, as well as the masters, suffered from lack of scientific training, and that this deficiency was one cause of the enormous number of futile patents. Mr. Fowler, president of the Institute of Civil Engineers, thought that the years 1862 and 1867 were too near together to permit of a comparison as to the inventiveness of England at these two dates, but he was compelled to admit that foreign nations have made greater manufacturing progress than England, since the Exhibition of 1851. Mr. McConnell, C.E., declared that our former superiority in locomotives, railway carriages, and railway machinery, no longer existed, and that, unless we adopted a system of technical education for the people, we should soon not hold our own even as to cheapness of cost.

He added, that we had too long treated our workmen as machines, and that we ought to establish mining schools in South Wales, Staffordshire, and Durham, and machinery and engineering schools at Manchester and Glasgow. Captain Beaumont, R.E., stated that the great want of England was an institution similar to the Arts et Métiers of Paris. Mr. Warrington Smyth ascribed the greater proportional advancement made by France, Prussia, and Belgium in mining, colliery working, and metallurgy to the superior training and knowledge of the managers and sub-officers. He added, 'no candid person can deny that they are far better educated, as a rule, than those who hold similar positions in Britain.' Mr. Mallet, F.R.S., wrote that he fully agreed with Dr. Playfair, that a better system of technical education for all classes connected with industrial pursuits had become a pressing necessity in Great Britain. Mr. Scott Russell, the builder of the Great Eastern, stated as the result of his personal investigation, that technical education was much more advanced in Switzerland than in England. Mr. Cooke, R.A., was so convinced of the superiority of foreign manufactures, that he urged the Executive Government, and the chief municipal bodies, to lose no time in consideration of this subject. Mr. Mundella, of Nottingham, was of opinion that while England possessed more energy, enterprise, and inventiveness than any other European nation, the superior knowledge of foreign workmen enabled them to improve English inventions. Having works in Saxony, he was well acquainted with the condition of the operatives there, and he found the contrast betwixt the workpeople of England and Saxony most humiliating. It was impossible to find in Saxony a workman who could not read or write perfectly. Some of the sons of the poorest workmen were receiving a technical education such as the sons of our manufacturers could not hope to obtain. Mr. James Young, who has risen from the position of a working man to that of proprietor of the largest chemical works in the kingdom, attributes his success to his study of chemistry at the Glasgow University under Graham, and in his letter to the commissioners lamented that technical education was not more common.

Somewhat prior to Dr. Playfair's letter, two English ironmasters had travelled through the iron districts of France and Belgium, and had published in the *Times* the conclusions at which they arrived. Messrs. Creed and Williams, the gentlemen in question, strengthened the uneasy suspicion which had been in existence for some time, and which Dr. Playfair subsequently confirmed. More recently, a member of Parlia-

ment has, at the request of our government, written a much fuller report on the same subject than any which had appeared previously. It is mainly to this document, which we owe to Mr. Bernhard Samuelson, M.P. for Banbury, and principal proprietor of the agricultural implement works in that town, that the present strong interest in technical education is due. We shall, therefore, analyse Mr. Samuelson's letter, and shall thereby ascertain better than we could in any other way, the relative position of England and the Continent as regards manufacturing skill.

Before starting for the Continent, Mr. Samuelson revisited several of the manufacturing towns of the north of England, and he was even then convinced of the increasing importance of continental competition, and of the injury which had been done to English manufactures by trades' unions.

'Powerful as their organization is for good when judiciously directed, the responsibility of the officers and members of such corporations as that of the amalgamated engineers, and others of similar importance, is all the more serious when its resources are employed in sustaining such strikes as that which took place last year in the locomotive factory of Messrs. Beyer and Peacock of Gorton. Until its occurrence more than half of the engines constructed by them were exported, but since that period the foreign trade has been diverted more than ever to other countries, whose advantages are far inferior to ours. The works of Messrs. Beyer and Co. also afford evidence of the unfortunate results to the artizans of another strike: I allude to that of the iron-workers in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The necessity of obtaining materials directed the attention of those gentlemen, and of others similarly placed, to the iron works of Sweden and St. Etienne; and the importation of superior qualities of iron and steel for the construction of machinery, has not ceased with the occurrence that originated it.'

Mr. Samuelson also visited Messrs. Potter's print-works at Dinting, which produce nearly 750,000 yards of printed calicoes weekly. Here he found in force an absurd and injurious trade rule, by which workmen, whose skill varies so much that the worth of their labour ranges from 30s. to 100s. a week, are compelled to receive a uniform rate of 45s. The results may easily be imagined: on the one hand, the employès have no stimulus to industry; on the other, the employers are prevented from turning their attention to branches of the trade which would certainly prove remunerative if there were no such rule. At Oldham, Mr. Samuelson found much to please him. The dwellings of the operatives are much superior to those in most other towns. The classes in connection with the science and art department at South Kensington have done good service; nevertheless, there is great room for improvement. The education received at the primary schools is so incomplete, that when the pupils attend the science classes they are not able to understand the processes of reasoning nor the language of the mathematical sciences.

At Leeds everything connected with the woollen manufacture has stiffened into tradition and routine. The most enlightened and enterprising manufacturers are discouraged by the passive resistance of their old-fashioned overlookers and 'leading hands.' Even in those cases where improved machinery is introduced, it is not used to the utmost advantage. One result is, that the spinners and manufacturers of Belgium are exporting to this country woollen yarns and cloths valued at nearly £2,000,000 annually, produced from wools which have been imported from our colonies into England, and shipped thence to Antwerp. So great is the discouragement, that the more enterprising young men refuse to engage in the woollen manufacture and enter into other branches of industry. At Bradford all is different: the master manufacturers are of unsurpassed energy; the workpeople are free from the prejudices of their brethren at Leeds, in spite of their very imperfect education, which the masters are now earnestly seeking to improve. The lace trade at Nottingham is in an even more unsatisfactory state than the woollen trade of Leeds. Mr. Samuelson found loud complaints of the differences between masters and men. The trade in all manufactures, except cotton-lace and net, was said to be rapidly finding its way to France; and many valuable but unemployed English lace machines, costing from £400 to £800, had been purchased for half their value by the manufacturers of Calais, where Mr. Samuelson afterwards found them in full work. Never was the saying, 'the exception proves the rule,' more true than in the case of the Nottingham lace trade. There was one branch of it which Mr. Samuelson found to be very flourishing—the lace-curtain manufacture,—and it was precisely this branch which had been indebted to the local school of art, erected at a cost of £8,000. The patterns designed by the pupils in this school, are preferred, not only in England, but all over the world, to the patterns designed in France. *Per contra* the imperfect technical knowledge of the dyers employed in the hosiery trade had led to a decided preference for Germans. The French lace manufacturers declare that Nottingham 'has gone to sleep lately,' that the manufacturers there rely too much on their acquired position and cheapness of production, and do not give sufficiently close attention to details. They say that even when a good French designer goes to England, he gives way to the prevailing somnolence, and does nothing; though, when he returns to France, he is as energetic as he was before he migrated. These facts have, since Mr. Samuelson wrote, been supplemented by others brought forward at some of the conferences on technical education, which have

been held during the present year. Mr. Mundella, of Nottingham, who maintains that England is not retrograding absolutely, but only by comparison with the rapid advance of other countries, yet goes so far as to say that Macclesfield, Coventry, and Spitalfields are dying; that, with ignorant instructors, superintendents, and overlookers in England, and educated instructors, superintendents, and overlookers abroad, England has not a chance. He declares that there is not a dyer in Nottingham who understands chemistry, and that 50 per cent. of the workpeople cannot read or write. Mr. Field, the President of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, said at the same conference, that whereas he remembered the time when one-third of the hardware stores of the United States came from Birmingham alone, the present proportion is less than one-tenth; that the very machinery which the Birmingham manufacturers used came from America; and that, in spite of a 50 per cent. duty on iron, and wages 50 per cent. higher in the States than in England, it was American, not English made picks and shovels which the English miner used in the gold-fields of Australia. He attributed the great progress of American manufacturers to the fact that they put more brains into their work.

Such are the statements made by competent men with regard to English manufactures. We now turn to their account of manufactures abroad.

Beginning with the iron works, those at Creuzot are the most extensive in France. Creuzot is situated in the Blanzy coal-basin, about thirty miles west of Chalons-sur-Saone. The surrounding country is very like that of the Devonshire valleys near D[redacted]tmoor. The coal is extremely friable, and for smelting requires to be mixed with the bituminous coal of St. Etienne, which has to be conveyed thence to Creuzot, a distance of ninety miles. It is necessary also to mix the ores, and those from Africa, which are almost pure peroxide of iron, are brought by rail, thanks to the exceedingly low rates charged by the railway companies in France. The Creuzot works were founded in 1781, and dragged on a precarious existence until they were purchased in 1836 by Messrs. Schneider of Paris. They are still the property of M. Henri Schneider, president of the Corps Legislatif, of his son, and a small number of other partners with limited liability. When they passed into Messrs. Schneider's hands, 60,000 tons of coal were raised, and 4,000 tons of iron produced annually, and the works were small. They now cover 300 acres, and the workshops and forges 50 acres, and the mines yield annually 250,000 tons of coal and 300,000 tons of iron ore; and

300,000 tons of coal and 120,000 tons of ores are purchased annually. The iron works produce more than 100,000 tons of iron, besides machinery, bridges, and even gunboats and steamers, of an average yearly value of £600,000. The wages amount to £370,000, and are paid to 9,950 workpeople. Thirty years ago Creuzot was only a wretched mining village of 2,700 inhabitants. It is now a well-built town, with churches, schools, markets, public walks, and gas and water works, and contains 24,000 persons. The machinery and appliances are not different from the best used in England. It is not therefore through any mechanical inventions that Creuzot has become such a formidable competitor of our great iron works. We have seen, moreover, that the French works are at a considerable disadvantage by reason of having to bring their iron and their coal from a long distance. The cause of the success is to be found in the greater skill of the workmen. M. Schneider informed Mr. Samuelson that there was not a man employed in erecting marine engines who could not make an accurate drawing of the work on which he was engaged. What this signifies and is worth a mechanic alone can fully appreciate. The number of workmen in England who could do likewise is lamentably small, for our men have undergone no special training, no technical education. At Creuzot, on the other hand, the children who attend the elementary, or primary schools, have an opportunity of acquiring special knowledge. The instruction at these schools extends over nine years, and includes French literature, history, geography, natural philosophy, the chemistry of metals, algebra, geometry, mechanical and free-hand drawing and modelling. The more promising boys are sent to the secondary and higher technical schools, and many of them afterwards fill responsible positions in the technical management of the works. The other boys are drafted into the works, and employed according to their capacity, as draughtsmen, clerks, or simple workmen. Education is not compulsory; but no one is admitted into the works who cannot read and write. Boys rarely enter the works before they are fourteen, and women are employed only after seventeen, and only upon such light work as dressing ores. Every person is paid immediately by the proprietors, and generally by the piece or by the ton. The system of contracts with middle-men, which is common with us, is unknown at Creuzot. Tables, showing the actual daily earnings of every man, are suspended in the workshops, so as to be open to the inspection and to stimulate the emulation of all. During fifteen years there have been at Creuzot only nine cases of crime which would be considered felony by our law.

Three policemen form the entire preventive force. Drunkenness is rare, and as a consequence frugality is the rule. How far it is so the following figures will prove:—

Deposited with Messrs. Schneider by 540 employés	£97,500
Freehold property belonging to employés	212,000
" " " former employés	130,000
" " " strangers	94,000
	£533,500

St. Etienne and the coal-basin of the Loire are generally considered the natural seat of the iron and steel manufactures of France; but though there is an abundance of bituminous coal, the iron ores are so sulphurous that their use has been almost abandoned. The ores chiefly smelted are brought from the south of France, the Pyrenees, and Algeria. The coal contains more ash and less heating power than any except the Scotch. There is a royalty of 1s. per ton, payable to the government and the landowners. The wages are one-third lower than with us; but this advantage does not counterbalance the great drawbacks of dear fuel, imported iron ores, and great distance from the sea. In spite of these disadvantages, one of the firms at St. Etienne is, by a simplification of the Bessemer process, supplying one of the great French railway companies with 20,000 tons of steel rails at a price below their prime cost in England. At these works a most careful chemical analysis of all the raw materials and products is made daily, and is one of the conditions of success. All the managers have been pupils in some of the technical schools. Boys are not admitted into the schools until they are thirteen years of age. Prior to that they are educated at the elementary schools, upon which the company have spent £4,000. Mr. Samuelson visited the famous steel works of Krupp, at Essen, in Westphalia. These consume nearly 1,000 tons of coal a day, which is raised at 5s. a ton. Nearly 8,000 men are employed, and produce 60,000 tons of steel annually, or more than twice the entire product of steel from the United Kingdom. All the heads of the technical departments are pupils of the various polytechnic schools of Germany. The commercial staff includes a jurist, by whom all contracts are settled and legal questions determined. Forty years ago, Mr. Krupp, then fifteen years of age, employed one journeyman, and he himself travelled about seeking orders. Mayer's works at Bochum are almost as large as those at Essen. There the most delicate moulded castings are made; and steel bells, costing half the price of those made in bell metal, are manufactured. Steel disc railway wheels are cast there in a

single piece, and are to be found on every German railway. There are no trades' unions in North Germany; but the Reichsrath has passed a law permitting their formation. Here, as elsewhere on the continent, the workman invests his savings in the purchase of his house, with perhaps a little farm of five or six acres. Mr. Samuelson is convinced that the iron manufacture of Westphalia will increase beyond all precedent, except that of our own Cleveland district, so soon as the great oolitic deposits bordering on Friesland are brought into proximity with the Westphalian coalfield by the completion of the projected railways. In Belgium Mr. Samuelson found education deficient; but the employers were awakening to this, and establishing schools for the teaching of geometry, mechanics, metallurgy, and the theory of mining. Turning to other manufactures, we find the same favourable report of those of foreign countries. At St. Etienne, for instance, there is a school of design, and the silk manufacturers produce their own patterns.

Statements like these which we have dwelt upon — the almost unanimous opinion of competent judges—that England is shewn by the Paris Exhibition to be behind other countries, and the investigations made by Mr. Samuelson during his continental tour last Autumn, have called so much attention to this subject, that public meetings have been held in various parts of the kingdom to consider what can be done for the promotion of technical education. Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Halifax, and other towns have had 'Conferences' between manufacturers and professors, and in London a very important meeting was held at the Society of Arts, which was addressed by Earl Russell, Earl Granville, and other distinguished men. The Government have also issued a series of twelve questions to our representatives abroad respecting the provision made in every country for technical instruction. We need not, however, wait for their replies. Already a large amount of information has been supplied by gentlemen who have inquired for their own satisfaction, and have published the results of their inquiries for the public benefit.

Mr. Samuelson's letter to Lord Robert Montagu, before referred to, gives the fullest information. We learn from him that in France there are two classes of schools, primary or elementary, and special or technical. Primary instruction may be either public or private; if private it may be imparted by any person giving satisfactory proof of capacity. Every commune is bound to support at least one primary school, except in those cases where very small and poor communes unite to support a school between them. The school fees vary from 1s. 2d. to 2s. 6d.

a month; but the poor are taught free, and the ministers of religion and the mayors of the communes have power to remit the fees. The number of children educated in the public primary schools, in 1866, was a little over 3,500,000; the cost of educating them was £2,164,000. Of this amount less than £500,000 was contributed by the State, and £1,674,000 was paid by the inhabitants, either in the shape of school fees, or in that of communal taxation. The results, as a whole, were by no means satisfactory. Out of 594,770 children who left school in 1866, 80,995 could neither read nor write, and 114,071 were unable either to read or else to write. Some of the schools are models of excellence, especially the Ecole St. Nicolas, which educates and teaches a trade to 1,800 pupils. It consists of two schools—one in the Rue de Vaugirard, near the Luxembourg, and the other at Issay, in the suburbs of Paris. The second is a preparatory school for the first, and receives children at seven, and educates them until they are ten, and then they are transferred to the Rue de Vaugirard. Here they may be placed as apprentices in the workshops forming part of the school buildings. The apprenticeship lasts four years, and the boys are taught by masters who follow their respective trades for profit. All the boys are boarders, and pay £14. 10s. per annum for board, education, and clothing during the first three years; in the fourth year this payment is defrayed by the master. When Mr. Samuelson visited the school there were 700 boys in it, and 140 apprentices in the workshops. He was especially pleased with the boys' drawing. Those in the workshop were being taught the manufacture of bronze ornaments, that of musical and optical instruments, carving in wood, and modelling in clay. Besides the primary schools for children there are others for adults. These have increased to the most remarkable extent. During the Winter of 1863-64, the number of adult classes was only 5,623; these had increased in 1866-67 to 32,383. The entire number of adult scholars was 829,555, of whom considerably more than a third were absolutely illiterate on entering. They were taught drawing, book-keeping, natural philosophy, geometry and land-surveying, history and geography, and singing. Geometry was by far the most popular subject. Passing to the secondary, special, or technical schools, we find that technical instruction was introduced into the lycées and colleges of France about fifteen years ago, and that there is now scarcely a town of importance in France which has not its lycée or college. The most eminent of these are the Ecole Turgot and the Collège Chaptal. The first is only a day school, and is intended for the sons of

small tradespeople; the second is for those of the wealthier inhabitants, and receives boarders. At the Ecole Turgot there are 800 pupils, 100 of whom hold exhibitions from the municipality. The school fees are only £6. 12s. per annum, but are sufficient to defray all the costs of the school, the buildings being rent free. The instruction extends over five years, one for the preparatory division, three for the ordinary course, and a fifth, or supplementary year, for those pupils who intend to enter the Ecole Centrale, or some other of the higher schools. If Paris had a dozen schools like the Ecole Turgot they would all be filled. The instruction does not include classics, but does include English and German. Church history is taught, and in the third year dogmatic theology. The secular instruction consists of French literature, history, geography, bookkeeping, free-hand and geometrical drawing, singing, the theory of music, mathematics, spherical geometry and trigonometry, and a complete course of natural history. Chemistry and natural philosophy are not begun until the second year. Subsequently, natural history is taught in its application to the arts and commerce; the courses in natural philosophy and chemistry are completed, and analysis is practised in the laboratory. At the Collège Chaptal the fees are higher, viz.—£10 and £14. In a little over twenty years the institution has saved £48,000, and spent it in the purchase of ground and the erection of buildings. A remarkable peculiarity in this college consists in the visits paid by the boys to industrial works during the six weeks preceding the vacation. They take notes and dimensions of the machinery and erections of the works inspected, and from them execute plans and elevations. Entirely distinct from these are the technical schools proper. These are, as a rule, subject to the ministries of the department which the kind of education given in them is intended to subserve. Thus, the Ecole Polytechnique is under the control of the Minister of War; the School of Naval Engineering under the control of the Minister of Marine; the three schools of arts and handicrafts at Chalons, Aix, and Angers, the Central School of Arts and Manufactures, and the three great agricultural schools, are subject to the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works. The Ecole Centrale is probably the most celebrated school of applied sciences in the world. It was founded as a private undertaking by four eminent men of science. Its pupils include some of the most famous engineers and manufacturers. M. Chevalier has said of this institution: 'If the Central School did not exist it would be necessary to create it as the complement of the treaties of commerce.'

The three provincial schools at Chalons, Aix, and Angers, above mentioned, will serve as types of the technical schools of France. The course occupies three years. The pupils rise at 5-15. Five and a half hours daily are devoted to theoretical studies and seven hours to manual labour. The students are classed in three divisions, according to the years of entrance. Pure mathematics occupy a large portion of the teaching of the first and second years. In the third year the pupils are taught industrial mechanics, more especially the construction of steam and hydraulic engines, natural philosophy, the elements of chemistry, particularly with reference to the materials employed in engineering. The lessons in drawing proceed upwards from the elements of linear drawing to combined views of machinery, plans of workshops, &c. The number of pupils in the three schools is 900; all are boarders, and the charge for board and instruction is £20 per annum, which is far from defraying the cost. Most of the pupils are the sons of mechanics, small tradesmen, or persons holding minor Government appointments. A large proportion, probably one-half, hold exhibitions obtained in competitions founded by the communes or by private persons. The competition for them is very keen. Of 465 pupils who left the three schools in 1862-63, 188 were foremen and workmen, earning from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per diem; 165 were draughtsmen, earning from 3s. 3d. to 4s.; and 47 were marine engineers. It is rarely that the pupils at these schools continue workmen. They rise rapidly, and form excellent 'raw material' for intelligent foremen and sub-managers of works.

Mr. Samuelson visited also the schools of Germany and Switzerland. In those countries education is nominally compulsory; but this term is really a misnomer. The parents consider the attendance of their children at school a privilege, the children consider it a pleasure. The lessons consist of animated exercises and conversations, in which pupils and teachers join with equal zest. In Prussia every child between six and fourteen must attend school; but after twelve, and on proof of a certain amount of elementary knowledge, children may be employed in labour on condition that they continue to attend school for a certain number of hours weekly. Throughout Switzerland, and in nearly every German state, the cost of primary instruction is borne by the communes. Scarcely anywhere is instruction given gratuitously, but the fees are extremely low, varying from ¾d. per month in Canton Berne to 10d. in most Prussian communes. The secondary schools are the Gymnasien, Real Schulen, and Gewerbe-Schulen. In the first the training is purely literary

and scientific. In the second there is less Latin and there are more modern languages taught than in the first, and physical studies are carried further. In the third the modern languages, history, and science occupy a still larger share in the curriculum. Mr. Mundella's account of the schools in Saxony is well worth quoting. He told the conference at Birmingham that the best building in every Saxon town was a school, that more than one-sixth of the population attended the public schools, and besides there were a large number of children in private schools. There are no people in Saxony who cannot read and write well. At the Peoples' School in Chemnitz, he found children without shoes and stockings, whose parents were earning only half the wages made by English artizans, who could not only read and write well, but had a good general knowledge of geography; knew, for instance, more about England than many English children knew, and were such ready reckoners that they converted instantly English pounds, shillings, and pence into Saxon, French, and German currency. He was 'utterly humiliated and appalled at the contrast between English and Saxon children.' After the peoples' schools came the preparatory schools, where youths are prepared for the technical schools. In Saxony, teaching is reduced to a science. Finished scientific men are sent out of the polytechnic institutions to apply art and science to manufactures. At the polytechnic school in Chemnitz, a town one-eighth of the size of Birmingham, 378 persons went through a course of technical instruction in one year, and it was obliged to refuse 40 per cent. of the applicants. The subjects taught were mechanics, chemistry, cotton and woollen spinning, weaving of tissues, dying and bleaching, building and architecture, botany and agriculture. There were museums, with models of all descriptions, large botanical collections, and an immense laboratory. Fifty-four of the scholars were overlookers in manufacturing establishments, and they had to pay only 15s. for a half year's instruction.

Though England is lamentably behind continental countries, it must not be supposed that she has done nothing for technical education. It is now just over thirty years since the first School of Art and Design was established (1837), in accordance with the Report of a Parliamentary Committee published the previous year. The new undertaking languished until 1851, when the Exhibition aroused English manufacturers to their deficiencies, especially in the patterns of goods, wherein they competed with the manufacturers of France and India. The establishment of the 'Department of Practical

Art' followed in 1852, and in that year there were twenty-one 'Schools of Design' opened with 4,868 pupils. Arrangements were subsequently made for art teaching in other schools, and in 1855 the number of art pupils had increased more than six-fold. In 1864 the number was 110,638, which was slightly diminished in 1866. The good effects of these schools were clearly seen in the Report of the Delegates of Parisian Workmen to the London Exhibition in 1862. The delegates declared that in several departments of art manufacture the progress made by England had been immense. The claims of science, as a branch of education, were not recognised until some years after the recognition of the claims of Art. The two are now united in the much abused 'Science and Art Department,' which has its head quarters at South Kensington. The science schools do not number ten per cent. of the art schools, but they increased from nine, with 500 pupils, in 1860, to 220, with 10,231 pupils, in 1867. The most valuable of these institutions is the Royal School of Mines, in Jermyn-street, London. This school holds its classes in a large building erected as a museum, in connection with the Geological Survey. It was established in 1851, in consequence of the memorials which were addressed to the Government by the leading representatives of the mining interest. They urged that, although the annual value of the mineral produce of the the country was four-ninths of the total amount produced by the whole of Europe, the miners and metallurgists of the United Kingdom were unable to obtain that instruction in the theory and the practice of their calling, which had long been carefully provided for their foreign competitors in the mining colleges of France, Belgium, Prussia, Saxony, Austria, Spain, and Sweden. The Government listened to these memorials, and made use of the nucleus which already existed in the officers' laboratories, and the collections of the Geological Survey. The officers of the Survey became for the most part the Professors of the School of Mines. On their appointment a stipulation was made that each should deliver annually, and free of charge, a lecture to working men. They have done far more than is required of them; and men of the eminence of Professor Tyndall, and Professor Huxley, have gladly given a whole course of lectures gratuitously. These courses are indeed the most satisfactory incident in the history of the institution. On the morning upon which tickets are issued there is quite a crowd of applicants, real working men, or their wives or children applying on their behalf. If the lecture room held 6,000 instead of 600, it would probably be filled. The men who

are so fortunate as to obtain admission are most attentive listeners. Many of them take notes, and we have heard of an amusing instance of sharpness, in which a working man corrected a mistake made by a learned professor in working out the binomial theorem. The school has not been valued as it deserves to be by the class for whom it is especially intended. It is true that some gentlemen, either from love of science, or because they are owners of mine property, attend the classes and submit to the examinations, and work as hard as though their livelihood depended upon their industry. But the large and important class of mine agents have made little use of the institution. And yet the attractions are great. In the first place the fees are very low. For instance, while the sum of £40 will entitle the payer to attend all present and future courses of lectures, in the case of mine agents and managers the fee is only £20. Then there are eight Royal Exhibitions of the value of £50 per annum, entitling the holder to free admission to all lectures and the laboratory for three years, on condition that the holders attend the lectures regularly, and pass the examinations required for the associateship of the school. One free admission is granted yearly to the Cheltenham college, and to the Mining Schools at Bristol and Truro. The Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall, has established two scholarships of £30 each, tenable for two years; there are two Royal Scholarships of £15 each; and, besides all these, there are medals and prizes of money. Nor does the School of Mines cease to care for its students when they have finished their curriculum. There is not one student of any distinguished merit who has not had the opportunity of receiving employment on the Geological Survey, either in Great Britain, India, or such of the colonies as are being surveyed. Nevertheless, as we have said, mine agents do not avail themselves, as they ought, of the privileges offered to them.

This fact throws grave doubt on the proposal so strongly urged during the last few weeks by Mr. Samuelson, Mr. Mundella, Professor Levi, and others, that Government should establish technical schools in various parts of the country. Mr. Levi suggests a very large scheme. He would have technical schools, with workshops, collections of tools, instruments, museums, and libraries, and agricultural schools, with farms and gardens, in the principal towns of the kingdom; schools in relation to weaving, dyeing, and mechanics, at Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow and Belfast; mining schools at Truro, Newcastle, and Glasgow; navigation schools in London, Liverpool, and Greenwich; agricultural schools in Bedford

and Warwick; and schools of metallurgy in Birmingham and Sheffield. Mr. Samuelson would begin with Manchester, where Owens College seems to offer the nucleus of what is wanted; and he would have 'science teachers' trained at the school of mines, a larger capitation grant given for instruction in the more difficult scientific subjects, and would make, as one condition of Government assistance to a scientific school, the stipulation that a perfecting school should be affiliated to it. But Mr. Bright, in a recent speech at Birmingham, has reined in these rapid goers. He maintains, and the *Times* has endorsed his opinions, that if these schools are wanted, they will be established without the help, or at least without the initiation, of Government; and that the wealthy manufacturers of Birmingham and Manchester and other large towns ought to be able to find the money at once. We confess that these arguments do not seem so unanswerable to us as they did to the editor of the *Times*. It must be remembered that education differs from trade. The supply must, in a great measure, precede and create the demand. Men do not know how ignorant they are until they have begun to acquire knowledge; and, so long as they are ignorant of their ignorance, they will not take any steps to remove it. The Paris Exhibition was the first lesson given to our manufacturers—the lesson which told them how little they knew. But who will deny that it would have been more satisfactory to have acquired this knowledge at home, and earlier, so as to have avoided the humiliation which last year's revelation brought us? Then, again, with reference to Mr. Bright's second argument, that the manufacturers are wealthy enough, and should be spirited enough, to establish technical schools without Government aid, we may remark, that to establish schools is one thing, to render them efficient is another. For this purpose there must be well-trained teachers, and these can be best secured through the intervention of Government. There is no reason why the principles already in force with regard to our present primary schools should not be applied to technical schools. For this cause we hail with satisfaction the recent memorandum, announcing that the Committee of Council on Education will make special payments and bonuses in order to encourage the departmental schools of art. This is a step, though a short one, in the right direction.

LEGISLATION ON THE SUNDAY SALE OF INTOXICATING DRINKS.

1. *The General Licensing Act.* 1828.
2. *The Metropolis Police Act.* 1839.
3. *The Lord's Day Sale of Liquors Act.* 1848.
4. *The Forbes Mackenzie Act.* 1853.
5. *Report of the Select Committee on Public-houses.* 1854.
6. *The Sunday Beer Act.* 1854.
7. *Reports of the Select Committee on the Sunday Beer Act.* 1855.
8. *The New Sunday Beer Act.* 1855.
9. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Scottish Licensing Laws.* 1860.
10. *The Scottish Public-house Amendment Act.* 1862.
11. *A Bill for Closing Public-houses on Sunday.* 1863.
12. *A Bill for further regulating the Sale of Fermented and Distilled Liquors on Sunday, in England and Wales.* 1867.

UNDER the date of 1641, the parish books of St. Giles, London, contain an entry of £1. 10s. paid as a fine by the landlord of the 'Catt,' for permitting tippling in his house on the Lord's Day. The Long Parliament, first known as 'the correcting Parliament,' had not long been assembled, and had given orders that some of the social abuses which had accumulated along with the arrears of political grievances, should be taken vigorously in hand. The laws against tippling and Sabbath desecration were called into a vitality not pleasant to hardened trespassers; and we may presume that Sunday tippling, as a combination of offences, would be strongly dealt with. The old Anglo-Saxon abstinence on Sunday from all ordinary labour, may have embraced the alehouse as well as the baker's shop; but there is reason to believe

that, in the case of the alehouse-keeper, the restriction had dwindled down to a suspension of business during the hours of Divine service; nor could this measure of decorum be relied upon—for Sunday profits had ever a charm for vintners and victuallers—unless the parish churchwardens and constables were intent upon their duty. It is impossible to say how far the famous Lord's Day Act of 29 Charles II., c. 28, (1677), was intended to arrest the tide of Sunday intemperance which, along with other forms of profligacy, had rolled in upon the nation with the Stuart Restoration. The wording of the Act was stringent enough to close every alehouse during the whole of Sunday; for it provided that 'no tradesman, artificer, workman, labourer, or other person whatsoever, shall do or exercise any worldly labour, business, or work of their ordinary callings upon the Lord's Day, or any part thereof, works of necessity and charity alone excepted;' and the application of this prohibition to the common sale of intoxicating liquor seems less capable of being explained away, as among the few exceptions named is included 'the dressing and selling of meat in inns, cookshops, or victualling houses, for such as otherwise cannot be provided.' Whatever may have been the purpose of the Legislature, it is not probable that this Act effected any very marked or permanent change in the general management of alehouses and taverns on the Lord's Day; and we know for a certainty that, amidst the changes through which the Licensing system passed during the next century and a half, no restriction on the Sunday drink traffic was incorporated with it, except the traditional interdiction of selling during the hours of Divine worship. Public morality, during that extended period, remained at a low ebb, and it was something gained that by the 21 George III., c. 49, (1782), public-houses were not allowed to be used for Sunday debates. No advance was attempted even in 1828, when the Licensing Acts were consolidated in the 'Act to regulate the granting of licences to keepers of inns, alehouses, and victualling-houses in England,' 9 George IV., 61; nor is the Sunday sale of liquor referred to at all in that statute, except in the appended schedule of the licence to be granted, where, among other provisos, it is required that the licence-holder 'do not keep open his (or her) house except for the reception of travellers, nor permit nor suffer beer, or other excisable liquor to be conveyed from or out of his (or her) premises during the usual hours of morning and afternoon divine service in the church or chapel of the parish or place in which his (or her) house is situated, on Sunday, Good Friday, and Christmas Day.' Eleven years elapsed, and the infatuated legislation which

raised up the Beershop system had borne its grapes of gall and apples of Sodom, before any effort was made to apply a check to the traffic which kept possession of the whole of Sunday, limited only by three or four church-going hours, and in thousands of places limited by only half that length of time. Scarcely a village or hamlet was free from the corrupting influence of shops, open when all others were closed, into which the idle and careless were drawn, the earnings of the week dissipated, and the mind debauched by the filthy conversations carried on by the graduates in vice. In large towns the evil assumed a more glaring form, on account of the keener competition of rival publicans, and the more expensive attractions, both external and internal, which had begun to prevail, the artifices of a struggling selfishness, reckless of every other interest but that which was bound up with selling and getting gain.

The disorderly state of the streets in London, just before the commencement of morning service, grew at length so scandalous and offensive, that a remedy was seen to be imperative; and such a remedy was provided by the insertion of a clause in the Metropolitan Police Bill of 1839, 2 and 3 Vic., c. 47. This truly memorable clause, the 47th, reads as follows:—'No licensed victualler or other person shall open his house within the Metropolitan Police District for the sale of spirits, beer, or other fermented or distilled liquors on Sunday, Christmas Day, and Good Friday, before the hour of one in the afternoon, except [as] refreshment for travellers.' (A similar provision, to apply to the City of London, was inserted in the 2 and 3 Vic., c. 94, s. 26; and by the 5 and 6 Vic., c. 44, s. 5, the sale of intoxicating liquors, up to one o'clock on Sunday, in river steamboats, &c., was strictly forbidden.) The debates, as reported in Hansard, make it appear that no opposition was offered to this clause; no objection is named, and no division was taken upon it. Some other clauses dealing with drinking and drunkenness did not pass without discussion, one of the principal opponents of restriction being the notorious Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, who stated that he had recently dined with three thousand publicans. It has been said that the 47th clause took the publicans by surprise, but this can scarcely have been the case, since they found honourable members willing to represent their dislike to other points, and to divide the House on behalf of their clients. It is more probable that the Sunday abuse was too flagrant to be defended, and that the more astute advised concession on one point with the hope of making a stouter resistance upon others. The honour of the parentage of this Sunday clause, has been variously awarded. Years

afterwards, Lord Monteagle, in the House of Lords, claimed to have suggested it in 1839, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Mr. T. Spring Rice, shortly before he was raised to the peerage. The name of Mr. Hawes, M.P. for Lambeth, has also been associated with the authorship; while the late Bishop of London is known to have believed that he had much to do with this admirable stroke of legislation. The Bill in which it was embodied was a Government measure, and though Lord John Russell was then Secretary of State for the Home Department, Mr. Fox Maule, the Under-Secretary of that Department, piloted the Bill through the Lower House. The beneficial effects of the provision were so undeniable and gratifying, that in about two years the Town Council of Liverpool secured its insertion in an Improvement Bill promoted by them, and similar action was taken by the municipal authorities of Manchester and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The results in all cases afforded unqualified satisfaction; and the statistical returns, evidencing a marked decrease of Sunday intemperance, were collected by the British Temperance League, and made the groundwork of an appeal for legislation more complete in principle and more general in application. The agitation thus commenced, led to the presentation in the session of 1845 of petitions bearing nearly 200,000 signatures, and in 1846 the renewed agitation succeeded in sending up an array of petitions still more numerously subscribed. Men of great eminence, such as Lord Cottenham and the Bishop of St. David's, avowed their sympathy with the movement, but for want of a competent leader nothing was done in either House until 1848, when the Earl of Harrowby, in conjunction with Mr. Wilson Patten, agreed to bring the question before Parliament, in the definite form of 'A Bill for Regulating the Sale of Beer and other Liquors on the Lord's Day' (11 and 12 Vic., c. 49). The preamble set forth that 'Whereas the provisions in force within the Metropolitan Police District and in some other places in England against the sale of fermented and distilled liquors on the morning of the Lord's Day, have been found to be attended with great benefits,'—therefore it was ordered that such sale in every other part of England and Wales should not be permitted till half-past twelve on Sunday morning, 'or before the usual time of terminating worship in the principal place of worship of the parish or place.' The second clause repealed the existing regulation that forbade beersellers to open till one o'clock. The third clause prohibited the opening of any public-house or beershop for the sale of any article whatsoever until the time allowed for selling liquor. The fourth clause restricted coffee-shops from opening till five

o'clock on Sunday morning. The fifth clause empowered constables to enter all drinking-shops whenever acting under superior orders; and the sixth clause inflicted a fine not exceeding £5 for each offence against the law, every separate act of sale to be deemed a separate offence. The first reading of the Bill took place June 2nd, 1848. On the second reading Lord Brougham eulogised it as 'a useful and safe Bill,' but moved it to be referred to a small select committee. Lord Campbell said that as the main provision had acted most admirably in London, 'he could see no reason for deferring legislation.' Lord Kinnaird added a few words in support. On July 11 it was read a third time in the Lords. The first reading in the Commons took place July 13th, and the second on the 19th. In Committee Mr. C. Berkeley moved the omission of all the words before half-past twelve,—in fact, the rejection of the Bill, but his motion was defeated by 59 votes to 24, and a similar motion by Mr. Milner Gibson was also lost by 58 votes to 25. The Bill was read a third time and received the Royal Assent, August 14th. The operation of this measure realised all the expectations that had sprung from the excellent working of the local acts, and the whole kingdom was put into possession of corresponding benefits, which no other species of legislation could have possibly conferred. Encouraged by this success, the friends of temperance renewed their efforts, and claimed that the second half of the Sunday should not be deprived of the protection accorded to the first half. The Sunday evening was still in the hands of the liquor vendors, and with few exceptions they used the legal permission to make the closing hours of that day a carnival of dissipation, with disastrous consequences to the comfort and purity of myriads of homes. Five years, however, passed, before any response came from Parliament to the agitation sustained outside; and it was not till 1854, when a Select Committee on public-houses, which had sat in 1853, was re-appointed (Feb. 24th, 1854) as before, under the Chairmanship of the Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, that the subject assumed a practical shape. The Committee's attention in that session was extensively occupied with the subject of Sunday closing, and after evidence from a large body of witnesses, including working-men and publicans, the Report of the Committee was drawn up by the Chairman, and finally approved on the 13th of July. About one-sixth of the Report was devoted to an analysis of, and comments upon, the evidence given on Sunday closing, and among other observations it was said, 'The testimony is universal that a great amount of drinking takes place on Saturday night and during the hours that the houses are

allowed by law to be open on Sunday. * * * It is important that those engaged in the trade should be made aware that there is a rapidly growing conviction abroad, and spreading even into their own ranks, in favour of closing throughout the entire Sunday all places for the sale of intoxicating drinks.' The Report concluded with a series of resolutions, one of which was couched in these terms: 'That with the exception of the hour of from one to two p.m., and of from 6 to 9 p.m., all places for the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be closed on Sunday, and that on week-days all such houses shall be closed from 11 o'clock p.m. to 4 a.m.' This 'resolution' was carried unanimously at the final meeting of the select committee, attended by the chairman and nine other members. Not a moment was lost by Colonel Wilson Patten to gain legislative effect for this important recommendation; for on the same evening, July 13th, a bill framed in its precise terms was introduced into the House of Commons and read a first time. It was at once printed under the title of 'A Bill for further regulating the sale of beer and other liquors on the Lord's day,' 17 & 18 Vic., c. 79, and was afterwards commonly described as the Sunday Beer Act. The second reading was taken July 17th, but, on July 22nd, the third reading, Mr. H. Berkeley opposed it as a specimen of class legislation, and as a great hardship to excursionists, and he concluded by declaring that 'he could not consent to a bill which proposed to inflict so much injustice on the community.' Mr. Wilson Patten defended his bill, and expressed his confidence that 'it would be found a beneficial and not an oppressive measure towards the poor.' Mr. Laurence Heyworth said that 'the demand for such legislation sprang from the poor, and he believed that a bill for closing public-houses and beershops during the whole of Sunday would meet with the acquiescence of all the respectable and intelligent portion of the working-classes.' Lord Dudley Stuart denied that the bill exhibited partial legislation as against the wishes and interests of the poor, and he appealed to the success of the more ample measure which had been in operation in Scotland for nine months. Mr. Bankes doubted whether the bill went far enough. 'It was the only subject upon which the public had manifested unanimous opinion during the present session.' Mr. W. J. Fox repeated the objection about excursionists. Mr. Henley was glad the bill was likely to become law. Mr. Crawford feared the vice of drunkenness would take a more secret form. A third reading was then taken without a division. To conciliate the Licensed Victuallers' Association, Mr. Patten had consented to allow the sale of drink up to 10 p.m. instead of

to 9 only, as at first proposed; but the Earl of Harrowby who had been entrusted with the bill for the House of Lords, was persuaded by the friends of the trade to consent to other alterations, extending the time of sale to half-past 2, instead of 2, and from 5 to 11 in summer, and 5 to 10 in winter; but no liquor to be drawn after 10 p.m. These proposed amendments were stated on the night of the second reading, July 25th, when Lord Brougham, the Duke of Argyll, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and Lord Alvanley, offered remarks on the bill, the first two noble lords speaking in its favour. Lord Campbell also gave it as his opinion that the bill 'would be of great service to men belonging to the working-classes; but the good it would be to women and children would be incalculable. He was not at present inclined to recommend the adoption of the Maine Law, although, perhaps, we might come to that; but he felt bound to say that he went all the length of the proposed Act.' When the bill was read a third time, July 28th, Lord Shaftesbury reminded the Peers, that the demand of the country was not for restriction, but for the closing of public-houses during the whole of Sunday, and he urged their lordships to render their assistance in carrying out the improvement so ardently desired. He deprecated Lord Harrowby's amendments, except the extension from 2 to half-past 2. The Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield) concurred. Parliament could not compel the people to be religious, but it had the power of removing from them strong temptations to violate the precepts of morality and religion. He did not think it any hardship to the working man to shorten the hours of drinking, and it must be remembered that the less time they gave him for drinking, in the same proportion would they enable him to spend more time and money on his wife and children, besides removing from him the opportunity of contracting habits of intemperance.' The Marquis of Clanricarde had no objection to see public-houses closed in the large towns, but did not want excursionists to be deprived of refreshments. On a division, the amendment for allowing the sale of liquor from five to six was negatived by a vote of 24 to 15, and the other amendment—allowing the houses to remain open till eleven in summer—was negatived without a division. The Bill passed a third reading without further debate, received the Royal assent, August 7th, and came into force on the following Sunday, August 13th. It has been represented that this enactment was premature, not sufficiently deliberate, and not supported by opinion 'out of doors.' But the opposite is the truth. During the whole of 1853, and the first six months of 1854, a wide-spread public agitation had been sus-

tained, and some very large meetings had been held. At one in Manchester, held in the open air, attended by many thousands, only one hand was held up against the resolution; and at Leeds, a town's meeting in the Cloth Hall, reckoned to consist of 20,000 persons, and presided over by the Mayor, had decided by a very large majority in a similar manner.

During the session of 1854, petitions to the number of 2,182, bearing 415,027 signatures, had been sent up to the House of Commons, asking for the entire suppression of the liquor traffic on Sunday, one of which was subscribed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. J. B. Sumner) the Bishop of London, and 160 Ministers of the Established and Dissenting Churches; and the only counter petition was from Stafford, with 1,208 names. A deep impression had also been made by the statistics of Sunday drinking that had been collected in regard to several towns and boroughs, particularly those having reference to Manchester, showing that 151 spirit vaults, 259 public-houses, and 1,027 beershops, a total of 1,437, had been watched, and the Sunday visits paid to them found to amount to 214,818; thus distributed: by men, 120,122; by women, 71,111; by children, 23,585; which would give an aggregate of 70,000 persons, allowing three visits, on an average, to each person. Applying this estimate to 74 public-houses and 545 beershops not watched, the number of visits would have been raised to 307,354. It had also been estimated by one observer that on the evening of the census Sunday in 1851, the number of persons present in the churches and chapels of St. Marylebone, returned at 17,805, was less by 2,000 than the number present in the drinking-shops of that Metropolitan parish. The Select Committee were undoubtedly struck with the testimony of several working-men, who volunteered their evidence in favour of Sunday closing; and scarcely less so by the statements of several London publicans who kept their shops closed on Sunday, and testified that they found no real difficulty in supplying their customers with beer on Saturday fit for Sunday's use. When the Select Committee agreed to recommend an extension of the law of 1848, so as to limit the sale of liquor on Sunday to the hours of 1 to 2 and 6 to 9, they did so with the full conviction that less than this could not be awarded to the public demand for the whole-day closing. The law had not been in operation for more than a Sunday or two before its beneficial results were recognised on every hand, and acknowledgments of the fact were freely made by magistrates and police-superintendents in different parts of the kingdom. An active party among the publicans, however, were animated by an implacable

hostility to the measure, and several Members of Parliament were nothing loath to aid them in an opposition, the sordid origin of which ought to have excited the utmost disgust. Mr. Berkeley received the unequivocal dishonour, though otherwise intended, of leading a Parliamentary attack on the measure, which was everywhere reducing the work of the police and promoting Sunday sobriety and quiet; but, in the face of these notorious facts, the policy to be adopted was not easily framed. The thought of introducing a repealing Bill was abandoned when it was found that the Government would not lend its help. At length, on June 26th, 1855, Mr. Berkeley made a desultory speech, and concluded by moving for a Committee of Inquiry into the Act of 1854. The opinions he expressed were strongly opposed by Mr. Patten, Mr. Villiers, Mr. Henley and other members; and Sir George Grey used these emphatic words: 'I believe if universal suffrage could be acted upon in reference to this question, it would be found that the desire of the people would be that the public-houses should be closed throughout the Sunday.' It was only on the understanding that the proposed inquiry should be full and impartial, that the motion was agreed to; but of the 15 gentlemen named next day to constitute the committee, nine were known to be opposed to the existing law, and Mr. Berkeley, its bitter enemy, was soon after nominated as the chairman. Still the friends of the Act were not unwilling to encounter even these enormous odds, on the faith of the solemn promises made that the inquiry should be fair and complete, confident as they were that the evidence in favour of the Act, if properly represented, would render it impossible for even so biassed a tribunal to recommend a relaxation of the law. The committee began to take evidence July 5th, and continued to do so on the 10th, 13th, 17th, and 19th, and on the 20th the evidence taken was reported to the House. On the 24th the committee sat with closed doors, and instructed the chairman to prepare a report, although only twenty-six witnesses had been examined, all of them but one residing in London! On the 26th the chairman's report was submitted, which, after stating that 'the advanced period of the session rendered it impossible to carry the inquiry to its full extent,' proceeded to affirm that the Act of 1854 had been 'attended with unnecessary inconvenience to the public,' and recommended a modification of its provisions. Sir J. Pakington moved as an amendment the words—'This committee has not yet received sufficient evidence on the effect produced by the Act of 1854 to make a satisfactory report to the House in the present session;' but for this amendment no vote except Sir John's

own was given, all the other eleven members present agreeing to the chairman's report. So unexpected was this decision that several witnesses were in London who had been summoned for the 26th, and sixty pounds for expenses incurred in answering the summons of the committee, were paid to witnesses who were not called upon to utter a single word. The opponents of the Act of 1854 now pushed on their assault without any further effort at concealment of their object. On July 30th a Bill embodying the suggestions of the report was read a first time; next night, after a short discussion, it was read a second time; and next night (August 1st) it went into committee of the House, and a motion for committing it that day three months, moved by the Marquis of Blandford, was rejected by 62 votes to 10. On August 3rd it was read a third time in the Commons, and, on the *same* night, a first time in the Lords; and on the 6th the Peers assented by a majority of 25 to 16 to allow it to be read a second time by suspending their standing orders, which forbade any bill from the Commons to be read a second time in the Lords after July 23rd. Next night (August 7th) it passed through committee, and having been read a third time and received the Royal assent, it came into operation on Sunday, August 19th, under the title of 'An Act to repeal the Act of the 17th and 18th years of the reign of her present Majesty, for further regulating the sale of beer and other liquors on the Lord's Day, and to substitute other provisions in lieu thereof.' This Act, 18 and 19 Vic., c. 118, is still the law of England and Wales, and by its provisions the sale of intoxicating liquors is permitted on Sundays between one and three p.m. and between five and eleven p.m., an increase of two hours and a half on the period allowed under the Sunday Act of 1854, which it repealed. Comparing these hours with the terms of the report of the Select Committee of 1854, we perceive that whereas that committee advised the limitation of the sale of liquor to four hours on the Sunday (1—2 and 6—9 p.m.), the law as it has stood since 1855 allows the drink traffic eight hours, or double the length of time recommended in 1854.

The question then arises — whence arose the relaxation? Did the Inquiry of 1855 discover reasonable ground for extending the hours of public-drinkselling on the Lord's Day? The Select Committee of 1855 raised the plea of 'inconvenience;' but, as only one witness from all England and Wales, outside London, was examined, and he was strongly favourable to the Act, it is clear that the 'inconvenience' could have affected only the people of London; and when we look

farther into the complaint on this head, it is seen that this 'inconvenience' related almost exclusively to the annoyance felt by a part of the summer excursionists, because they could not get 'refreshments,' *i.e.*, gin and beer, at the public-house, on their return to town after ten o'clock. Therefore, because some excursionists wanted to resort to the public-house after ten o'clock on Sundays in the summer, all the public-houses of London must be open till eleven, summer and winter; and because they should be open till between ten and eleven, they must be open between five and six; and because they should be open those hours in London, therefore all drinking-shops in England and Wales must be open on Sundays between five and six and ten and eleven all the year round! On such reasoning as this did Parliament proceed when it consented to pass the Bill of 1855; yet to speak of 'reasoning' in such a connection is an abuse of terms. The true key to the law of 1855 is offered in one word—panic. Under the influence of panic, consistency, fair play, and solemn promises were all set at nought. And whence the panic? On the Sunday preceding the first meeting of Mr. Berkeley's Committee, the notable Hyde Park disturbances began, and were continued for several successive Sundays. It may be confidently affirmed that but for the moral cowardice with which these disorders had infected Parliament, Mr. Berkeley and his coadjutors would never have dared to break off the inquiry, or have induced Parliament to legislate in the spirit of a Report that was an insult to the great social and moral interests at stake. And even as to these 'Hyde Park riots'—as they have been grandiosely styled—why should their occurrence, coincidently with the sittings of the Berkeley Committee, have led to the course pursued and the legislation proposed? An answer to this question is furnished by every newspaper writer who chooses to enlarge on the 'unpopularity' of Sunday closing—the argument running as follows:—'Because the mob made an uproar in Hyde Park against the Sunday Act of 1854, any similar Act will be unpopular through all coming time.' It ought to follow, if this argument has any point, that every cause against which a Hyde Park mob protests is 'unpopular,' and that Parliament is to take its cue as to what legislation is in accordance with the national opinion, from any riotous demonstration of the scum and ruffianism of the capital.

But is it the truth that the Hyde Park riots arose out of, and were directed against, the Sunday Act of 1854? The affirmative could never be asserted by any one who had taken the slightest trouble to become acquainted with the facts. The supposition is destitute of the faintest shadow of reality, and

belongs to the class of statements which almost justify the sarcasm of the statesman, who, when assured that a certain matter was an historical fact, replied that he was then certain it was false. It is difficult to believe that those who charge the Hyde Park riots upon the Sunday Act of 1854, can be so ignorant of contemporary events as not to know that they originated solely in opposition to the Bill on Sunday Trading introduced into Parliament by Lord Robert Grosvenor (now Lord Ebury), on the 19th of April, 1855. That Bill was read a second time by a large majority, and was entirely free, as the author was careful to state, from any allusion to the sale of intoxicating drinks. The 'riots' were known to have been organised at the East end of the town by persons engaged in Sunday morning trading, and from first to last the rioters, who hooted and pelted the aristocratic *habitués* of Rotten Row, raised no cry against the Sunday Beer Act, though the Select Committee was then sitting. How eagerly that Committee would have hailed such expressions of hostility from the denizens of Hounsditch and Whitechapel, may be inferred from the tone of their own proceedings; but not a word upon this subject was stated in their Report. Lord Robert Grosvenor, daunted by the 'riots,' surrendered his Bill, and the disturbances ceased; but Mr. Berkeley and his friends adroitly made use of *the panic that had seized Parliament on all questions of Sunday legislation*, to stop their inquiry and press forward the compromise they drew up. They would gladly have proposed an unconditional repeal of the Act of 1854, but fearing that even a panic-struck Parliament would refuse to stultify itself so grossly, they were satisfied with upsetting the former Act, and re-enacting a prohibition of the sale of liquors from three to five and eleven to twelve p.m. The testimony of the witnesses, few and selected as they were, formed no ground for the slightest relaxation of an Act affecting the whole of England and Wales. Mr. Berkeley, and a majority of the Committee, were intent on showing that the Act was oppressive and injurious by the prosecutions and magisterial division of opinion it had occasioned on the *bonâ-fide* traveller question; by the complaints it had elicited from the sober part of the community, and especially excursionists; and by the increase of illicit drinking. But the only semblance of a case made out was in reference to the excursionists, and even as to them Mr. S. Norwood, of the South Western Railway, testified that "the railway public had become pacified," and the testimony of other railway officers was more hearsay than direct. The London magistrates gave no sanction to the theory that illicit drinking had increased,

and Sir R. Mayne explicitly said 'The opinion of the superintendents is that there is not more drinking in unlicensed houses than there was formerly.' That the Act of 1854 had diminished intemperance and its attendant offences, was clearly shown by the statistical tables of Sir R. Mayne, Mr. Harvey (Chief Commissioner of the City of London Police), and Captain Meredith, the Superintendent of the Wilts Police, the only provincial witness examined.* There was a mass of similar evidence in store had the inquiry been proceeded with. It had previously been ascertained, in reply to circulars addressed to mayors, &c., that, of 191 towns, of which 115 were parliamentary boroughs, the operation of the act had been favourable in 128 towns, including 74 parliamentary boroughs, and strikingly favourable in 36 other towns, including 24 parliamentary boroughs. Of the remaining 27 towns, the authorities of 12 reported that there was 'no difference;' and from 15, the reports were of a doubtful complexion. An inquiry worthy of the name must have resulted not only in a confirmation of the Act of 1854, but an encouragement to extend its provisions to the other hours of the Lord's Day. That Mr. Berkeley performed the part of an advocate, and not that of a judge, was perceptible to all, and in some instances he exceeded even the license which a courteous advocate would have observed. That he was acting as the mouthpiece of the Publicans' Defence Association was notorious, and the presentation of a testimonial of plate to him towards the end of the next year took no one by surprise. So palpably did the whole affair unfold itself, as got-up by a section of the drink trade from interested motives, that their solicitor during the inquiry, afterwards stated in a letter, 'I am now convinced that the agitation was not a genuine popular movement, but arose from, and was promoted by, the persons immediately interested in its success.'†

* Sir R. Mayne's statistics of drunken charges embraced the first six months of 1854, compared with the same term of 1855:—13,814 and 12,333, a decrease of 1,481. For the Sundays of these terms 3,224 and 2,076, a decrease of 1,148. For the Mondays of the terms 2,542 and 2,441, a decrease of 101. Of the actual decrease of 1,481 charges, the decrease on Sundays and Mondays was 1,249! Mr. Harvey's return embraced the eleven months preceding and succeeding the Act, the total committals for drunkenness being respectively 2,809 and 2,817, an increase of 8, but the Sunday charges were 314 and 178, a decrease of 136, or nearly one-half. The chief increase counterbalancing the Sunday decrease was in the Saturday charges, but Mr. Harvey disclaimed any connection between them and the Sunday restriction. Captain Meredith's return for the years ending June, 1854, and June, 1855, gave as the charges against drunken and disorderly persons and for common assaults as 516 and 311, a decrease of 205.

† Arising out of this Committee of Inquiry was an action for libel entered by Mr. Berkeley against the United Kingdom Alliance, on account of statements in the *Alliance News*, attributing his conduct to venal motives. These statements were, in

This demonstration of what might be expected from a 'Select Committee' of the House of Commons, nominated for a purpose, was attended with one good result. 'A Bill for the better Regulation of Public-houses in Scotland,' had been introduced into Parliament, February 22, 1853, and had become a law (16 and 17 Vic. 67). This Act, commonly known as 'The Forbes Mackenzie Act,' though Lord Kinnaird had more to do with its preparation than Mr. Mackenzie, made various changes in the licensing system of Scotland, as settled by 'The Home Drummond Act' of 1828 (9 Geo. IV., cap 58)—and in regard to the sale of liquor on Sunday, it brought back a state of things which had existed prior to the passing of the Act of 1828. At that time all sale of drink was illegal according to the common law of Scotland, but as the terms of the license appended to that Act followed the English phraseology of interdicting the sale of liquor during the hours of Divine Service, it was held by the High Court of Justiciary, in 1832,

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point of fact, extracts from other newspapers, but the opportunity thus furnished of inflicting damage on the Alliance was too good to be lost. The libels could not be technically justified, yet the committee of the Alliance allowed the action to come on for trial in the hope that a full exposure would be secured of Mr. Berkeley's shameful partiality and the mockery of justice in which he had been conspicuous; but the leading counsel of the Alliance was suddenly taken ill, and the other counsel consented at the last moment to take a verdict of nominal damages—£5, instead of £5,000, as estimated by Mr. Berkeley—but one, of course, carrying costs. These costs were, however, subscribed by the friends of temperance throughout the country, so that the funds of the Alliance did not suffer. Few, if any, supposed that Mr. Berkeley's championship of the publicans was prompted by a desire to make money, but it is impossible to read the minutes of evidence without blushing at the grossness of the partisanship evinced. As early as the twenty-eighth question he is found asking the first witness, 'Are *not you aware* that since the passing of this Act greater resort is now made by the young and dissolute to places, such as brothels, where liquors are sold all but publicly?' thus assuming as fact one of the points the committee was appointed to investigate. Of another witness he inquired, 'As we have statistics to show that one man in 5,000 is a drunkard, is not the legislation, which punishes the 5,000 to get at the one, objectionable?'—here assuming (1) that every 4,999 men, not drunkards, wished to go to the public-house on Sundays; (2) that to prevent them so going was a punishment; and (3) that legislation should never act so as to be deemed a punishment by those whom it affects. The primary assumption that only one person in 5,000 was a drunkard was made in the face of a Parliamentary Return giving the number of apprehensions for drunken and disorderly conduct in England and Wales in 1851 as 70,097, one apprehension to every 260 persons, or (taking the average of four commitments of each person) one person drunk to 1,040 not drunk, and that in a single year, and including in the ratio not only men but women and children! Even more audacious was the statement made by Mr. Berkeley to Mr. Harvey, Chief Commissioner of the City of London Police, 'The committee has examined Sir R. Mayne, and from the statistics he laid before us, it appears that taking the population of London the police cases in London are one in about 32,000,'—the fact being that the police cases of drunkenness alone, had been shown by Sir R. Mayne to amount to a yearly average of at least one in a hundred of the population, or one person drunk to 400 sober, men, women, and children; so that Mr. Berkeley's perception of the evil, included just one-eightieth of its real extent!—and on such 'appearances' he asked Parliament to legislate in favour of the Sunday drink traffic.

that these terms limited the prohibition to these hours, and allowed the sale of drink during the rest of the day. The English Act of 1848 did not apply to Scotland, and, therefore, between that year and 1853, the condition of Scotland in relation to the Sunday traffic was even worse than that of England, except where the licensing magistrates had made the issue of licences conditional on a promise to keep shorter hours. The Forbes Mackenzie Act did not directly refer to the Sunday, but the schedule of license contained the following proviso :—'And do not keep open house or permit or suffer any drinking in any part of the premises belonging thereto, or give or serve out any liquor before eight of the clock in the morning, and after eleven of the clock at night of any day, and *do not open his house for the sale of any liquors or sell the same on the Lord's day.*' The adoption of this schedule closed the public-houses of Scotland from eleven on Saturday night to eight on Monday morning. The Act came into operation May 21st, 1854, and the moral consequences were striking and gladdening in the extreme; but 'the trade' there, as in England, looking to the till, raised an outcry of injustice and oppression. The success of the Berkeley committee seemed to point out a strategy which might be equally fatal to the Sunday closing feature of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and Lord Melgund, after failing to obtain a select committee in 1858, renewed his efforts in 1859; but a counter proposition for a Royal Commission was carried without a division—a result due to the prudent fear of the friends of the Act that a Select Committee sitting in London, and probably composed of active enemies of Sunday closing, would copy but too faithfully the precedent set them by the English Committee of 1855. The Royal Commission, presided over by Sir George Clerk, commenced its sittings August 1st, 1859, and continued them down to October 10th, taking evidence in the principal towns of Scotland, and examined nearly 800 witnesses. The Report was then agreed upon, making, with the minutes of evidence, two goodly volumes, issued in the spring of 1860. The Sunday closing question was carefully gone into by the Commisioners, whose judgment was thus expressed :—'Evidence was adduced to us from all classes of persons, of the benefits which have arisen from a return to the former practice on this subject. The improvement in large towns has been most remarkable. Whereas formerly on Sunday mornings numbers of persons in every stage of intoxication were seen issuing from the public-houses, to the great annoyance of the respectable portion of the population on their way to church, the streets are now quiet and orderly, and few cases of drunkenness are seen. The

evidence of the public authorities proved that while there has been a considerable diminution in the number of cases of drunkenness and disorder since the passing of the Act 16 and 17 Vic., c. 67, the change has been more marked on Sunday than on any other day of the week. Employers of labour and workmen themselves were unanimous in testifying to the great improvement that has taken place in the regularity of the attendance at work on Monday morning; and many publicans examined before us, expressed themselves as grateful for the existing law, regarding the cessation of business on Sunday as a boon of which they would not willingly be deprived. It was alleged by some of the witnesses, that the improvement to which we have referred is more apparent than real, and that the persons who formerly resorted to public-houses on Sunday, now either purchase a bottle of spirits on Saturday evening, which they consume next day at their own houses, or obtain drink to as great an extent as before at unlicensed houses, or, as they are termed, "shebeens," the number of which is stated to have greatly increased of late years. There may be some truth in these allegations. But we did not obtain any evidence to prove that the practice of drinking to excess in their private houses prevails to a greater extent among the lower orders now than it did formerly. And with regard to 'shebeens,' while the evils arising from them, and the remedies by which these evils may be met, will form the subject of remark hereafter, it may be noticed at present, that to attribute to them anything like the amount of intemperance which the closing of public-houses has put down, is to ignore the evidence already referred to as to the decrease of Sunday convictions, and the increased regularity of attendance by the labouring classes at their work on Monday. Any individual cases of inconvenience brought under our notice as having arisen from Sunday closing, were so inconsiderable in number and importance, as compared with the great and general benefit arising from the present state of the law, that we are not disposed to recommend any alteration with regard to it.'*

* Among the almost immediate effects of Sunday closing in Edinburgh was the rescinding of a resolution to erect a new prison at great expense, the diminution of prisoners rendering the old prison accommodation sufficient! One charge, persistently circulated, and caught up by English newspapers that would not inquire for themselves, connected the Forbes Mackenzie Act with a great increase in the consumption of spirits. The fact, however, was, that in the four years ending December, 1853, the consumption was 28,736,071, and in the four complete years, under the law, ending December, 1858, it was 22,270,369, a decrease of 6,465,702, or annual average decrease of 1,616,425 gallons, with an increasing population! Driven from the position of an increased consumption, the next device has been to refer the decrease to the additional duties imposed on spirits, undoubtedly a leading cause, but not the exclusive means, of the diminished consumption.

To remedy some defects in the working arrangements of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and especially to enable the police to cope with the 'shebeen' nuisance, the 'Public Houses Amendment (Scotland) Act,' 25 & 26 Vic., c. 35, was passed in the session of 1862.

No organized endeavour was made in England to retrieve the ground lost in 1855, till the winter of 1862-3, when the Hull Association for the Closing of Public-houses, undertook the charge of a national agitation. In Liverpool and other towns a canvass was undertaken by voluntary committees, to ascertain the direction and pressure of public sentiment, and in every such case the returns brought to light a preponderance of opinion in favour of the prohibition of the sale of strong drink during the whole of Sunday.* On the 17th of March, 1863, Mr. Somes, M.P., for Hull, moved for leave to introduce 'A Bill for closing public-houses on Sunday,' the scope of which was to render illegal all sale of strong drink between eleven o'clock on Saturday night and six o'clock on Monday morning. Leave was granted on a division of 141 votes to 32. On the 3rd of June the second reading of the Bill was moved by Mr. Somes, and supported by Messrs. Pease, Horsfall, Baines, Lawson, Adderley, Newdegate, Hunt, and Sir H. Cairns. Speeches more or less decidedly opposed, were made by Captain Jervis, Messrs. Seymour, Clay, Martin, Packe, Berkeley, Sheridan, Sir S. M. Peto, Sir J. Shelley, and Lord H. Vane. On a division, the second reading was supported by 103 votes, and resisted by 278, a majority of 175. The numbers, *pro* and *con*, were about equally composed of Liberals and Conservatives. This exhibition of parliamentary sentiment oddly contrasted with the state of public feeling, as represented by the petitions presented; the Bill being supported by 5,393 petitions, bearing 903,987 signatures, and opposed by 231 petitions, bearing 216,017 names. In the session of 1864 Mr. Somes moved for leave, on the 6th of May, to bring in a Bill to close all public-houses and beershops between eleven p.m. on Saturday and six a.m. on

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* A few particulars are appended. Liverpool: For the total closing (householders) 44,149; against, 3,330; for closing, except two hours, 6,417; neutral, 6,639; total canvassed 60,235; number of inhabited houses in Liverpool, 65,814. St. Pancras Parish, London: Total adults canvassed, 53,324; favourable to entire closing, 26,544; opposed, 19,014; neutral, 7,766. Sheffield: For total closing (householders), 13,152; against, 6,031; for being open two hours, 613; neutral, 2,256; total canvassed, 22,052. Hull: The part canvassed being that where chiefly the working classes reside; for total closing, 11,428; against, 952. Rochdale: Houses canvassed, 4,700; adults favourable, 10,456; unfavourable, 1,017; neutral, 1,719. Birkenhead: Working men (householders) favourable, 3,204; on the contrary, 186; other classes favourable, 1,356; on the contrary, 236.

Monday, except between one and two and eight and nine on Sunday. The motion was supported by Messrs. Pease, Clay, and Horsfall, but opposed by Mr. Roebuck, Sir W. Jolliffe, Sir G. Grey, and Mr. Packe, and leave was refused by 123 votes to 87, a majority of 36. A Conference in Manchester, held on the 26th of October, 1866, resolved on the promotion of a 'Central Association for Stopping the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on the Sunday,' and from that time to the present the movement has been carried on with renewed energy, and with a greater hope, perhaps, than at any former time, not only of regaining what was filched away in 1855, but of procuring for England the benefit of a measure resembling that which Scotland has enjoyed since 1854. In 1867, Mr. J. A. Smith, M.P., brought in a Bill to prevent the sale of alcoholic drink for consumption on the premises during the whole of Sunday, except where some article of food was sold in the present legal hours; and also to prevent the sale for consumption off the premises, except between half-past twelve and half-past two p.m., and between eight and ten p.m. This Bill was read a first time; but the second reading, though repeatedly postponed, could never be discussed, owing to the pressure of other business. During the session of 1867, 3,707 petitions, bearing 407,307 signatures, were presented to the House of Commons, 2,754 of which, with 301,235 names, called for the stoppage of all sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. The other petitions (953) and signatures (106,072) were in support directly of Mr. Smith's Bill, the passing of which was opposed by seventy-nine petitions, with 103,537 names.* On the 28th of November, soon after the opening of the session of 1867-8, Mr. Smith obtained the first reading of a Bill, to which the names of Mr. Baines and Mr. Bazley were attached in addition to his own, that somewhat differed from the measure of the previous session. If passed, it would render illegal the sale for consumption off the premises from half-past two to

*In the same session Major O'Reilly brought in a bill for Ireland resembling the English Bill, except that the time of opening in the evening was limited to a single hour, eight to nine, and not eight to ten. This Bill was to be read a second time, July 2nd, but the want of Government support enabled its opponents to refer it to a Select Committee, which was a virtual defeat. The case of Ireland is singularly hard. Previous to the passing of Mr. Serjeant Perrin's Bill in 1833 (3 and 4 William IV., c. 68), a penalty of £5 was attached to the sale of spirits on any part of Sunday. That bill legalised the sale of drink after two p.m. and until eleven p.m., and became at once a fruitful source of misery and vice. The Corporation of Dublin petitioned against it on that account in 1834. By their ecclesiastical influence the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel and Leahy and the Bishop of Ferns have excluded from their diocese the sale of drink on Sunday, with the happiest results. The petitions from Ireland in support of Major O'Reilly's Bill were 560, with 61,342 signatures, and in opposition to it only three petitions, with 4,625 names.

eight, and from ten to twelve, thus permitting this kind of sale three and a half hours instead of eight hours as at present, while, as to sale for consumption on the premises, the prohibition would be absolute, except that, *within the Metropolitan Police District*, any person licensed to sell fermented or distilled liquors might sell them 'to a person lodging in his house, or to travellers, or to persons *bonâ-fide* taking a meal at his house during the time of such meal.' The Committee of the Central Association and the Temperance societies long engaged in the Sunday Closing agitation, have not concealed their regret that Mr. Smith did not introduce last session, and this, a measure of pure and simple prohibition of drinkselling on the Sunday; and they have determined, wisely, we think, to maintain their own platform, and to phrase their petitions in accordance with the only issue which they can regard as satisfactory to the country, and to the great social and moral interests invaded by the Sunday liquor traffic. If Mr. Smith finds that his expectation of winning Parliamentary support by the modified scheme he offers is not realised, he may pursue a bolder policy, and commit himself to that popular breath to which Cabinets and Parliaments are accustomed to defer. This measure being avowedly not final, it may awaken as much opposition from the liquor vendors as though its terms were more stringent; and there is, at all events, good reason for combined exertion, and a rivalry of personal effort, on the part of all who desire to free their country from the stigma attached to it, by tolerating an open tap on the pearl of days when trades the most harmless and useful are content to be at rest.

Since the foregoing was put in type, the debate on Mr. Abel Smith's Bill, in the House of Commons, on March 18th, has resulted in a formal second reading, with a resolution referring it, and the whole question of the Sunday sale of intoxicating liquors, to a select committee. The same course had been previously adopted with Major O'Reilly's Bill for Ireland. Such an inquiry, if thorough and impartial, is the greatest boon that can be expected from a timorous parliament awaiting its dissolution, and will lay the foundation for legislation in advance of any that has been yet secured.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR-LAW IN THE METROPOLIS.*

PAUPERISM and poor-law administration have acquired a notoriety of late that they are not likely soon to lose. Two winters ago various disclosures were made, indicating much mismanagement on the part of the poor-law authorities of the metropolis. The in-door management in the workhouse infirmaries was examined into by several gentlemen, and this led to the introduction of Mr. Hardy's bill of last year. A no less important branch of the subject—the treatment of the out-door poor—remains to be dealt with. It is to this branch of the subject that 'London Pauperism' is mainly directed. The author has collated the results of extensive personal experiences amongst the pauper class, and has brought forward a mass of statistical information from which he has deduced his own conclusions. The whole is presented in a very readable form, and is worthy of a careful perusal.

The writer begins by describing the system of charity in operation amongst the Jews. The greater part of his information on this head is new to general readers, though the liberality of wealthy Jews is well known, and is attested by many munificent monuments of charity in the Jewish quarters of the metropolis, and the comparative happiness and comfort exhibited in Jewish streets cannot have escaped the observation of any curious wanderer in his peregrinations through the east end of London. The Jews have a Board of Guardians of the Poor, which was established in the year 1859. Prior to that date private charity was entirely relied on, and the Jewish Board of Guardians is the result of the co-operative union of all Jewish charities, which are administered upon enlightened and uniform principles. The immediate cause which led to this organisation was the pressure put upon the various charities by a large influx of destitute Jews from different parts of the continent. The organisation is a voluntary one, and all Jews are expected to take part in the work of charity. The board appoints, for the details of work, 'the Relief Committee,' 'the Visiting Committee,' 'the Work

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* *London Pauperism amongst Jews and Christians.* An inquiry into the principles and practice of out-door relief in the metropolis, and the result upon the moral and physical condition of the pauper class. By J. H. Stallard, M.B., London; Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London; late Physician to the Great Northern Hospital, the St. George's and St. James's Dispensary, &c.; author of 'Workhouse Hospitals,' 'The Female Casual,' &c., &c. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co., 66, Brook-street, W. 1867.

Committee,' and 'the Medical Committee.' The advantage of having a separate body of gentlemen to administer relief, to visit houses and oversee the use made of relief, to appoint and give out work, and to dispense medicines and medical aid, will be seen at a glance. Each case of distress must necessarily be investigated by two committees, and in several cases by three or all four of them. With respect to the work of the Relief Committee, which 'is formed by three members of the board, selected in rotation,' Dr. Stallard says :—

'The cases are not hurried over at the rate of two or three per minute, as at the Strand and Bethnal Green; the object is not to save the pocket, but to relieve the poor. What is the cause of destitution? is the first question. Is it not susceptible of permanent relief? is the second. The nature of the distress is looked into minutely, and the applicant is only dismissed with an order for grocery and bread when nothing else can be effectually done. The test of destitution is applied by the board, and is not thrust upon the miserable applicant by an offer of the workhouse. Complete investigation is regarded as essential to efficient charity; and the character of the applicant, and the nature of the distress having been laid before the board, every case is judged upon its merits, and relieved, so far as the means of the board permit, according to its deserts. The officers keep a complete record of the particulars of every case and the relief which has been granted from time to time. Imposition is all but impossible; and if a few idle persons are now and then relieved, the board do it with their eyes open, and with the conviction that, idle as the applicant may be, he is suffering nevertheless from want, and they believe that the small amount of charity will not be altogether thrown away. When the board was first instituted, many attempts were made to impose upon its generosity, but almost invariably without success. Inquiry revealed the imposition, and ended in the refusal of relief. At that time 13¼ per cent. of the applications were positively refused; but now impostors rarely apply, and the refusals have diminished to 4·6 per cent. This shows conclusively that in the operations of the committee a due regard is paid to the interests of the contributors to the funds, and that the idle poor no longer seek to impose upon the kindness and credulity of the board. Some record of refusals should also be kept by the officials of the English poor-law. A pauper applies to the relieving officer, and is sent away without relief, and none of the circumstances are either reported or preserved; even the Board of Guardians should report refusals of relief, for they give some conception of the character of the poor, and, better still, of the care and discrimination which is exercised in their relief.'

Assistance is often given by the Jewish Guardians in the shape of payment of rent, and of loans of money. The former method of relief is prohibited by the poor-law, owing to the abuse of it under the old poor-law system, which will be noticed presently. The latter is allowed, but only in cases where the money might have been given outright, it being in the discretion of the guardians to declare that any relief is administered by way of loan. This, as Dr. Stallard points out, is practically nearly the same thing as the total prohibition of a loan of money, and, he asks, 'Why should not such a system (i.e. the loan system,) be generally introduced? Surely it cannot be objected that the Christian poor are less honest than the Jews! Surely, what the Jews do, we can do.' And he goes on to contrast the 'English system,' in 'its miser-

able and short-sighted narrow-mindedness, with the wisdom and philanthropy of the Jews.' This is a specimen of the comparisons which Dr. Stallard draws, with wearying repetition, between what he is pleased to call the Jewish and the English systems of relief. Yet, the cases are by no means parallel. We are comparing, be it remembered, the administration of the private charity of a sect with that of the necessary provision made by the country for its indigent poor. In the one case the funds of a charity, in the other the proceeds of taxation, are being administered. It has been the opinion of some men, that when the State undertook to make provision for her destitute poor, she undertook a work not at all suitable to the province of Government, but one which should have been left to the operations of charity. Whatever be the merits of this opinion, it is useless now to discuss the question, for here we find the poor-laws in operation; their existence is now a necessity, and this being so, it remains to be seen what should be the principles which should govern their administration. On this subject Dr. Stallard quotes from the Report of the Poor-law Commissioners the following apposite remarks with reference to the treatment of the pauper:—

'Unless the condition of the pauper is, on the whole, less eligible than that of the independent labourer, the law destroys the strongest motives to good conduct, steady industry, providence, and frugality among the labouring classes, and induces persons, by idleness or imposture, to throw themselves upon the poor rates for support. But, if the independent labourer sees that a recurrence to the poor-rates will, while it protects him against destitution, place him in a less eligible position than that which he can attain by his own industry, he is left to the undisturbed influence of all those motives which prompt mankind to exertion, forethought, and self-denial. On the other hand, the pauper has no just ground for complaint, if, at the same time that his physical wants are amply provided for, his condition should be less eligible than that of the poorest class who contribute to his support.'

No one can doubt that the principle here enunciated is economically correct. But then it runs in an entirely different groove from that of the principles of charity. The proper effort of charity is to benefit and to raise the individual, and to make his position as 'eligible' as possible. The operations of the Work Committee of the Jews well illustrate this. In their very laudable and successful efforts to supply their poor with the means of earning a decent livelihood, they have adopted the plan of letting out sewing machines, the cost of which is paid by the hirer in small weekly instalments, the machine becoming his own property when its actual value has been thus paid for. This is strictly a work of charity. One of the economical results of it is that, 'for every machine employed, ten feeble workpeople may be dismissed, have their work cheapened, and their wages lowered.' 'Of course,'

Dr. Stallard says, 'all this' work of the Jews 'is impossible and illegal under the poor-law system. It is evident that the Jews are stealing a march upon the Christians around them,' for so 'long as the principle of non-interference is strictly carried out, the Christian poor must labour under the greatest disadvantages.' No doubt they must; but this is an argument for the adoption of an extensive system of Christian charity among the Christian poor, and it supplies no reason why the poor laws should be strained from their original and proper purpose, and made to do the work of private charity. It does not even follow that the same results which attend the Jewish system would attend that system when universally adopted. The Jews have a background of Gentile poverty with which they can compete, and on which they fatten successfully. If this background were taken away, and, still more, if it were bristling with competition, a very different result might follow for all concerned. Dr. Stallard anticipates this objection, but meets it only by the enunciation of the general and unadopted rules of political economy. The well-considered reasons which govern the main principles of the poor law are so weighty and so sound that we must have arguments which rest upon stronger foundations than these before we consent to overturn them. A confusion between the proper domain of charity and of the poor laws pervades the whole of the book, and many of the suggestions in it will consequently be found to be utterly impracticable. Thus the labour of those gentlemen whom we may be allowed to call the relieving officers of the Jews is of course supplied voluntarily, and Dr. Stallard, laying great stress upon this, actually recommends us to adopt the same plan in the administration of the poor laws. Some little difficulties, it is true, suggest themselves, in the form of human selfishness and a few other trifles, but these Dr. Stallard gets over in a characteristic way, by the consideration that a Christian is not more selfish than a Jew, or at all events ought not to be so. If we mistake not, the verdict of all practical men will be unanimous that such a system, even if desirable, is simply impossible.

In making his comparisons, Dr. Stallard is led into some inaccuracies. With reference to expenditure he says:—

'We have in round numbers £800,000 as the annual amount expended in relief by the Metropolitan Poor Law authorities. Of this, only £530,000 reaches the backs and stomachs of the poor, or is applied personally to their relief and maintenance, all the rest is disbursed in salaries, rations of officers, workhouse loans, and interest, and other expenses incidental to relief. Considerably more than a million of money has been spent in building workhouses, and the interest, and the loans repaid amount to £48,000 a year. The trustees of Islington are about to spend £70,000 in a new building, the mere interest of which would give nearly sixpence

a week to every pauper in the parish. The salaries of workhouse and other officers and their rations amount to £103,107 per annum, and other expenses to £118,180. Altogether, administration costs forty per cent., and only sixty per cent. of the money placed in the hands of the guardians goes for the purposes of relief, properly so called; and, after all, where are the advantages resulting from the costly workhouse system? In one union 700 inmates of all ages and characters are huddled together, without order, comfort, or classification of any kind whatever. Four paid officers superintend them all, and lock them up at night. At another, a feeble but unsuccessful attempt is made at classification, and forty-five officers are employed to nurse and superintend less than a thousand inmates. If half the money spent in workhouses had been judiciously expended in raising the standard of education and physical comfort amongst the body of the poor, pauperism had not increased 50 per cent. as it has done in the metropolis during the last seven years. And now let us examine the cost of administration under the Jewish system. The total expenditure in the year 1864 was, in round numbers, £3,670. The rent of premises averages about £200 a year. The salaries of officers, including those of the medical men, who find drugs, &c., for the use of the sick, is £536, and the cost of advertising, stamps, and stationery, chiefly required for the purpose of raising the necessary funds, is under £150, so that we have a total of less than £900 expended in administration, or about twenty-four per cent. If, instead of the expensive and complicated workhouse machinery, we were to administer the English poor rates on the system adopted by the Jews, we should at once effect a saving of £78,000 a year,—a sum more than sufficient to give every pauper, man, woman, and child, threepence per week all the year round.'

We have extracted the whole of this passage, in order to give Dr. Stallard the benefit of the effect produced by a combined attack upon poor-law principle and poor-law practice, aided by complaints of the gross mismanagement and heavy expenses of officials, and a lax statement of comparative accounts, all jumbled together in confusion. Yet upon what principle Dr. Stallard excludes the money spent in building workhouses, and the '£48,000 interest and loans repaid' annually, from the sum which 'reaches the backs of the poor,' we are unable to divine. Paupers must be housed as well as clothed and fed. Dr. Stallard informs us that the Jewish Board of Guardians spend a certain amount of money in paying the rent of their poor. Does he exclude these sums from the relief actually given to the poor, and include them in the 24 per cent. cost of administration? We presume not, in which case the above comparison falls to the ground. It may even be actually found that the Jewish administration is the more expensive of the two, and, but for the fact of the labour of some of the Jewish administrators being voluntarily supplied, it would appear in all probability that this is the case. Be this as it may, it is beside the main question to inquire, what the per centage cost of administration may be. A low per centage cost of administration might be owing to increased pauperism, or to want of care for the paupers. If we double the number of the paupers, it will not follow that we shall have to double the cost of administering to their wants. On the other hand, if we increase our care for the paupers, we may

have to increase the number of officers to look after them (as would certainly have to be done in the case of the four officers whose miserable position is described above), and, consequently, the per centage cost of administration.

Having said thus much as to the difference between the principle on which the Jewish charities are administered, and that which should guide us in the administration of the poor-law, we do not wish to be understood as endorsing the practice of the poor-law system, or even all the principles enunciated by the Poor-law Board. We have only attempted carefully to draw the distinction between the theory of poor-laws in general and that of charity.

We now come to the consideration of the practical working of our present poor laws, and we are fully sensible that in certain respects, and within the limits that we have sketched out, a great many hints might well be taken from the enlightened administration of the Jewish charities. Thus, while for the reasons above given we should be compelled to reject the system of lending money, which the Jewish Board of Guardians carry out so successfully (according to the latest report, Dr. Stallard informs us, it was estimated that 'only 3¾ per cent. of these loans had been lost'), still we might well take a hint from the Jewish system, and 'insist upon education to the young as a preliminary condition to relief.' We shall have a word or two more to say upon this subject later on. Most valuable, too, is the boast of the Jewish guardians that 'instead of repressing and driving away the poor,' they do all they 'can to tempt them to come for help before they are completely pauperised.'

The system of education in the United States bears upon this matter. There, in the great cities, an officer is actually appointed to hunt out children, bring them in from the streets, and compel them (under threat of imprisonment in a reformatory) to attend the common schools. This system is found most efficacious. In the same way, the Home for Homeless Boys in this country has been instrumental in educating many boys brought in by an officer especially appointed for that service. The seeds of pauperism need to be taken out at the earliest stage. Our object should be to prevent and forestal pauperism, for, if once allowed to take root, we cannot get rid of it, it will grow up in rank luxuriance in one form or another.

It is here that our poor-law system most conspicuously fails. Relief is too often given with so sparing a hand that temporary distress is turned into permanent pauperism. This is a penny-wise-and-pound-foolish policy, the evil effects

of which are unfortunately not felt at the time the mistake is committed. That, under it, pauperism is increasing with alarming rapidity may be inferred from the fact, amongst others, that the 'number of paupers relieved in the metropolis on the 1st of January, 1859, was 72,538, and on the same day in 1866, 111,019;' while from the latest returns we have the number relieved on the same day in 1867 given as 138,706. This is an increase of 90 per cent. in eight years.* We are now feeling the ill effects of former mal-administration, and, as the system is continued, the accumulations of these evils are each year assuming more terrible proportions. Dr. Stallard certainly brings a true bill against our poor-law system in this respect. His description of the process of the allowance of out-door relief at Bethnal Green is, we fear, but too true of most of our metropolitan unions:—

'The poor assemble,' he says, 'in a large room, well warmed and admirably adapted for the purpose; in fact, the building in which the guardians meet would lead to the supposition that relief was conducted on a noble scale. The board room is splendid, and fitted up with every comfort; indeed, these offices, which have cost £8,000 at the least, seem totally inconsistent with the surrounding poverty, and negative the idea that there is any real difficulty in obtaining money from the ratepayers. Each pauper is called before the board in turn, the relieving officer reading rapidly his report of the case. Scarcely has the applicant appeared, and often before he reaches the bar at which he is appointed to stand, he is pushed out of another door, with the order, "Come here again to-morrow at nine o'clock;" and he goes away utterly ignorant of what he is to get. The statement of the relieving officer can, as a rule, be heard only by the chairman and vice-chairman; and only in exceptional cases does any other member of the board take part in the proceedings. Now and then a discussion arises as to a case of settlement, or as to relieving women with illegitimate children out of the workhouse; but the amount of relief is never discussed with a view to its efficiency, and is determined by a scale the liberality of which may be described by the fact that, on the week ending March 7, 1866, 1,481 individuals were relieved at a cost of £57 19s. 3d., or rather more than 9¼d. each for the whole week. Often the applicant makes a vain effort to be heard, but there is no time for investigation. The whole proceeding is a sham. The guardians leave investigation, such as it is, to the relieving officers; and it is generally understood that the poor can do nothing but tell lies and practice imposition, in order to obtain relief.'

It should here be observed, in all fairness, that some of these recipients of relief may not have been in total destitution: irregular labour, in some of these cases, helps to supply a means of livelihood; so that we can hardly draw any positive deductions as to the relief being insufficient in quantity, in the case of every one of these individuals. But what shall we say of the careful investigation into each case of destitution? What discrimination can be exercised here? In some cases the money spent will be worse than thrown away on the idle and dissolute rogue; and, what are the chances that a respectable applicant will be relieved? Again, as

* See the latest report of the Poor-law Board.

to the quantity of relief; in many cases where this relief is given, the family is perfectly destitute; as, for example, in cases of sickness of the head of the family on whom all are dependent for their daily bread. What is to be done in such cases with relief on the above scale? There is certainly a better chance of dying on it than of living on it.

For the reasons above given, and for various others, the amount of relief per head does not give us a perfectly accurate notion of the working of the system. But let us take an example, promising that it shall understate rather than exaggerate matters. Here is a family consisting of husband and wife, and four young children. The father, on whom all are dependent, becomes sick, and the family is left perfectly destitute. In some (we fear in too many) of the poorer unions, the value of the relief given to a family so circumstanced does not exceed, nay, does not come up to, 5s. per week, and there is no provision for the payment of rent. Letting this last matter alone, the sick man is to get well again, and his family are to be supported, on 5s. per week. What are the chances of the man's recovery? And, supposing him to recover, what likelihood has his feeble half-starved frame of being able to do its usual work? What are the odds of a relapse? And, supposing the poor wretch to die, what does his widow receive? In some unions she gets two shillings per week and four loaves of bread; and on this, (the widow's scanty earnings being, in too many cases, barely sufficient to pay the rent), the children are to be fed, clothed, and educated. Is the thing possible? What is the result? Education neglected, children half-starved, in rags, in filth, thus they all grow up unable to work through ignorance, sickness possibly helping on the work of destitution. So things go on from bad to worse, until, unable to fight the battle, sooner or later all are taken into the workhouse, there to cost from 6s. to 7s. per week each for the rest of their lives. This is no fanciful sketch: instances of the kind can be abundantly supplied by those who know the poor. A false economy pervades the arrangements of the poor-law guardians with respect to out-door relief. We assert, without fear of contradiction, that the system of minimizing the amount of out-door relief which prevails in by far the majority of our metropolitan unions, does not save the rates, but, on the contrary, accumulates a most extravagant expenditure upon them. And then, to look deeper into the subject, what does it cost the country in disease, in corruption, and in crime? The statistics of this cost will never be published, for they can never be known.

'In St. George's, Southwark, there are,' says Dr. Stallard, '646 children

dependent upon widows, deserted women, single women, or those whose husbands are in gaol. Altogether there are 912 persons who have to live without the assistance of any adult male helpmate, and the relief to the whole group is £34. 18s. 1d. per week, or exactly 9d. per head. Inquiries have just been completed by the relieving officers as to the earnings of women so placed, and the average of the women is 3s. 7¾d. each per week. Furthermore, nearly all the children earn a little, which is estimated at 5½d. each per week. Combining the women and children together, the average earnings amount to 1s. 2d. per head per week, so that the total income per head, including the parish allowance, is 1s. 11d. per week. But this estimate is by no means of itself a fair statement. The number above named form 206 families, who must have at least a room each, which will average say, half-a-crown per week. The parish allowance, therefore, barely pays the rent, and the women and children have to provide food, clothes, firing, and every other requisite on 1s. 2½d. per head per week.

'In this one small parish there are 1,000 children who are not half fed, and whose mothers have literally no money to provide clothes and other necessaries. That this process of slow starvation is common to the whole class of pauper widows is attested by all who are intimate with the habits of the poor. The masters and mistresses of ragged schools describe the children as crying for hunger, and as often falling from their seats from sheer exhaustion.' And Dr. Stallard justly asks, 'Can anyone wonder that a woman should be driven to dissipation and immorality by the daily cry of hungry children, whose wants no amount of labour will enable her to supply? Under the present system the only method of obtaining food and education is to desert the children utterly, in which case they would be sent to the admirable paupers' schools at Mitcham, where the cost is 11s. 3d. each per week.'

In support of his assertions, Dr. Stallard adduces many examples, detailing the treatment of individual cases of poverty in the various metropolitan unions. Readers conversant with poverty will recognise them at once as taken from the drama of real life, and will agree with us that they imperiously demand the careful consideration of all men of education. One of the chief obstacles to poor-law reform is the ready assent which the public give to all the accusations that are brought against the poor-law authorities. There is a wide-spread belief that all guardians are hard-hearted ruffians, that all workhouses are 'black holes,' where paupers are locked up all their lives and kept at starvation point, and that all relieving officers and workhouse officials are impudent rogues or cruel monsters. This feeling is not the result of deliberate investigation, and is co-existent with the most deplorable ignorance as to the actual working of the poor-laws. We therefore hail the appearance of the book before us as an aid in bringing to light facts which should be universally known.

In considering the poor-law question, it should always be remembered that the mother of the poor-laws is sheer necessity. They are not to be upheld on any other grounds. They are not, strictly speaking, matter of charity; they are merely the result of a conviction that it is necessary in this country to make provision for the destitute poor. It follows, that the quantum of provision must be measured by the same standard

of necessity, and hence, poor-law authorities ought not to be required to do what it is not necessary to do, in furtherance of the objects for which the poor-law is established. The old notion, that the poor should be made as comfortable as possible under the poor-law system, was sufficiently exposed and refuted by the Poor-law Commissioners in 1834. Under the former system, out-door relief was given as a rate-in-aid of wages. Perfectly able-bodied labourers, well capable of earning their own bread, had their rent paid by parish overseers. And this merely had the effect of reducing the wages of the poor. Allowances were then given in aid of wages, and a gigantic system of fraud and corruption sprang up, under which the independent labourer actually stood at a disadvantage, as compared with the pauper; the farmers refusing to employ those whom they were not compellable by law to support. The main results of this were the inducing of well-nigh universal pauperism among the labouring classes, whilst the rates pressed so heavily on the land that, in the year 1832, many lands were found to be actually thrown out of cultivation in consequence. As an instance of the state of things then prevalent, we may cite the case of a parish in Leicestershire, the rates in which had risen to such an extent, that there was * 'a general opinion that the day was not distant when rent must cease altogether, and the (then) present system must ensure, and that very shortly, the total ruin of every individual of property in the parish.' To destroy this system, very strong measures were needed. They were applied by the Legislature, and the present poor-law system is the result of the labours, and embodies the major part of the suggestions of the Poor-law Commissioners. So far as the destruction of the former system is concerned, this measure has certainly been a success; but so far as the treatment of the poor is concerned, we have leaped from one extreme to the other, and the prohibitory system now in operation is almost as bad as the lax corruption of former days. Ill-judged parsimony has taken the place of ill-judged prodigality, and has produced a very similar result. Before the year 1834 there were but few workhouses, and the use of them being entirely confined to the aged and infirm, by far the greater part of the funds were expended in the form of out-door relief. The commissioners recommended the building of workhouses on an extensive scale, and the application of what is called 'the workhouse test' to all able-bodied poor on their application for relief;

* Report of Poor-law Commissioners, p. 65, quoted in the Encyclopædia Britannica. Title: Poor-laws.

that is to say, they said to each applicant for relief, 'If you want relief, come into the house.' Nor did this system stop with the able-bodied; for, the idea of a workhouse test once having been started, it became applied indiscriminately to all classes of poor. It was thus thought that the insolent beggar would be thrown off unrelieved, and that only the deserving and really distressed would come in. At this stage, however, it was found simply impossible to continue this system. It was discovered that, in many cases of temporary distress, the able-bodied must be relieved at home, and that as the workhouses were full to suffocation, there was no longer any room for all the sick and aged therein. Moreover, it was found that many of these classes could be relieved at home at a less cost to the rates than in the workhouse. The system was then relaxed, and out-door relief is now supposed to be given in cases of temporary distress, sickness, loss of work, widowhood, and old age. But this relief it is entirely in the discretion of the guardians to give or to refuse; the system of 'the workhouse test' still remains, and many boards of guardians use it most indiscriminately, applying it in circumstances in which it should not be applied at all. Instead of giving the poor sufficient relief in time, they refuse to give it, and thus repel them, and, throwing this test upon them, drive them to complete destitution, and thereby rear up generations of paupers, the burden of whose support will rest upon future ratepayers. The discretion of the guardians, with reference to out-door relief, is apparently exercised in the most haphazard way. It is utterly impossible to discover that it is governed, for the most part, by any particular rules or principles. Relief will be given, and taken away, and given again, without any apparent cause for the change. A man in regular wages will be relieved for sickness for a few weeks, and then, while he is still sick, the relief will be cut off, and he will be 'offered the house.' We recollect a case of this kind. A man in the regular employ of a railway company, earning 18s. per week wages, fell ill of rheumatism in the joints. He became quite destitute, applied to the board of guardians, was relieved for a few weeks during the winter, and then, just as spring was coming on, and the man was hoping for recovery, relief was cut off, and he was 'offered the house.' Here private charity stepped in, and within four weeks the man had recovered, and was earning his full wages. What his chances of recovery without such aid would have been, we leave our readers to judge for themselves; but his recovery was certainly not due to his treatment by the poor-law authorities. One cannot comprehend upon what principle the case was so

treated. If it were a suitable one for relief at first, the relief should have been continued; and if, on the other hand, the man was a fit subject for the house, he should have been 'offered the house' at first. The guardians are actually guilty of the absurdity of relieving a man during the winter, when he cannot work, and they cut off the relief just as there is a chance of his recovery. This is the kind of thing that is always going on, nor can we be surprised at it, when we consider how little attention is paid to the circumstances under which the relief is given.

The Poor-law Commissioners seem to have thought that the offer of the workhouse furnished the parish officers 'with an unerring test of the necessitous condition of the applicant,' and relieved them 'from a painful and difficult responsibility,' and they looked no deeper into the matter. We have now to judge of the result of the application of this test, and on this head Dr. Stallard asks, and we think with truth, 'Has this unerring test sustained the ordeal of actual practice? Does it afford the public "the gratification of knowing that, while the necessitous are abundantly relieved, the funds of charity are not wasted on idleness and fraud?'" That, in the administration of out-door relief, some general test should be applied, no one at all conversant with the habits of the pauper class, will deny. The evidence brought before the Poor-law Commissioners on this point is in itself conclusive. But the workhouse test is one which simply excludes the respectable and decent poor from that relief which would keep them from becoming permanent paupers. To say to a respectable labourer, in temporary distress from sickness or any other cause, 'If you want relief, you can come into the house, we will give you nothing out,' is preposterous. A man in regular wages, unable to work for a few weeks, or it may be, months, is asked to give up house and home, get rid of all he has, and come into the workhouse. What chance will he ever have of ever getting out again? If he should get out, he will have to begin the battle of life over again from its very beginning. Can any one blame him if he begs rather than go into the workhouse? Nay, are not the ratepayers very much indebted to him for so doing? If, on the other hand, the same test is applied to an insolent pauper, he goes into the house readily enough, to be discharged in a little time; to him it is all the same, he is in and out as often as he pleases, and he employs his time between—we will not enquire how. When in the house, says Dr. Stallard, 'The master sets him to some trifling work, which he muddles over or neglects; and if the labour is greater than he chooses, he

takes his dinner, and gives three hours' notice to leave the house,' and in a day or two 'he will return to his parish for relief, and be admitted to the workhouse as before. At Greenwich such a case was,' he says, 'pointed out to him, as having been admitted and discharged many hundreds of times in the course of the last year or two, without any other effect than entailing endless trouble upon the officials, and contaminating the whole establishment with his incorrigible idleness.'

We must acknowledge the fact that, for many purposes, the workhouse test has completely failed. The test we would wish to see applied is that of respectability, of education, and of cleanliness. We do not mean that we would exclude from relief those who were not able to show a clean bill in these matters, but we would make these things necessarily go hand in hand with relief. Our object should be, whilst supplying necessary relief, to save the rates, and to diminish pauperism. To secure these ends we must insist upon cleanliness in the pauper's home, and upon the education of the pauper's children. These conditions should be strictly enforced. Their irksomeness to the drunken vagabond would be excessive, whilst, to the respectable poor, there would be no hardship in them. In the workhouse these conditions are enforced, and they ought to be so out of it. It has rightly been observed by Dr. Stallard, that no paupers are sent from the paupers' schools. Paupers are the children of helpless widows with families of young children, who are relieved, as in Whitechapel, at the liberal rate of from one to two shillings per week, and one loaf of bread for each child. If the ratepayers were only fully alive to the accumulations of pauperism that are bred here, if the country, if the legislature were fully sensible how extensively seeds of crime are fostered here, the system would not be allowed to go on for a single day.

Dr. Stallard extracts from the report of the Poor-Law Board the fact that there were relieved on the 1st of January, 1866, in thirty metropolitan unions, having a population under 2,000,000, no fewer than 5,539 widows, having 13,615 children under sixteen dependent upon them, and that the estimated number of children thus situated for the whole metropolis was 18,300. It is impossible, as he points out, to estimate from this statement what may be the real number of widows and children actually dependent upon the rates; for, although we may assume that the average number remains the same, the individuals are constantly changing. According to Dr. Stallard's calculations, the actual number of children under

the above conditions, who are relieved during the year, would be about 60,000; and he estimates, taking all classes together, that there are in the metropolis no fewer than '150,000 children whose parents are in a state of chronic indigence requiring occasional relief.' Bearing in mind the usual scale of relief, it must appear clear that the greater number of the widows at least cannot pay for the education of their children, and that many, if not a great majority, of the other classes must be in a like predicament. Yet there is absolutely no provision made by the legislature, or the poor-law authorities, for the free education of these children. Here, then, in the metropolis of our 'most Christian country,' in the centre of civilisation, and under the wing of our humane and Christian laws, many thousands of children are being brought up with no further provision for their education than the efforts of private charity such as ragged schools and kindred institutions are able to make. Instead of marvelling at the exhibitions of youthful depravity, the wonder should be that we have not more wickedness and crime. We must not persuade ourselves into the belief that these things can be safely allowed to go on. The evil is assuming such formidable proportions that we are left no choice in the matter, we must either grapple with it or succumb to it.

This is not the first time that the mal-administration of the poor-laws has threatened great danger to the country. Under the former system the poor were idle and depraved; nor was this the worst form of the evil. In the year 1832, during "a period of great prosperity, we find that portion of England, in which the poor-laws had had their greatest operation, and in which by much the larger expenditure of poor-rates had been made, the scene of daily riot and nightly incendiarism."* Meanwhile, the condition of the independent labourer was deplorable in the extreme. This state of things had existed, with more or less intensity, during the greater part of the reign of George III., and the matter seriously engaged the attention of the Legislature during the administration of Mr. Pitt. In the year 1796, and in two succeeding sessions of Parliament, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a bill, the object of which was to fix the minimum rate of wages throughout the country. The bill was supported by the leader of the opposition, the celebrated Mr. Fox, and was opposed by Mr. Pitt in a full, clear, and conclusive speech. At the same time, Mr. Pitt † gave it as his opinion, that the administration of the

* 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

† See 'Parliamentary Debates,' Vol. 32.

poor-laws was responsible for the deplorable condition of the poor; and he considered that it was necessary to bring it back to principles more in conformity with the original object. He made a variety of suggestions and comments, many of which are in unison with the plan actually adopted nearly 40 years afterwards by the Poor-law Commissioners. One part of Mr. Pitt's scheme, which he put into the form of a Bill,* though it was never actually before the House, was the establishment of schools of industry throughout the country. In them the children and able-bodied paupers were to be taught trades, and thus put into the way of earning their own livelihood. The scheme, Mr. Pitt informs us, was fortified by the authority of no less men than Sir Matthew Hale and Mr. Locke. Well had it been for the country if it had been adopted. There is no doubt that Mr. Pitt saw far into the future; he perceived beforehand the accumulations of pauperism which unchecked ignorance was to bring upon the country; he went straight to the root of the evil; idleness and ignorance, he tells us, were the origin of the disastrous state of things then; and surely they are the origin of a disastrous state of things now. The greater part of Mr. Pitt's speech would be equally applicable to the present, as to the then state of things. He might have been speaking to-day instead of 70 years ago, and his enlightened suggestions should yet be considered. But what has become of all this valuable scheme? Where is the provision for the industrial school? The workhouse is the school of industry: unavoidable idleness is its chief feature. Let us look at the waste of human life and energy; let us walk up and down the long dreary wards; observe the listless faces of the inmates; count their numbers; ask their histories; and then come to the conclusion, if we can, that the country is doing the best it can for the poor.

Whilst we advocate an amended system of out-door relief, we do not wish to be understood as advocating the giving of relief in this form only, and the abolition of workhouses. The workhouse is in many cases the best and the proper form of relief; but we would have guardians of the poor make a careful investigation into each case that is brought before them, and make the relief sufficient for the purpose for which it is intended. The scale of relief is now, as we have shown, too often so low as to be a mere mockery. Whilst agreeing heartily with what Dr. Stallard says on this head, we think he stretches the point too far, for he seems to launch out into a crusade against all workhouse relief whatsoever. We cannot

* As to heads of Mr. Pitt's bill, see Appendix to 'Eden's State of the Poor.'

and do not complain of a genuine offer of the asylum of the workhouse to poor who can best be relieved in that way. The duty of guardians is twofold,—to do their very best for the poor and for the ratepayers. The indictment we bring against them is, that they apply the workhouse test not as a genuine offer of relief, but in order to cast off and repel the poor; and we say that in so doing they are neglecting their duty both to the ratepayer and to the poor. The poor are too often, to use their own language, 'threatened with the house,' and if the needy were to accept the offer, the ratepayers would plainly perceive the neglect of their interests. As it is, the neglect of the interests of the poor is, in most cases, the only neglect apparent. But this state of things most assuredly tells upon the rates in time, for nothing can be clearer than that, if we keep needy families in destitution, we shall breed pauperism.

Dr. Stallard, whilst showing the large increase of pauperism of late years, brings out another very ugly fact, namely, that in the poorer unions the relief per head has been gradually decreasing, very much in the same proportion that the number of paupers has been increasing. He gives us, in a tabular form, the statistics of Poor-law administration in St. George's, Southwark, in which the two facts appear side by side. We might, from this, estimate that in 22 years, from 1843 to 1865, the amount of relief has been halved, while, at the same time, the amount of pauperism has been doubled, as has also the annual expenditure. The chief cause for the diminution of the amount of relief appears to be the pressure of the rates in these unions. The separation between the east and west of London becomes every day greater. The poor congregate in one end, and the rich in the other. In the poorer unions the poor are left to take care of themselves, and, in many cases, those who are themselves but one step above the pauper class are impoverished by the payment of very high rates. Things move in a vicious circle; as pauperism increases, rates increase, whilst ability to pay the rates diminishes and consequently the amount of relief diminishes also. Dr. Stallard draws attention to this matter, and his remarks on it are very just. Perfect equalisation of the poor-rates all over the metropolis is, he shows, a necessity. One difficulty, above all others, presents itself on this branch of the subject. Granted a general equal rate, what provision shall be made for its administration? Will the ratepayers of Paddington consent that their funds should be administered by the guardians of Whitechapel and Bethnal Green? We think not. Dr. Stallard boldly faces this question, and his suggestion is this, that there should be a paid and responsible executive:—

'A small representative central board, presided over by an inspector of the Poor-law Board, as the lieutenant of the poor-law minister. The number of this board should be limited, to fix the responsibility upon the individual members, to make it strong in administrative power, and to give it efficient control over all the local authorities, whether paid or otherwise. The board should have a paid secretary, medical officer, and architect; and its duties and expenditure should be defined and controlled by the president of the Poor-law Board and the auditor whom he appoints. In the next place this board must divide London into a sufficient number of districts for the administration of out-door relief, placing each district under the control of a poor-law magistrate, who shall occupy the same relation to poverty as the stipendiary magistrate does to crime. The cases are parallel; the remedy should be the same.'

But this is begging the whole question. Are the cases parallel? Historically they are not, socially they are not, and we are at a loss to know in what respects they are. All social questions are 'of the deepest importance,' all 'involve the prosperity, happiness, and moral condition of every class,' and, of course, every difficulty of administration needs 'the highest administrative capacity for its successful management.' The proposed new magistrate would be directly responsible to the central board 'for the efficient relief of the poor, and the judicious expenditure of the rates,' and Dr. Stallard thinks that 'with a responsibility thus positive and direct there would be ample guarantee that the duties would be carried out to the satisfaction of all ratepayers, both rich and poor.' The duties, however, would be somewhat perplexing, for the magistrate would 'be directed to put himself in association with local philanthropy and charity, the resources of which are to be exhausted before the public funds are infringed upon.' We must confess we should not envy the position of this official. He is to be mixed up with the jealousies of local charities, and the reformed administration of the poor laws is to be ushered in by directing its officer to forage up the proceeds of local charity before he proceeds to touch the compulsory rates with which he is appointed to deal. Whether this scheme, even if it could be carried out, is likely to forward Dr. Stallard's professed object of inducing a 'uniformity in the administration of out-door relief, and a proper consideration for the wants of the poor,' we leave our readers to judge for themselves. What is to be done with the present Boards of Guardians, we are hardly able to make out. It is not proposed 'to abolish them as they already exist.' They are to meet weekly as they do at present. They are to be a 'board of real guardians of the poor,' who are to 'sympathise with their distresses, and speak out for them when they are too sensitive to expose their wants.' They are 'to co-operate with the magistrate;' and thus, 'acting harmoniously together, the Board of Guardians and the poor-law magistrate will inform each other of the duties they respec-

tively undertake. The one will recommend and the other will have power to provide all that the poor require.' We do not propose to weary our readers by pointing out the extravagances of this scheme, but we have a word to say with reference to the proposal for the appointment of a poor-law magistrate. It is the favourite remedy in our days for every abuse to appoint a stipendiary, a 'responsible officer,' an inspector, whose business it is to see that the abuse is no longer carried on. We pay these officers good round salaries, and then we imagine that the abuse is at an end. Yet we appeal to experience to say whether this method has invariably proved a success. What do our inspectors of nuisances do, at least in the metropolis? Even in this very matter of the poor-laws, what has the poor-law inspector been about, all these years? How came it that the abuses lately made public in workhouse infirmaries sprang up under his very nose? There is more money wasted by the country on inspectors and sub-inspectors than we care to inquire. It is always assumed that an inspector is an intelligent man who is sure to do his duty. If this were so, we should not hear of the abuses we see now.

The Poor-law Board must undertake a more direct supervision of all the local authorities in the metropolis. For this purpose it must appoint competent inspectors, as, indeed, within the last few months it seems to have been doing. All this is a necessity; but let us go no further. We cannot approve of the scheme for the appointment of a poor-law magistrate; for although we do not believe, with Dr. Stallard, that volunteer agents could be found who would act satisfactorily as overseers of the poor, and look after the minor details of relief, still we do believe that there are many persons both willing to act and capable of acting as guardians of the poor. They fail now, it is true; and why? One reason is that the law asks them to perform impossibilities. 'There are,' says Dr. Stallard, 'at the present moment considerably more than 5,000 persons in the receipt of relief from the Greenwich Board of Guardians. Upwards of 800 cases have to be considered weekly. The board divides itself into two sections, and works hard and rapidly for more than three hours.' What wonder that 'entire absence of consideration is shown towards the circumstances of the applicants!' Put the guardians in charge of districts that they can manage, of parishes instead of unions, of districts sub-divided into workable portions, and we believe they will be found capable of performing the work. Another cause of the failures of the guardians lies in the *personnel* of which the boards are for the most part composed. But whose

fault is that? We cannot pass an act of Parliament to compel the rich, the intelligent, and the educated to come forward to act as guardians of the poor. Under these circumstances it is hardly good taste to rant about guardians being 'petty shopkeepers' and so forth, however much we may deplore that such is the fact.

As the principle of the unions of parishes must, for most purposes, be overturned by an equalization of the rates, there cannot be any objection to going back to a system similar to the old parochial system for the purposes of administration. The fund derived from the equal rates must necessarily be collected under the direct supervision of the Poor-law Board, which will have to make its allowances to the guardians of the different districts and parishes; and the local jealousy which one union might have of the administration of its funds by the guardians of another, would dwindle to a minimum and disappear, when the particular funds could not be traced. We claim for this plan the merit of feasibility. Let us adhere to the principle of local government as long as possible, assured, as we are, that it is far more economical, and that, in the particular case of the administration of the poor-laws, the local knowledge brought to bear, even by 'petty shopkeepers,' is of greater value than at first-sight may appear. Another consideration, which should make us hesitate before appointing stipendiary officers, is, that when we are once saddled with them we can never, if we wish, come back to the voluntary and honorary system.

The whole subject of the administration of our poor-laws is clouded over with difficulties, which, to a thoughtful mind, make the consideration of it most interesting; more especially as the daily increasing importance of the subject, from whatever point of view we like to look at it, can hardly be exaggerated. It is to be hoped that a reformed parliament will give its earnest attention to the matter; but we hardly venture to anticipate that this will be the case, before the public shall be aroused from its apathy on the subject.

AUNT LUCRETIA'S EXPERIENCE IN LIMITED LIABILITY.

THERE are many lovely places around the town of C——, which, big as it is, and dirty as it is, has managed to rise up, like a great unsightly mushroom, in the midst of a country of much natural beauty; and by its collieries and drains to

plough up and defile green pastures centuries old, and sparkling streams older still. 'God made the country and man made the town' was often in my mind, when, clear away from the smoke and dust, I had gained some heathy knoll or swelling pasture, and looked backwards and downwards on the brick-and-mortar fungus that grew so rapidly, and threw out its spawn of collieries and cottages so plentifully on all sides, as rejoicing in its strength and fertility. But that great fungus, strange to say, had work to do of a tolerably noble kind—and did it—and the great sky over head that was perhaps weary of looking down so long upon the unbroken quiet of grass, and trees, and budding daisies, in the self-same spot for ages, smiled upon the dirty town and received its smoke into its bosom not ungraciously, trying to arouse in it some sense of fitness and beauty by the sight of its own ever-changing clouds, that, formed of the most shapeless and ragged materials, contrived nevertheless to look admirable and beautiful.

Yes, the town had work to do, of a black, grimy sort, mostly, digging deep down into the earth for materials for light and warmth, a strange backward way of proceeding whilst there were the bright sun and the clear atmosphere from which to procure them and store them, so much more easily, as it would seem; yet, after all, a necessary sort of way for the times in which we live, and the half-knowledge of things and uses that we possess. At first, the digging down had been so imperative that the opposite process of building up had been little attended to, and rows of rough miners' cottages, shaky and ill built, were all that were thought of, and people housed above as they could, that they might work below all the more. But in forty years or so, which was the time that C—— had been progressing from a sleepy village among elms and buttercups, to a great straggling town among coal-pits and steam-engines, there was money enough and there was time enough to think of something better; and, gradually, houses that had been put together by a journeyman bricklayer, and then contrived by a builder, came to be designed by an architect, and to assume important and well proportioned aspects. So as C—— promised to build with the years more and more houses of this kind, and churches and chapels also, an architect naturally took up his abode in it, opened an office, furnished with tables, and drawing boards, and plans of churches and public halls, furnished also with one or two young men to sit at thesesame tables and use the square, and the rule, and the compasses, and produce grand elevations and elaborate, if not strikingly new, 'details.' This architect's work was part of the tolerably noble sort of work that I said before was performed

at C——; and, as I was one of the workers, I may perhaps be allowed to say, that two of us,—Cornelius Haythorn and myself, Anthony Crocket, with the help of our master, did as much as in us lay to improve and beautify the overgrown, rumbling, smoky town in which we dwelt. I liked my work, and my work liked me, for from a small pale lad of fifteen, rather given to grumbling, I was growing up into a decent sized youth of nineteen or thereabouts, with healthily coloured cheeks, and a cheerful temperament.

I said that there are many lovely places around the town of C——. One of these was always pleasant enough in my eyes; it was in the centre of a tiny hollow, not worth styling a valley, so I will call it a dimple of green land, that came upon you just as you entered the last twist of a spiral lane that had 'natural selection' enough in it to wander in and out among the fields as though to see what each of them was made of. Here, in this dimple, under the shadow of a couple of sycamores, and under the shelter of a high-pitched roof with dormer windows of a particularly drowsy aspect, lived my maiden aunt, Lucretia Crocket, and it was my delight once or twice a week on summer evenings to stroll out after tea from C——, and putting my head under her roof-tree, to sit talking with her of my office, and my prospects in life, not very bright ones at present in the money way, or of her office and her prospects in life, or rather possessions. Her office I did not consider quite so important a one as my own,—but then it was a thousand times more cheery and snug. Not that we were not thoroughly respectable and that sort of thing, at Mr. Palladio Plumber's; our office desks and tables were models of architectural propriety, not to say luxury; our floors were matted as thickly as a church aisle, and our walls were hung with framed perspectives of vast orphan asylums large as palaces, and of grandly spired and windowed churches, not like Melrose Abbey to be seen but by moonlight, but courting the broadest of daylight to display their pictured fairness of proportion, the clever drawing of Plumber, Haythorn, and Crocket. But I am not now writing of our office; I am writing, or intending to write of Aunt Lucretia's little drawing room, with its modern bay window facing the midsummer sunset, and its mullioned early English ditto, letting in the noonday brightness—though *I* did not see it much at these times. When I usually came to it, early shadows were stealing over the dimple in which it stood and across the garden, and shutting up the eyes of the dormer windows, and sending the birds to bed in the ivy that clustered about its north gable, and giving the 'elevation' generally an air of repose and hush

that I rather liked, especially as it helped to conceal one or two notable defects of the old house, where a former ambitious proprietor had tried to castellate and wing an otherwise interesting gabled cottage. I was once savage enough to say that I should have liked to have winged him with my double-barrelled rifle, when he did it. Castellate a gabled cottage! Think of the enormity! When I went inside, I was almost sure to find Aunt Lucretia peacefully knitting in her arm chair at a huge counterpane that she intended to give to my mother to put on her best bed—it was exactly like one she had on her own, which had been my mother's admiration for years, excepting the border, which was after a design of mine from an antique guillochis. On my entering the room she would raise her head, smile, and ask how I was, bid me be seated, and after a quarter of an hour's backward and forward talk, now of past times and now of prospects, she would say, looking towards an open book on the table, 'I think we left off where Ulysses met Nausican, or where Quentin Durward arrived at Liege with the Countess; or where Adam Bede heard his father's ghost at the door'—whichever it might be; and I would lift up the book and read to her for an hour or so, while she knitted quietly at the guillochis, or laid down her work to listen the better, when a passage of great interest occurred. After the reading, came supper, and a pleasant talk over the meal, interspersed with anecdotical reminiscences of the day by me, which sometimes made her laugh, and sometimes cry out in astonishment, either result being equally delightful to me. To make Aunt Lucretia think me and my compeers at the office, or elsewhere, the most wonderful young men that ever existed, was, I am afraid, rather too tempting a task for me. After supper, I had a walk back by moonlight or starlight, and sometimes by no light, but by a thick soundless darkness that was only curious, not disagreable, since I knew every inch of the road home to Mr. Plumber's. Now and then I was able to get to Aunt Lucretia's earlier, on a Sunday, or at some holiday, when I would be invited to tea, and then we had a walk together, she and I, through her garden, and then she would describe to me every flower and shrub, with its time of immigration and history since, and with an absorbed love for each that made her sometimes forget that I might not care as much for a marigold as she did. When the garden had been gone through we would walk across fields and lanes to the church on the hill,—not C—— church, but one much older, with the chancel window full of glorious old stained glass, with Norman pillars and arches in the nave, and with a beautiful gothic

porch. About this old church we would walk, or Aunt Lucretia would sit on the stile, or under the great yew tree, while I would sketch bits of its exterior, and talk to her the while of my architectural hopes—how I expected to build churches some day, as beautiful as this might have been in its first days of perfection; how I should become famed, save money enough to go abroad—to Belgium and Italy, there to study for still higher honours and achievements. My visit to Italy was always the last converging point of my dreams and hopes. I must get fame and money first, for, alas! I had no money, absolutely none, to begin the world with. And Aunt Lucretia would say gently, but rather sadly, 'All in good time, Anthony—all in good time! perhaps the way will come for you to go abroad; if not, you must struggle upwards as so many have done before you.' That was true, and I was prepared to struggle. When Mr. Plumber and I were free of each other, I was to go to a London office, and take a situation for improvement, for some year or two, and then—what?—One of those strange but fortunate chances would be sure to befall me, as they had befallen all men who had risen, and I should be able to swim on my own account on the great ocean of life, buoyant and successful, of course. This was what hope said, but hope did not always speak, and when doubt came, the weight that brought down hope's shuttlecock as surely as ever it was sent up—doubt told me quite another story. Want of money with doubt, meant want of patrons; want of opportunity for the display of talent, want of talent itself, perhaps: want of everything desirable for a young architect on commencing the world. And as I spoke to Aunt Lucretia without let or hindrance, and just as naturally and as wildly as I would, the tales doubt told, went to her ear, as surely as the hopes, and she learned to sigh for me and with me. She was ready to sympathize with me at all times and on all occasions.

I had another Aunt, a widow, who was not so ready. It is true that in conjunction with Aunt Lucretia she had found the money to article me to Mr. Plumber, and to her I was indebted for half my pocket-money, but I should as soon have thought of talking confidentially to my drawing-board about my future, as of doing so to Aunt Kezia. I once, indeed, named Italy to her in one of my moments of abstraction, but was quickly roused by the scornful exclamation of 'Travel to Italy—Cobwebs!' by which I knew at once and for ever that she utterly repudiated the notion, and would have none of it. Now, where other people would say 'Pish!' and 'Pshaw,' Aunt Kezia always said 'Cobwebs,' an expression she had gathered in her life-long warfare with those untidy adjuncts to the

interior of a house. I can safely say that such a thing never had time to be woven in her primly kept mansion,—a spick-and-span new brick house, with square front, ditto back and sides, Venetian blinds and patent shutters, a mile or two further out from C——than dear Aunt Lucretia's, so that I had a good excuse always ready for my seldom visits;—but still, the word 'cobweb' was ever at hand to be employed with withering emphasis when she met with anything obnoxious to her ideas of propriety and right. At my mother's, let me whisper it, we sometimes called Aunt Kezia, Aunt Cobwebs—(she never reads magazines, so that she will not see this confession) and it is no wonder that we were tempted to do so, for she thought us both cobwebby enough, and did not hesitate to say so. But Aunt Lucretia received more than her due share of the appellation; her open, unsuspicious, sympathizing nature was exactly the reverse of the shrewd, cautious, cold temperament of Aunt Kezia, who thought every man a foe, 'till she had proved him to be a friend, just the reverse of Aunt Lucretia, who was ready to see a friend in every face 'till she found to her cost, over and over again, an enemy or a wrong doer.

One quiet dewdroppy evening in May, I was, as usual, on my way to the cottage in the dimple, and with me I had a rather formidable looking roll of 'double Elephant,' which I carried in my right hand with a comfortable feeling that it looked professional, and which contained on its inner side an ambitious design for a church, thought out and executed by myself in my leisure hours. It was a master piece of a church, in my opinion, and had several very striking features about it, quite original ones, and had niches and statues enough distributed over its exterior to give it a very rich and relieved air. I was taking it to Aunt Lucretia, that she might judge from her own observation of what her nephew was capable, and that she might once more echo with me the wish of my heart—Italy. I had just read the 'Stones of Venice' in a fever of enthusiasm. I wanted to see those 'stones,' and to compare them with my church, so fair and glorious on paper, which I fondly thought would not quite shame Venice even,—but how could I truly tell that, unless I went to see? Swinging-to the garden gate and striding joyfully over the garden path, I entered the well known house, impatient till I could spread out my plan before one who, I felt sure, would appreciate both it and me. Aunt Lucretia was in her usual easy chair, but instead of her knitting, she had in her hand a large printed paper, which she seemed to have been attentively perusing. She put it down as I came in, and her eyes were brighter,

and her cheeks redder than usual as she looked at me benevolently over her spectacles, and said, 'Well—Anthony.' My cheeks too were redder than their wont, but it was with the pleasurable excitement I felt at the prospect of showing her my design. She glanced a moment at the long roll of paper in my hand, and then said, '*You* have a paper, too, I see. Well, my dear, we will look at yours first, and then you shall see mine.' So I spread out the great sheet of paper, and waited silently to receive her commendations. 'Is that drawing all yours, Anthony?' 'Yes, Aunt, every line of it.' 'Wonderful! Beautiful!' were her exclamations. 'My dear, you will be a great architect some day.' 'Do you really think so, Aunt? Ah, if I could only go to Italy!' Aunt Lucretia turned her glance from the paper to myself, and said, half dreamily, as if talking to herself, 'That may not be impossible after all—thirty-two and a half per cent. would do it,' and then in a louder wide-a-wake tone, 'If I live, Anthony, and all is well—you shall go the year after next.' 'Me, Aunt? Go to Italy?' I asked in my joyful surprise, scarcely able to believe I had heard aright. 'Yes, you, Anthony! Why not? As I said before, thirty-two and a half per cent. would do it.' And then smiling as she saw my look of bewilderment at her last words 'You don't understand me, I see. Come then, leave your own plan for a little while, and listen to mine. It is a very important one, though it does not at first sight look so attractive. But first, you know what Limited Liability is?' 'Yes, Aunt, it is——'

'Now I like Limited Liability,' said my Aunt, going on without waiting for my explanation. 'It is just suited for such people as myself—people with small incomes, who could not afford to lose much, and yet who want to increase their incomes in a legitimate way. All that I have, is, as you know, Anthony, invested in the three-per-cents.; seven thousand pounds—a nice little sum, if it were out at better interest, which I've long wished it could be, but never had the opportunity 'till now. Now a wise and paternal government has seen this want, and provided a way by which people like myself may have the advantage of embarking in trade without serious risk. Mr. Fox, the lawyer, has been up this morning to see me, and has presented me with a prospectus of a company working on this principle of Limited Liability;—his brother, a highly respectable man—I knew him when he was a curly-headed little boy, no bigger than you were when your poor father died, my dear, and have given him many a sugar stick,—dear me, how time does pass, to be sure!—is now in London, and is solicitor to this company; so, you see, I shall

feel as if I were among neighbours and friends when I join it. His father and my father lived next door to each other for twenty years. Mr. Fox tells me it is perfectly safe and highly respectable. But I will read you what the prospectus says:'—and Aunt Lucretia after this long preface from her, began to read from the long sheet of paper she was studying when I entered the house. 'The Patent Atmospheric Marine Sponge Company, Limited.' She laid a particular emphasis on *Limited*. 'Capital £20,000, in 20,000 shares of £1 each, with authority granted to increase to £100,000.' Then came a list of directors, banker, solicitors, managing-directors, marine engineer, auditor, secretary, &c., all of which names aunt read out with much clearness and evident enjoyment. Every one of them was, in her eyes, a strong spoke in the wheel that was to roll her on to fortune. She went on: 'This Company is registered and incorporated for the purpose of procuring sponges from the Mediterranean, and raising them by means of patent apparatus, the exclusive property of the Company.'

"The amount of the value of the sponges annually imported into Great Britain has been variously estimated at from one to three million pounds sterling, or upwards of £8,000 per day, and the demand has increased nearly threefold within the last ten or twelve years." 'The reason of that no doubt is, the Baths and Washhouses, my dear,—and I'm sure its a comforting reflection to think that this Company will make sponges much cheaper for the requirements of the labouring classes, who, poor things, have not had too much washing and sponging hitherto.'

"This Company having purchased and secured patents for Great Britain and America, on entirely new and sound principles, for raising sponges from the Mediterranean, propose to construct apparatus, which it is anticipated will procure them to the value of upwards of £50,000 per annum. As a commercial undertaking, this Company offers a promising and safe investment for either large or small capitalists,—and the directors, having satisfied themselves of the valuable character of the invention, are determined no effort shall be spared in bringing the Company to a successful issue, both mechanically and financially. Rough estimate of the probable annual dividends to be realised by this Company, when in operation, and with a suitable set of aparatus;"—'hum—hum—hum—it will be sufficient to say, my dear,' running her eye quickly down a long list of figures, "that the total net profit is estimated at £9,750. This profit, which the directors believe is a fair approximate estimate, would enable the Company to declare

a dividend of 32½ per cent., when the shares would be worth in the market, from £5 to £8 per share!"

Aunt Lucretia laid down the paper with a triumphant air, and put her spectacles by its side on the table. 'And now, Anthony, you know what I meant when I said that 32½ per cent. on my £3,000 let us say, for I shall not put in all my money, will find abundance to send you to Italy, and provide amply for your studies there, as well as find me a few more luxuries than I have hitherto been able to get. I'm sure I feel extremely obliged to Mr. Fox for bringing me this prospectus; he might, you know, have quite forgotten me, though we have been acquainted so long; I'm sure I take it as very neighbourly of him.'

'Very,' I replied, overjoyed at my brightening prospects. 'And to think that I shall really see Venice, St. Mark's and the Campanile, the Grand Canal, and the Rialto, and all those glorious places and churches! Oh, Aunt Lucretia, it is really too kind of you!'

'Nay, my dear, I shall enjoy your pleasure as much as if it were my own. You will send me long letters of what you see, and what you learn, and I shall send them to Janet, and Aunt Kezia, who will be forced to confess that——'

What Aunt Kezia would be forced to confess I never heard, though she entered the room at this moment, to give account if she had been inclined. 'She was walking to town,' she said, 'and had called here on her way,' and, as she spoke, her sharp eyes regarded us both with an air which said, 'What have you two silly fools been talking about, to make you look so pleased?' A cold breeze came with her into the room. A *cold* breeze? a frosty breeze I may say, which seemed to wither up the flower of my hopes, like a sharp night in December. My plan was still lying spread open upon the table, and at once Aunt Kezia applied her eye-glass to it. 'What grand place is this?' said she, critically. 'At all events it has windows enough, windows and pinnacles,—it has as many points as a pincushion full of pins. This your work, Anthony?' 'Yes, Aunt.' 'Well, it's not so bad, perhaps, for a beginner,' she added, in a tone meant to be gracious.—'*Not so bad for a beginner!*' Was that the way in which she talked of the glorious design which was to hold its own even among the churches of Venice? I felt indignant, but dared not show my indignation, and stood silent and mortified at her side. And now Aunt Lucretia interposed, sympathising with my mortification and wishing to assist me out of it. 'I have been telling Anthony that some day he will make a great architect, sister,—all in good time you know yet; the drawing

is very beautiful, I'm sure, and he deserves great credit for his pains, so I'm thinking of sending him abroad next year, to Italy, perhaps, for a few months, to study, it will be such a fine opportunity for him.'

Aunt Kezia opened wide her eyes. 'Do you know what it will cost to send him to Italy for a few months, sister Lucretia? Two hundred pounds, if a penny: you talk as if it were as easy to get to Rome as it is to go to London. Don't fill the lad's head with nonsense. Two hundred pounds are not found on every bush!' 'That's true,' said Aunt Lucretia, 'and Anthony and I don't expect to find them there,' and she looked at me with a satisfied smile; 'but now my income is going to be so much larger, I shall be able to afford two hundred pounds very well, there will be no need to come upon you at all.'

'Your income going to be larger?' asked Aunt Kezia in astonishment. 'What more can you get out of the three per cents? What's in the wind now?'

Aunt Lucretia put in her hand the prospectus with an important look. 'Read that, sister,' she said, 'and then you will see that I am to have 32½ per cent.' Again the eyeglass was brought into use, but put down again almost more quickly than it had been after examining the design. Then, with an amount of scorn which it would utterly fail me to describe, she threw the paper from her upon the table, and said, 'Cobwebs! Sister Lucretia you are a fool!'

'I hope not,' she replied, calmly. 'At all events I am intending to try the Company.' 'And if you do, you'll bitterly repent it, that's all I have to say. A company of adventurers!'

'Don't you see that Mr. Fox is solicitor,—Andrew Fox that you and I nursed many a time? He's no adventurer, Kezia.'

'If you had said he's no goose, you would have said better—he's a fox; but all lawyers are foxes, for that matter! Thirty-two and a half per cent.! Thirty-two and a half Cobwebs!'

And, after having given utterance to this strong denunciation, Aunt Kezia flounced out of the room.

I looked at Aunt Lucretia in dismay, but there was not the tiniest ruffle or wrinkle on her quiet face. Cobwebs certainly had no great terrors for her, and even thirty-two and a half of them had not been able to dim the pleasant light in her eyes. Mr. Fox had known how to talk her over to some purpose that day. Her faith in him and his prospectus was unabated. 'Don't be downhearted, Anthony,' said she to me, 'roll up your plan, my dear, and put it where you'll be able to find it

when you start for Italy, you'll want it then to good purpose, you know.' And she gave me one of her brightest smiles. 'I wrote a letter to my agent this very day to sell out £3,000, and you and I won't be baulked by a few cobwebs.'

Of course I smiled back again, and of course I was soon as full of hope as ever, and before I left her that night we had fetched out the great atlas from the glass bookcase, and had traced out my journey through Italy. I was not only to visit Venice, but Rome and Florence, Pisa and Bologna, and every other town and city of architectural note. I was in the seventh heaven of delight and anticipation.

Aunt Lucretia's £3,000, then, went to procure sponges, not all at once, but gradually, as call after call was made on her during the summer. Flattering accounts were received by her of the progress of the Company, as reported by the directors at shareholders' meetings, and sent abroad on hot-pressed grandly printed circulars amongst them and their friends. The patent plucking apparatus (so called because it plucked the sponge off the rocks) was working well, and immense stores of the useful article were already placed in the Company's warehouses, to be sent to the North Pole when the next whaling season began, for use among the Esquimaux and Greenlanders, who, it was notorious, were far too oily to be cleanly, and needed every inducement, cheap sponges included, to bring their skins into good order. So prosperous did the Company report itself to be, by the mouths of the directors, that some enthusiastic shareholders, wishing to paint the lily and adorn the rose, subscribed a considerable amount of money for the purpose of obtaining life-size portraits in oil of the principal directors, to hang up in the board room, as everlasting mementos of their virtues and capabilities in the management of the plucking apparatus and the cause of suction generally. Beautiful portraits of these gentlemen were produced, and unveiled in the presence of a large company met together to drink tea and praise each other. Aunt Lucretia could not attend this tea meeting, which she greatly regretted; but she read me, a few nights afterwards, a long and glowing account of it, in a small newspaper published specially by the Company, entitled 'The Marine Friend.'

As matters were progressing so satisfactorily with the Sponge Company, Aunt Lucretia thought she could not do better than invest £2,000 more, not in the same company, but in two of the most promising of the many dozens whose prospectuses were sent to us about that time. Limited Liability companies were rising up on all sides, and for every imaginable purpose, and lawyers, auditors, and directors were having a most

pleasing and profitable time of it. So also were shareholders, according to their reports, and many a hoard that was safely laid by in some old-fashioned, steady-going, three or four per cent.-paying-company was sold to be reinvested in some of the many new schemes afloat—promising to gain twenty per cent. and upwards—by businesses as substantial, if we may judge by the result, as building palaces in the moon, or making roadways to Sirius. But I am proceeding too rapidly. Aunt Lucretia's sponges at all events were real. A specimen had been sent to her by one of the directors, of those very interesting zoophytes, gathered off the coast of Barbary by the patent plucking apparatus; and she and I looked with almost a species of affection at the wonderful vegetables (if I am not wrong in the designation) that were to turn three per cent. into thirty-two and a half, for our benefit. A fine specimen was sent to Aunt Kezia—as a sort of peace-offering—but the offering was returned with the word *cobweb* written on the envelope in large letters. After that, we never ventured to name the company again to her. However, we quite enjoyed our prosperity without her sympathy, and our talk together on those long summer evenings was unusually interesting. Ulysses and Adam Bede were laid aside, and dissertations on architecture and books of Italian travels took their place. My mother's counterpane was finished, and Aunt Lucretia was now busy knitting me warm socks and comfortables for the passage over the Alps. More exciting events occurred, too. One fine morning I was aroused from my work of colouring the ground plan of a new Methodist Chapel in Mr. Plumber's back office, by the news that a lady in a carriage wished to speak with me. To my astonishment the lady proved to be no other than my dear old aunt of Sycamore cottage, seated in a tiny, but very pretty pony carriage. 'What do you think of it, Anthony?' she said, almost before I had time to shake hands with her. I expressed my surprise and pleasure, and especially admired the pony, a long-tailed, bright-eyed little fellow, almost black. 'Yes,' she replied, 'he's very handsome; he belonged to Mr. Fox's mother, who's dead, poor old lady, and I have bought him very cheap, he assures me. Ask Mr. Plumber to give you a two hours' holiday, my dear, and we'll have a drive together.'

What a drive was that!

C—— and its environs never looked so lovely. There was neither heat, nor dust, nor rain, nor wind, it was the perfection of a day for our purpose. The pony went beautifully. I drove—proud enough to handle whip and reins—and Aunt Lucretia talked at my side with a smile that never ceased. My

pleasure made hers complete. 'I think I may venture upon this little extravagance, especially as *you* like it so much,' was her speech, when I asked her about its cost. 'When you go to Italy, I shall lay it down, for I shall have nobody to drive me then, and I'm getting too old to care about driving myself; but this summer we will enjoy ourselves. What a pleasure it is to feel that you need not look anxiously after every shilling.' This observation I assented to very joyfully. When I returned to my desk and drawing, my hand was not quite so steady as usual, and I felt the least bit in the world elevated. It was something to have an aunt who kept a pony carriage! Cornelius Haythorn, who is a good fellow enough generally, used to jeer me about that time at my being what he called 'uppish,' and taking airs. I was not at all aware of it, and thought his observations very ill-natured; but I have concluded since that he might be right. A little prosperity, like a little sunshine with persons who have weak eyes, dazzles, and things do not appear exactly with their true proportions. As the favoured nephew of an aunt getting so rapidly rich, I held up my head, I daresay, a little too high, and talked provokingly of the joys of my Italian tour, and the fame in store for me. And it certainly must have been provoking to Haythorn, who had no such rose-coloured prospects, and certainly no aunt with £3,000 worth of shares in the Patent Atmospheric Marine Sponge Company.

Autumn came, and new desires budded in the mind of dear Aunt Lucretia. She had been content to stay at home in former years, and to hear of the coming in of tidal waves rather than to see them. Her small income had not been favourable for sea-side excursions. But now, 'It was quite different,' she said. The box of sponges had brought with it a strong scent of the ocean into Sycamore Cottage, and every time she opened it, which was pretty often, memories came to her, with its peculiar unmistakeable odour, of days of her youth spent on the sands, in shell-gathering and donkey-riding, of fresh sea breezes, and half-crown sails to Anemone Bay and the Lighthouse. These thoughts of her own youthful pleasures led her to think of mine, and without more ado than just the asking permission from my master, it was arranged that I should accompany her on a fortnight's excursion to Shingle, a favourite sea-bathing place, chosen in preference to others chiefly for the reason that amongst the many flints of its chalky beach were to be found fossil sponges in great profusion. 'Next to seeing them growing, Anthony,' she said, 'which I confess I should much like to do, though I suppose I should have to go down with the plucking

apparatus to do it, and that might be dangerous, is the pleasure of seeing them with your own eyes, roll in, wet with the waves, in their fossil form, and that pleasure we will have.'

On our way we called at the offices of the Company of Marine Sponges, in London, to see the managing director. Must I whisper it? Very tiny, tiny doubts had arisen in aunt's mind, not as to the stability of the Company, but as to its wisdom in agreeing to amalgamate with another company that plucked sponges of an inferior kind, and from other waters. 'The cheapest things are always the dearest,' was the paradoxical proverb that she used to express this doubt. 'And if I could have helped it, this amalgamation should never have been. But what is my vote among so many? I am as helpless as a straw in the whirlpool in the matter. However we will see the managing director, and hear from him how it all is.' We found the offices in one of the largest thoroughfares of mighty London. 'A very creditable and very promising thing,' aunt said, approvingly, as she entered with me the office on the ground floor, and asked to see the manager. We were ushered to a long, well-furnished, business-like room on the first story, the board-room, as we at once knew by the sight of six or eight large oil portraits, kit-kats all, of various sagacious, thoughtful looking gentlemen in black coats, with 'books or work or healthful play' about them, as with the 'busy bee' children, in the shape of heavily plumed, well cut pens, and rolls of interesting-looking manuscript, supposed to be the enlivening and prosperous accounts of the Patent Sponge Company. The manager was not there, he was seeing a gentleman in his private room; so, while we waited, we looked round the long room, admired the portraits, and especially we admired a glass case at the further end in which was artistically inserted, intermixed with corals and gaily coloured sea-weeds, a gigantic piece of sponge. 'Now that is a thought for me,' said Aunt Lucretia; 'when I get home, I will have a glass case made and fill it with my specimens, and while we are at Shingle, Anthony, we will gather seaweed to put about them. It will be a nice ornament for my drawing room.' While she was speaking, the managing director entered. We thought at first that it was some one come to announce his presence, or to convey us to it, so very different did he look from the managing director of our awe-struck imaginations. Instead of an elderly, dignified man, with intensely thoughtful brow and deep set eyes of gravity, on whose broad shoulders might be supposed to rest the weight of so important a company, and in whose ample brain might revolve the cares and schemes of such a great under-

taking, we saw a slight young man of about twenty-two years of age, with bright full eyes, and the smooth round cheek of a girl. But if his cheeks were smooth, his brow was not, and he began to upbraid Aunt Lucretia with having sent him a letter which might, he said, do an immensity of damage. We both stood chidden before him, while he brought out her letter from a private drawer, and read it aloud with sundry comments on its ignorance and absurdity. Not that he used such impolite words as these to a lady and a stranger, but he gave her their equivalents in a softer idiom. The letter sounded to me an innocent and meek letter enough,—it was one written before leaving home—expressing modest doubts about the advantage of the amalgamation, and ending with a regret that one shareholder's vote had so little power in the affair. Mr. Augustus Sells thought it anything but modest; according to him, it was a fire-brand that might have burnt up every sponge on the establishment. When he saw that my Aunt was sufficiently humbled and alarmed, he changed his tone, and talked with much volubility and effect of the bright prospects of the Company. 'The world was all before it where to choose' and pluck its sponges; the apparatus was doing wonders; the directors were marvels of industry, energy, and business tact. What he said was nothing very new; we had read something very like it again and again in the reports; but from him, it had double power to exhilarate. He fairly magnetized us by his full glittering eye—and we left his presence in the highest spirits, ready to enjoy ourselves at Shingle. 'After all,' said Aunt Lucretia, 'it is best to leave these things entirely with the directors. They understand them so much better than I can do. The new company *may* be an acquisition—and I think now, it will. Mr. Sells is a wonderfully clever man, that is certain.'

We watched the tide in and out for a fortnight, as we had intended, and then we returned home, with stores of seaweed for the glass case. Sycamore Cottage looked cheerful and quiet as ever under the mellow September sunshine, and, as we drew near to it, we little thought what a piece of unrest there was for us inside its walls. 'Any letters, Janet?' said my Aunt. 'Yes, ma'am,' was the maid's reply—'this one came this very morning,' and she presented her mistress with a large business-like letter, addressed to '*Mrs.* Lucretia Crocket.' 'At least they might have addressed me rightly,' said my Aunt, who evidently had forebodings as to the contents of the great circular, for such it was, printed closely on four sides. It contained heavy complaints against the directors of the Sponge Company from some of the shareholders, and prophesied all

sorts of calamities from the recent amalgamation, with, what it styled, a bankrupt company. Aunt Lucretia looked unutterably distressed. Could it be that her confidence had been abused—that her £3,000 were in jeopardy? 'Read it Anthony, and see what you can make of it. To me it seems all a terrible mess!' was her helpless exclamation, as she passed the circular into my hands. I read it as carefully as I could, and the conclusion I came to was not a pleasant one, provided even half of the accusations were true. The Sponge Company was evidently in trouble—involved in legal proceedings, and the helpless prey of unprincipled directors. I was obliged to tell my fears; though I made them as light as I could. Aunt Lucretia said nothing; she only gazed sorrowfully at the new glass case, which she had ordered to be made in her absence, and which stood ostentatiously before her on the table—placed there by Janet's faithful hands, as a pleasant sight on entrance. In a while, however, she ordered it away into the china closet, with the circular laid on the top of it. The next day another circular arrived from the directors, contradicting the first; and when I came at night, I found the glass case had been reinstated in the drawing room, and half filled with sponge and sea weed. My Aunt's spirits were high again, and she employed me half the evening in helping her to arrange the treasures from the sea. We made a very pretty group of them, as we thought, and we should soon have been as hopeful as ever, as the days wore on, only that from time to time came some of those ominous circulars of crimination and recrimination, from wide-awake shareholders in London, and indignant directors. The winter was a gloomy one; my Aunt's cheeks grew paler and thinner, and her eyes sadder. It was evident she was suffering, and that she was dreading still worse news. But she rarely now told me of her troubles; and, on the other hand, I did not revert to them, but tried to make the hours we were together as cheerful as I could. We neither of us spoke of Italy, in those days of suspense and gloom; it dropped away from our conversation as silently but as surely as the last brown leaf dropped from the sycamore. The pony and carriage were sold at a considerable loss; but, as the pony was said to be 'eating his own head off,' a very strange proceeding on the part of the pony, there was no help for it.

And now Aunt Kezia came out in more amiable colours. All the summer of our high hopes she had kept away from Sycamore Cottage; or, if she had come, it was only to look severe and call sponges cobwebs—an incorrect way of speaking very distasteful things to her sister. But, as the days darkened (in two senses), Aunt Kezia made more frequent visits, talked

more graciously, never mentioned sponges, and, what was more remarkable, never once made an observation, good or bad, about the glass case and its marine contents. She listened, too, to my talk about Catherine wheels, apses, and flying buttresses, making no sarcastic puns upon such inviting names; and, very humbly for her, allowed me to give detailed explanations of the three, as though she thought I really might have a little knowledge that she did not possess. I began to half like Aunt Kezia, and ceased to call her, even to myself, Aunt Cobwebs.

Spring came again, showering, bursting, smiling, into leaf. The sycamores unfolded their great broad leaves, everything outside of the little cottage was fair and joyful, everything inside was sad and depressing. Dear Aunt Lucretia was ill. She had taken to her bed the very day that she had received the news of the Patent Atmospheric Marine Sponge Company being in Chancery, for to this untoward end it had come at last, after a winter of quarrelling, and expense, and robbery amongst its managers. Her £3,000 were clearly gone, for when do lawyers leave a bone of contention till it is picked clean as a twice-boiled skeleton? And, worse still, a panic had seized the speculating and commercial world, and the two other Companies in which she had invested £2,000 more, collapsed; but that is far to mild a term, *vanished,* as completely as a bubble which has burst, and almost as quickly. It almost seemed from the trifling records she gained of the career of those two Companies, that her money was no sooner invested than it was gone. If she had thrown her bank notes into the fire, they would scarcely have been more speedily destroyed. Strange, too, most of the directors, who were supposed to have had large investments in the Companies, were found to have saved themselves, and left the flock of innocent trusting shareholders to the wolves.

And Aunt Lucretia had sickened at the news, and kept her room, refusing to be comforted. Aunt Kezia was her attentive nurse; but no word had passed between them about her money losses, as yet. Only to my ears had she revealed them; for, with the nervous shrinking of the invalid, she dreaded to receive those harsh strictures and fault-finding comments she had reason to expect from her sister when she should be acquainted with her calamity.

One evening I had gone up earlier than usual, and found Aunt Lucretia upon the sofa by the fire, wrapped up closely, and looking paler and thinner than ever. She smiled a little when I entered, and then she went on talking in a low voice to Aunt Kezia, who sat close by her, having hold of her hand,

and gazing earnestly and kindly into her face. 'Yes,' she said, 'I've been very foolish not to take your advice. You always said I was too credulous, and I see now that I have been,—now, that I'm ruined, or nearly so. That Sponge Company, and two others, have swallowed up the greater part of my property. I shall have to leave this place, where I have lived so happily for so many years,—to sell up,—to be quite a poor woman. I can do nothing more for Anthony, poor fellow, nothing more for anybody!' and the tears began to roll down her wasted cheeks as she spoke. 'Can you forgive me, Kezia? Why don't you begin to scold me?'

'Because I cannot,' said Aunt Kezia, gruffly, trying to swallow down some deep emotion. 'Because I've been so great a fool myself! Your besetment was sponges and 32½ per cent. Mine was coal and 25 per cent.,—that's all the difference. I thought myself wiser than you, and kept out of the London Companies, but Limited Liability laid hold of me, or rather the reckless adventurers that used it for their own purposes. A Coal Company was started at C——. I knew four of the directors. I thought I was safe. I put in £4,000. It's all gone, and the directors ride in their carriages still, and are likely to do. But I'm not ruined, neither are you, *quite*. So take heart, dear Lucretia,'—and then Aunt Kezia gave way, and sobbed beside her sister, and a tear or two of mine rose up at the same summons.

We tried our best; the doctor tried his best; but Aunt Lucretia did not rally. She lingered out a few weeks longer, and then she left Sycamore Cottage for ever. Everything had to be sold; all her possessions were dispersed to the four winds. Mr. Fox, the lawyer, passed the empty place a few times on his way to town, and then he went to reside in London, to join in partnership with his brother, who had become a man of wealth and importance in those days of broken down Companies, and wanted assistance. The Patent Plucking Apparatus had answered well for him.

Aunt Kezia was compelled to leave her brick mansion, and lives now in a much smaller one; but there are no cobwebs in it of any kind, she declares emphatically, and when she sees Mr. ——, one of the late directors of the Coal Company Limited, go by in his brougham, she asks as emphatically, whether our lawgivers were fools or knaves to leave matters so loosely, that shareholders should have no power to bring reckless and defaulting directors to justice?

SELECTIONS.

SCOTLAND A CENTURY AGO.

Nothing could be more dreary than the aspect which Scotland presented about the middle of last century. Her fields lay untilled, and her mines unexplored, and her fisheries uncultivated. The Scotch towns were for the most part collections of thatched mud cottages, giving scant shelter to a miserable population. The whole country was desponding, gaunt, and haggard, like Ireland in its worst times. The common people were badly fed and wretchedly clothed, those in the country for the most part living in huts with their cattle. Lord Kaimes said of the Scotch tenantry of the early part of last century, that they were so benumbed by oppression and poverty that the most able instructors in husbandry could have made nothing of them. A writer in the 'Farmer's Magazine' sums up his account of Scotland at that time in these words: 'Except in a few instances, it was little better than a barren waste.' The modern traveller through the Lothians—which now exhibit, perhaps, the finest agriculture in the world—will scarcely believe that, less than a century ago, these counties were mostly in the state in which nature had left them. In the interior there was little to be seen but bleak moors and quaking bogs. The chief part of each farm consisted of outfield, or unenclosed land, no better than moorland, from which the hardy black cattle could scarcely gather herbage enough in winter to keep them from starving. The in-field was an enclosed patch of ill-cultivated ground, on which oats and 'bear,' or barley, was grown; but the principal crop was weeds. Of the small quantity of corn raised in the country, nine-tenths were grown within five miles of the coast, and of wheat very little was raised—not a blade north of the Lothians. When the first crop of that grain was tried on a field near Edinburgh, about the middle of last century, people flocked to it as a wonder. Clover, turnips, and potatoes had not yet been introduced, and no cattle were fattened. It was with difficulty they could be kept alive. All loads were as yet carried on horseback; but when the farm was too small, or the crofter too poor to keep a horse, his own or his wife's back bore the load. The horse brought peats from the bog, carried the oats or barley to market, and bore the manure a-field. But the uses of manure were as yet so little understood, that if a stream were near it was usually thrown in and floated away, and in summer it was burnt. What will scarcely be credited, now that the industry of Scotland has become educated by a century's discipline of work, was the inconceivable listlessness and idleness of the people; they left the bog unreclaimed and the swamp undrained. They would not be at the trouble to enclose lands easily capable of cultivation. There was perhaps but little inducement on the part of the agricultural class to be industrious; for they were too liable to be robbed by those who preferred to be idle. Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, commonly known as 'the patriot,' because he was so strongly opposed to the union of Scotland with England, published a pamphlet in 1698, strikingly illustrative of the lawless and uncivilised state of the country at that time. After giving a dreadful picture of the then state of Scotland—'200,000 vagabonds begging from door to door, and robbing and plundering the poor people in years of plenty, many thousands of them meeting together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together;' he proceeded to urge that every man of a certain estate should be obliged to take a proportionate number of these vagabonds, and compel them to work for him; and, further, that such serfs, with their wives and children, should be incapable of alienating their service from their master or owner until he had been reimbursed for the money he had expended on them; in other words, their owner was to have the power of selling them! Although the recommendations of Mr. Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, were embodied in no act of Parliament, the magistrates of some of the larger

towns did not hesitate to kidnap and sell into slavery lads and men found lurking in the streets, which they continued to do down to a comparatively recent period. This, however, was not so surprising, as that at the time of which we are speaking, and, indeed, until the end of last century, there was a veritable slave class in Scotland—the class of colliers and salters—who were bought and sold with the estates to which they belonged, as forming part of the stock. When they ran away, they were advertised for, as negroes were in the American states until within the last few years. It is curious, in turning over an old volume of the 'Scots' Magazine,' to find a General Assembly's petition to Parliament for the abolition of slavery in America almost alongside the report of a trial of some colliers who had absconded from a mine near Stirling, to which they belonged. But the degraded condition of the home slaves then excited comparatively little interest. Indeed, it was not until the very last year of the last century that prædial slavery was abolished in Scotland—only three short reigns ago—almost within the memory of men still living. The greatest resistance was offered to the introduction of improvements in agriculture, though it was only at rare intervals that these were attempted. There was no class possessed of enterprise or wealth. An idea of the general poverty of the country may be inferred from the fact that about the middle of the last century, the whole circulating medium of the two Edinburgh banks—the only institutions of the kind in Scotland—amounted to only £200,000, which was sufficient for the purposes of trade, commerce, and industry. Money was then so scarce that Adam Smith says it was not uncommon for workmen in certain parts of Scotland to carry nails instead of pence to the baker's or the alehouse. A middle class could scarcely as yet be said to exist, or any condition between the starving cottiers and the impoverished proprietors, whose available means were principally expended in hard drinking. The latter were for the most part too proud and too ignorant to interest themselves in the improvement of their estates; and the few who did so had little encouragement to persevere. Down to the middle of last century there were no made roads of any kind in the south-western counties. The only inland trade was in black cattle. The tracks were impracticable for vehicles, of which there were only a few carts and tumbling cars employed in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns. When the Marquis of Downshire attempted to make a journey through Galloway in his coach, about the year 1760, a party of labourers with tools attended him to lift the vehicle out of the ruts, and put on the wheels when it got dismounted. Even with this assistance, however, his lordship occasionally stuck fast, and when about three miles off the village of Creetown or Wigton, he was obliged to send away the attendants and pass the night in his coach on the Corse of Slakes with his family. Matters were of course still worse in the Highlands, where the rugged character of the country offered formidable difficulties to the formation of practicable roads, and where none existed save those made through the rebel districts by General Wade shortly after the rebellion of 1715. The people were also more lawless, and, if possible, more idle than those of the Lowland districts about the same period. The latter regarded their northern neighbours as the settlers in America did the red Indians round their borders—like so many savages, always ready to burst in upon them, fire their buildings, and carry off their cattle. Very little corn was grown in the neighbourhood of the Highlands on account of its being liable to be reaped and carried off by the caterans, and that before it was ripe; the only method by which security of a certain sort could be obtained was by the payment of blackmail to some of the principal chiefs, though this was not sufficient to protect them against the lesser marauders. Regular contracts were drawn up between proprietors in the counties of Perth, Stirling, and Dumbarton, and the Macgregors, in which it was stipulated that, if less than seven cattle were stolen, which peccadillo was known as picking, no redress should be required; but if the number stolen exceeded seven, such amount of theft being raised to the dignity of lifting, then the Macgregors were bound to recover. This blackmail was regularly levied as far south as Campsie, then within six miles of Glasgow, but now almost forming part of it, down to within a few months of the outbreak of the rebellion of 1745. Under such circumstances, agricultural improvement was almost impossible. The most fertile tracts were allowed to lie waste, for men

would not plough or sow where they had not the certain prospect of gathering in the crop. Another serious evil was that the lawless habits of their neighbours tended to make the Lowland borderers almost as ferocious as the Highlanders themselves. Feuds were of constant occurrence between neighbouring baronies and even contiguous parishes, and the country fairs, being tacitly recognised as the occasions for settling quarrels, were the scenes of as bloody faction fights as were ever known in Ireland, even in its worst days. When such was the state of Scotland only a century ago, what may we not hope for from Ireland when the civilising influences of roads, schools, and industry have made more general progress amongst her people?—*Life of Telford, by Samuel Smiles.*

MEXICAN LIFE.

The whole life of a Mexican bears the impress of a *dolce far nients.* He never hastens busily through the streets; his time is never taken up. They rise early; the ladies go in their thick veils to church, the gentlemen begin their morning ride. After the walk upon the Alameda everyone goes home; they generally take a bath; and there are good and cleanly well-arranged public baths in all the streets of the city, as well as bathing-rooms in all the private dwellings. One often sees the Mexican women walking up and down the terraces of the houses to dry their long hair, which falls down like a mantle over their shoulders, and reaches almost to their feet. This daily washing of the hair has one disadvantage—that it has a bad effect upon its fine texture and equality of tint. The tails, as thick as one's arm, and originally black, which adorn the little heads of the Mexicans, assume at last a reddish hue. Time is dawdled away over the completion of the toilet; if there are children in the house their games are superintended, but they are as gentle and quiet as their parents. I never saw such well brought up children anywhere as in Mexico; no noise, no strife is perceptible. The little beings are prematurely forward, they develop very quickly, and are extremely delicate. It is frightful how many children perish, even in the richest families, where they might have every luxury. And it is no wonder, when one considers the way in which they are brought up. The women are generally very weak, and there is nothing in their way of life to strengthen and invigorate them. They marry at fourteen or fifteen years of age, they are richly blest with children; it is not uncommon for one mother to have fifteen or eighteen; the children come very weak into the world, are usually nursed by their extremely delicate mothers, and even from their tenderest age are treated like dolls. Early in the morn, when the sun had just risen, and had in nowise dispersed the coldness of the night, which is very considerable, especially in the shade, I have seen the tiniest creatures smartly dressed and carried with bare neck and arms to the Alameda. They are entirely confided to young Indian girls, and even in the richest houses it is not the custom to give them over to the care of experienced women. In their earliest youth they are taken by their mother to drive in the Paseo, at six o'clock, when I for my part was never able to dispense with a cloak on account of the cool atmosphere of sunset; the little things sit half naked at the open carriage-windows, and then and there the irrational love of the parents thoughtlessly and unconsciously sacrifices the health of the children to vanity. As they grow up, they go to school for several hours of the day. I visited one establishment, and spoke to the superintendent, a French nun, who conducted the education of the girls with the help of several companions of the same order. She assured me she had never seen such quiet, obedient, well-disposed children as here; 'Chez nous ce sont de petits diables, mais ici ce sont de petits anges,' said she. But even at this early age they want the candour and thoughtless freedom of childhood. Their intelligence is very early awakened, and is often quite surprising for children of two or three years old; it quickly reaches a certain point, but after that remains in a state of stagnation. 'A

douze ans, ils n'avancent plus,' said the nun, a fine, active, energetic woman, masculine in manner, and of a warm, sympathetic heart. At eight or ten years old the poor children sit at the opera till midnight, struggling against sleep, their little heads adorned with artificial flowers. Many die very young; those who do not, especially the females, lead a hothouse life. Between twelve and one o'clock a luncheon is eaten, which chiefly consists of national dishes. 'Tortillas' and 'frijoles' take a prominent place at the tables of rich and poor. The first are pastry, made of ground maize, in the shape of a thin disk, as large as a plate, white and tasteless. Among the lower orders this takes the place of bread; they use it, too, slightly rolled up, instead of spoons. 'Frijoles' are little black beans, which thrive particularly well in the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz; when they have been cooked for a long time they take the colour of chocolate, and make a very good and tasty food. A ragout of turkey (*guajolote*), prepared with chilis, a kind of pepper, and tomatoes, or apples of paradise, is a favourite dish. Mixed with maize-flour, wrapped up in maize-leaves, and steamed, it makes the best national dish—the tamacles. On the whole, the cookery of Mexico is not very enticing to European palates and stomachs. Lard is used in great quantities in all the dishes, even in the sweet ones. A good soup is almost an unknown thing. Coffee, which grows here of the best kind, is so badly prepared that it is almost impossible to drink it. Chocolate, highly spiced with cinnamon, is, on the contrary, very good, and much drunk. The afternoon hours are spent in receiving and returning visits. I never saw any book in the hand of a lady, except her prayer-book, nor any work. They write letters, for the most part, with an unpractised hand. Their ignorance is complete: they have not the smallest idea of geography and history. Europe to them consists of Spain, whence they sprang; Rome, where the Pope rules; and Paris, whence came their clothes. They have no conception of other countries or other nations, and they could not comprehend that French was not our native tongue. They have themselves but very faint notions of this language, but have made a little progress in it since the invasion of the French. In many houses there is no regular midday meal, a little chocolate or some one dish is prepared; they lead a very moderate life. Wine or beer is rarely drunk, but there is no want of pulque at the tables of the rich. When guests are invited there is no end to the number of dishes. In families where regular meal times are observed, places are always laid for more than the members of the house, as some relation or friend is sure to drop in, who partakes of the meal uninvited, and is received at it with the greatest goodwill. After the hour at the Paseo, they drive to the theatre, if there happens to be an opera. They usually remain there *en famille;* and joined by a few confidential friends, they play cards, enjoy music, or chatter. The ladies take great delight in music, and have great talent for it; they play often very well on the piano, and have harmonious voices. When the young people assemble together they dance, and these informal enjoyments are called 'Tertulias.' The Mexicans delight in the family circle, and the relations between parents and children and brothers and sisters are very tender. There is one curious habit nearly universal in Mexico. A girl after her marriage does not follow her husband to his home, but he very often becomes a member of his wife's family. In this way a large circle is formed around the elders; daughters, sons-in-law, grandchildren, brothers, and sisters-in-law, and cousins of all sorts, inhabit a house too small for their numbers, live upon the generosity of the head of the family, and pay him great respect. They seldom leave this family circle, or only do so to enter a similar one; their ideas remain very confined, and their interest turns almost exclusively upon their domestic concerns. In one point, however, we are very apt to do Mexican wives a great wrong, that is, in respect to their morality. Indeed, the bulwark of relations by which a young wife is surrounded acts to a great extent as a protection to her; but independently of that, I found them nearly always retiring; and rigid even to prudishness when strangers were inclined to be presumptuous. Their marriages are really domestic and happy; married people are always seen together; and the husband lavishes gifts on his wife, which is considered a special mark of attachment. There is no proof so striking of the virtue of the Mexican women as the great discontent of the French. Once when I asked a young Parisian, who had been

sent to Mexico as a punishment for great extravagance, why it was supposed that gentleman would spend less money there than in France, I received for reply, 'A Paris on ne se ruine que pour les femmes, tandis qu'à Mexico elles n'existent pas pour nous.' That there are exceptions I should not dispute, but such persons are received with great contempt. On this head there is a widespread mistrust of the French, and their bragging, when they have but trifling grounds for it, is much dreaded. The unmarried girls are allowed much more licence; they are far more dressy, vain, and coquettish; and are surrounded by suitors, with whom they associate without any restraint, and weave all sorts of love intrigues, in which rendezvous and a secret correspondence both play their parts. If a young man pays attentions to a girl for any length of time he passes as her *novio*. He is not, however, her betrothed, but only gains the right to accompany her in her rides, or to the Paseo, where the carriages stand often in long rows to enable their inmates to see the great world riding or driving by. He is allowed to take place at her side, to sit in her box at the theatre, to protect her, and to accompany her whenever she has need of an escort. No one has a right to be vexed if she shares her little favours amongst several 'novios,'—if at one time she attracts them by kindness, at another repels them by her coldness. The Mexican, on his side, exhibits great patience; his wooing, and the indecision of the 'novia,' last often for years; but if she at length listens to him, and chooses him for her husband, then he may deem himself fortunate.—'*The Court of Mexico,' by the Countess Paula Kollonitz.*

DEAF AND DUMB TALKERS.

M. Louis Leroy gives the following curious account of a school which he lately visited at Geneva:—The pupils, in recreation, were playing in a court planted with trees, running about, and not making much noise, notwithstanding that there were some little girls amongst the number. M. Renz, the master, received us with great cordiality. M. Lelaux, the gentleman who took me there, mentioned our wish to visit the establishment. The master preceded us into the schooloom, where our entrance was saluted by several 'Bonjours, messieurs,' pronounced by a few pupils who had preferred work to play. Here, are some little fellows who do not stammer in their speech,' said I to Lelaux. 'Do they not pronounce well?' said he. 'Admirably,' I answered. The looks of these children had a special character of sharpness, as they literally devoured us with their eyes. M. Renz made a sign to one of them to approach, and asked him what we did when we came in. 'These gentlemen sat down,' replied the child. 'And what does the tallest of them hold on his knees?' 'His hat.' 'His cigar is out; will you give him a light to rekindle it?' The child replied 'Yes, sir,' and ran off eagerly to get some matches. 'Now,' said the master, 'recite a fable to our guests.' 'Le chêne et le roseau' was immediately recited in a very agreeable manner. 'What has struck me,' said I to the teacher, 'is the singular clearness of the articulation. The inflections are as good as at the Conservatoire.' This compliment seemed to give great pleasure to M. Renz. Some copy-books, with excellent specimens of penmanship, were then exhibited; and these were succeeded by exercises in drawing diagrams on the black board, which were eminently satisfactory, the pupils tracing out with great skill the figure or the problem demanded by the master. 'Well,' said Lelaux to me, 'are you satisfied with the intelligence of these little fellows?' 'Certainly,' I replied, 'but I have seen their equals in France.' 'You really think so?' 'I am sure of it.' 'You may perhaps be mistaken.' 'By no means; I grant you that these children are in a fair way; but apart from their pronunciation, which is quite remarkable, I repeat that we have pupils just as far advanced as they in most of our primary schools.' 'But yours speak and understand?' 'Just like these.' 'No, for these were born deaf and dumb.' 'Impossible.' 'It is the exact truth. Come, now, there is one with his back turned to us; address him, and see if he will answer.' 'My

little friend,' said I, in a very loud voice, 'I have here a delicious cake; will you have it?' The child did not turn round —he had heard nothing. I remained confounded, and more moved than I can express at the sight of these poor disinherited children of nature, to whom the sagacious benevolence of one man had almost restored the two absent senses.—*Charivari.*

BABY-GANGERS.

Mr. Benson Baker, one of the Poor Law medical officers of Marylebone, has under his present charge one of the children who survived the care of Mrs. Jagger, and who, he says, is something over three years old. This child, three years old, was employed by the proprietress as a gaffer or ganger over the younger babies. His duties were to sit up in the middle of the bed with eight other babies round him, and the moment any one of them awoke to put the bottle to their mouth; he was also to keep them quiet, and generally to superintend them. This baby-ganger has quite the appearance of 'an old hand;' he is intelligent beyond his years, quite grave and thoughtful. He knows all about 'Mother Jagger' and her doings; also about the 'old babies' being put in the box, and 'new babies' being brought by 'Mother Jagger.' When the baby-ganger was not officially employed, he was tied in a little chair (he cannot walk) and placed beside the fire; one day 'Mother Jagger' had a 'drop of gin,' so his baby informant tells Mr. Baker, and the baby-ganger fell into the fire, and as he was tied into the chair he could not crawl away, and 'Mother Jagger' was powerless to help him. His pinafore caught fire, burnt the ends of four of his fingers of one hand, and partially destroyed the muscles on the inner side of the other arm. This baby will thus be more or less incapacitated from ever earning a living. — *British Medical Journal.*

BABY FARMING IN MANCHESTER.

A physician writes to us in the following strain:—'Several years ago I held the appointment of medical officer to the Sick Children's Hospital at Manchester, where many sad instances of the effects of 'baby farming' came under my notice. Factory workers marry very early; and, as female 'hands' can earn nearly as much as their husbands, the babies of these young couples are left, not unfrequently, in the entire charge of old women, who 'take care' of as many children, legitimate and illegitimate, as they can get. The charge for thus taking care of a child appeared to to vary from eighteenpence to three shillings a week. Numerous were the cases of chronic diarrhœa and atrophy from mesenteric disease in these nursed children that were brought to the hospital. Some of the nurses were women of dissolute habits and without shame; others, feeble women, so old as to be in their second childhood. Few of the nursed children came to the hospital for trifling maladies; the majority were brought when the nurse believed that the child was so near death that a doctor's certificate would be wanted. The diseases from which the farmed children suffered could be traced in nearly all cases to the improper food that had been systematically given to the child; in some cases, to the insufficiency of the quantity of food, and to the free use of 'quieting stuff.' Children but a few months old were fed by the less indifferent of these baby farmers with some of their own coarse food; while others, who were in the charge of the worst section of nurses, received little else but bread, water, potatoes, and (to keep them quiet) a little coarse sugar, which they sucked through muslin and other rags. Milk, so absolutely necessary for the healthy growth and development of a baby, was not given by the majority of the nurses, except "a hap'orth sometimes;" perhaps once or twice a week. It was no wonder, then, that so many

of the children became diseased and wasted; no wonder that so many of them were brought up for the "certificate." In some cases I absolutely refused to prescribe for children unless they were in the care of their mothers, feeling assured that, unless taken from the hands of the baby farmers, recovery was hopeless. In some cases I positively refused to give certificates where I felt assured the babies had been nursed to death. Now, if no child-bearing women were allowed to work in any factory or warehouse until her child became a year old, much disease and early death might, I am certain, be prevented. There is a flaw in the Registration Act which deserves attention. When a doctor's certificate cannot be obtained, the Registrar can register the death on the report of two respectable witnesses who were present at the time of death. This is the loop-hole through which many a baby-farmer, culpable of gross neglect, makes a safe retreat from justice. I shall be anxious to learn through your journal whether the system of baby farming has grown or diminished in Manchester.'—*British Medical Journal.*

QUEER LODGINGS.

Goodness only knows for what manner of people the houses in Broad Yard (*alias* Little Hell), and Bit Alley, and Rose Alley, and Turk's Head Court, and Fryingpan Alley were originally built. In more than one instance the arched entrances to these awful places are less than a yard in width (this is no mere conjecture, but the result of placing my walking-stick across the entry, and marking how wide it was), and could never well have been wider, and yet the houses on either side are lofty as many of those of our fashionable squares. The way widens somewhat where the houses in the alley begin; but, at its widest part, I should say, it would not be at all difficult for the top floor lodgers on one side of the way to thrust a clothes-prop through the window of their opposite neighbours. I have an idea that the tall houses originally were built of red brick, but they are black now—black and oleaginously festooned, as though at some time a monstrous soup-kettle had been lodged astride the roofs of the double row, and had boiled over. I remarked this singular appearance to my missionary friend, and he expressed an opinion that the bad drainage had something to do with it. Some of the windows of the tall, hideous houses are altogether unglazed and boarded up; others are patched with paper, or bulge with dirty rags. Some of the houses have door-steps, scooped all hollow in the middle by the feet of many generations. Some have street-doors, but this is an exception, that house appendage being regarded as superfluous, and long since converted into firewood in the majority of cases. All the houses are rotten, ruined, and in the last stage of decay. The cellars and kitchens are a ditch of sewage, the flooring rat-eaten and worm-eaten until it is all honey-combed and sapless and presents no temptation to either creature; the chimneys smoke, the roofs leak—but this last-mentioned defect seems to be regarded as rather an advantage than otherwise by the occupants of the garret, since it secures to them at rainy times a supply of water without the trouble of fighting and scrambling for it at the one water-butt in the court.—*James Greenwood, in 'Cassell's Magazine.'*

LOTTERIES AND THE LOTTERY LAW.

But lotteries are used for other and more questionable purposes than building churches. Among a host of such schemes continually held out to the public, the enumeration of a few may suffice. Horse racing in England has received a fresh stimulus and attraction by the introduction of a five shilling lottery, (on the convenient Art Union principle,) the shareholders drawing the

first, second, and third winning horses in the race, receiving respectively large sums of money, and others receiving smaller sums, apportioned, we suppose, to the amount subscribed. The National Photographic Association, London, in a current advertisement, entitled '*A house for nothing*,' announces that every purchaser of a shilling photograph issued by them, will be presented with a gratis cheque entitling the holder to a share in a distribution of house property in May 1866, when eight houses, in value £2,250, will be given away! So says the advertisement, without any qualification or condition, although a considerable amount would require to be subscribed before the company could afford to give away £2,250. Various London penny weekly publications are carried on by means of lotteries, for which tickets are issued to those purchasing so many consecutive numbers. Among prizes recently advertised, were 'a first-class gold watch for eightpence;' and 'a first-class pianoforte for 1s. 6d,;' that is to say, a purchaser of eight penny numbers is said to become entitled to a chance in the drawing for the watch; and a purchaser of eighteen numbers to a chance in the drawing for the pianoforte. Subscribers, however, will find that they have to purchase more numbers than they reckoned on, if they wish to follow out the drawing. One drawing is immediately followed by the announcement of another, and the temptation to purchase is not allowed to flag. These weekly periodicals appear to have an immense circulation over the three kingdoms. Recent proceedings at the Guildhall Police Court do not report favourably of the system. In November last, a woman appeared at the court, and stated that she had been induced to purchase twenty-six numbers of a penny publication, by the perusal of an advertisement to the effect that prizes of the value of £1,000 were to be distributed among purchasers of those numbers. When the drawing took place, she found her name put down for the prize of a three guinea watch; but on going for it, she was attempted to be palmed off with a common engraving not worth sixpence! It further appeared that a fresh lottery of fifty sewing machines—'a fortune gratis,'—was advertised to take place in connexion with the same publication. A second applicant having appeared before the magistrate with a similar complaint, a summons was issued against the publisher. He appeared by agent, and resisted the claim. The publication was said to have changed proprietorship after twenty-four of the twenty-six numbers were issued, on the former proprietor becoming bankrupt, and his successor did not consider himself bound by the bankrupt's undertakings. It was further contended that the claim could not, in any circumstances, be enforced, for the simple reason that the whole scheme of distribution 'was illegal from beginning to end.' This doctrine is perfectly sound, and subscribers to lotteries should bear it in mind, though it does look an ungracious doctrine in the mouth of a lottery promoter. The action in court was finally dismissed on a technical objection to jurisdiction by the defendant,* though, in justice to him, it should be stated that to prevent further clamour, he promised to satisfy the claimant by presenting her with a watch of the value of three guineas. By current advertisements of the cheap publication lottery schemes, we observe that the amount of subscription is temptingly reduced, to entice the credulous, who are informed that they may have 'a lady's watch for 4d.'

Besides occasional lotteries got up for special purposes, there is a regular class of men who subsist entirely by the lottery system, travelling from town to town, and disposing of cheap and showy merchandise by means of the 'wheel of fortune,' in shops which they open for the purpose. Occasionally the authorities give these erratic and illegal merchants notice to quit, under threat of prosecution; but a prosecution is rarely instituted. If their calling is discouraged in one place they avoid the penalties of the law by simply removing to another place,—and thus they go the round of the three kingdoms. The process of interdict is not sufficiently speedy or effectual to curb the career of these adventurers. In various towns in Scotland, there are regular weekly raffles or lotteries for various kinds of property, got up by needy individuals. Concerts and other entertainments which have not in themselves sufficient elements of attraction, are made to pay by attractive prizes, or presents, being distributed to the audience by lottery, tickets for which are presented gratis. Our fairs are in-

* *Vide* Report of Proceedings in *Daily Telegraph*, 19th November, 1866, and previous date.

fested with well-known characters, who ply their vocation in various illegal games of chance, among which the 'lucky lottery' finds a place. The General Police Act in Scotland empowers magistrates to deal with this class of offenders, as having no *lawful* means of gaining their livelihood. Their practices, however, are generally winked at by the police, and it is rarely that a magistrate is called upon to exercise his power. Some persons may think it unfair and invidious to include these vicious games and lotteries in the same category with lotteries for sacred purposes; but they all find their level on the same ground of illegality.

Lotteries for state purposes and private gain have in all countries and in all times been productive of much misery and vice. They have tended to foster a spirit of gambling among the people, and have given birth to multiform frauds. Everywhere they have been condemned as pernicious in principle, and have often been declared illegal or put under restriction; but in many Roman Catholic countries they are still in full and vicious operation under Papal authority. Our Government wisely put an end to state lotteries, after incalculable mischief had been produced in the country. Parliament has since, as we have seen, but in violation of an important principle, sanctioned the use of the lottery only to duly authorised associations, for the encouragement of the fine arts. The *exception* thus introduced by the Legislature, however well intended, has unfortunately tended to re-open the door to illegal schemes, and has gradually led to the wide-spread abuse of the system. The promoters of such illegal schemes almost invariably attempt to shelter themselves under the hackneyed Art-Union principle. We should be sorry to insinuate that the occasional local bazaar lotteries for church purposes are conducted on other than the most fair principles which the system admits of; but the fact that they are illegal should prevent such schemes for raising money being attempted. Our ministers should certainly be the last to foster and practice what the law condemns. Into the question of the *sinfulness* of lotteries, which has been urged in a recent pamphlet,* we do not enter here; we treat them at present on purely legal grounds. The wide-spread, obtrusive, and questionable mode of conducting lotteries pursued by Roman Catholics and others; and the numerous lottery schemes constantly before the public, are of the nature of common nuisances, as lotteries were declared to be by the Legislature many years ago. These schemes are vastly on the increase, and may be expected further to increase, so long as they remunerate their promoters, and no check is put upon them. It is worthy of the serious consideration of the authorities whether they should continue supinely to allow these notoriously illegal practices to flourish and spread. No further legislative measure is necessary to arm the executive, so far, at least, as the wide-spread schemes advertised in our newspapers are concerned. The remedy for these exists in the present state of the law, which only requires to be enforced. The procedure, however, might certainly be simplified, and at the same time rendered more speedy and effectual, if *prosecutions were authorised by local officers in any place where the law is violated*, instead of confining such prosecutions to the courts of the metropolis. It may safely be affirmed that if *private* prosecutions were still lawful, the present extensive lottery system would not have existed. Private prosecutions, however, are not now unfortunately authorised; the law officers of the crown only can enforce the law, and upon them the duty devolves, and the responsibility rests, of its proper administration. The provisions of the Acts of Parliament of 1836 and 1845, before noticed, affixing a penalty of £50 to the printing and publishing any advertisement or notice of any lottery not authorised by law, are of the simplest possible character for putting an end to the graver class of illegal lotteries, by preventing all publicity as to their existence; and in the enforcement of these provisions no difficulty can be experienced. The like penalty might properly be extended by the legislature to *all persons who dispose of tickets* for such illegal lotteries. One or two such prosecutions would probably be sufficient to deter publishers from continuing the illegal advertisements, and incurring the statutory penalties. This mode of prosecution, no doubt, fails to reach the originators of the lotteries; but, for the purpose intended, is perhaps the most effective that could be devised.

* By Mr. Caldwell of Milton. Published by Nimmo, Edinburgh.

Possibly even such prosecutions might be rendered unnecessary, if the authorities showed a firm determination henceforth to enforce the law, by issuing formal notices to that effect, and warning publishers of the result of disobedience. We sincerely hope that the higher legal authorities may shortly see it to be their duty to apply the legal remedy to the crying evil, and extirpate it from the three kingdoms. In regard to local lotteries, in the shape of subscription sales, raffles, or otherwise, these can, as we have seen, be effectually prevented by the process of interdict at the instance of the fiscals, unless where the offenders are of the erratic class. To deal efficiently with these persons, a legal measure of a more speedy and potent character is necessary, and it is worthy the consideration of our legal officials whether such a measure should not be applied for from the Legislature. Unless some such measure is obtained, they may safely carry on their illegal practices with impunity. As for our small offenders at fairs and markets, we commend them to the care of the police, who have sufficient powers under the Police Acts to prevent them carrying on a profitable trade.—*Lotteries, Past and Present, Legal and Illegal. By W. B. Dunbar, Assistant Procurator Fiscal, Dundee, and Dr. Barclay, Sheriff Substitute, Perth.*

THE BRONTE FAMILY.

Standing besides Charlotte's last resting-place, I questioned my conductor respecting her, and found him at once ready and willing to oblige me with all the information in his possession. 'He had been but a little boy,' he said, 'when all the family were living, but he remembered the three sisters well, and had often run errands for Mr. Patrick. They used to take a great deal of notice of him when he was little; but Miss Annie was his favourite, perhaps because she always paid him so much attention. Baking-day never came round at the parsonage without her remembering to make a little cake or dumpling for him, and she seldom met him without having something good and sweet to bestow upon him. Yes, they were a very reserved family, and very peculiar in their habits. The villagers did not see much of them, except on Sundays; and, of course, nobody knew that the young ladies were writing books, or that they had become famous, until, long after, strange people had begun to come from a distance to see them. And then the letters! What a heap of letters were always brought to the parsonage in those days by the postman! Miss Emily, who is buried here, beside Charlotte, was the strangest of all the family; nobody thought so much of Miss Charlotte herself. Emily never came down into the village, or at least very rarely; but there, through the window, I might see the path by which she used always to go from the parsonage to the moors. Hundreds of times, when he was a boy, he had watched her go through the style yonder, followed by her dogs. No matter what the weather was, she loved the moors so much that she must go out upon them, and enjoy the fresh breezes. When she went away from Haworth to become a governess, she was taken very ill, and sickened until she was brought home again, and then she very soon recovered. She loved the moors so much, that it would have been a sad thing if she had been buried away from them. Of course I had read about her in Mrs. Gaskell's book, and the way in which she had refused to see a doctor until an hour or two before she died. About Miss Charlotte, he could not tell so much, she was so very reserved; but he remembered seeing her stand, just where he was standing now, the morning that she was married. To his mind, Mr. Branwell was the cleverest in the family. A wonderful talker he was, and able to do things which nobody he had ever seen could do. He had seen Branwell sitting in the vestry talking to his (the sexton's) father, and writing two different letters at the same time. He could take a pen in each hand, and write a letter with each at once. He had seen him do that many times, and had afterwards read the letters written in that way. Yes; it was true that he came to a sad end; but Mrs. Gaskell had not stated the case about him correctly. Haworth people did not

like Mrs. Gaskell at all. There was a deal of feeling against her for what she had said about Mr. Branwell and the villagers encouraging him to drink. Mrs. Gaskell said he had learnt to drink when he was a boy, and had gone on gradually strengthening the habit; but that was not true. When he was nineteen years old he was secretary to the temperance society in the village, and it was not until after that that he learned to drink. It was not correct that the landlord of the Bull had had anything to do with teaching him, though it was quite true that he used to sit in the back-parlour there, and drink almost constantly of an evening when he was older. But if he could not have got drink there, he would have been sure to have got it somewhere else. But oh, he was a fine fellow, Branwell; and such a talker! Ay, and when he was at the worst, he never missed coming to the Sunday school with his sisters. They all used to come regularly. He remembered Mr. Branwell's funeral, and Miss Emily's funeral, and, of course, he remembered Miss Charlotte's and Mr. Brontë's. A strange old gentleman was Mr. Brontë. Mr. Nicholls, who married Miss Charlotte, was very well liked by the people. A true gentleman he was, though very shy and reserved; but how could he help being that, when he had lived so long with such a family? When Mr. Brontë died he 'put in' for the place; but when he found there was likely to be opposition, he withdrew, and now he was living in Ireland again, where he had married a second wife. With such pleasant garrulousness did my companion entertain me, even whilst I stood beside the grave in which 'life's fitful fever' o'er, the bones of Charlotte Brontë rest.—'*A Winter Day at Haworth*,' *in Chambers' Journal.*

MESSRS. SPOTTISWOODE'S KITCHEN.

The Messrs. Spottiswoode and Co., New-street Square, the eminent printers, are trying an experiment, which gives every promise of being eminently successful. This firm employs about 600 hands, and have made preparations for supplying their hands with dinner and tea at a rate much lower than the eating-house and coffee-house keepers in the neighbourhood can possibly do, and we need scarcely remark of a much better quality. Out of the 600 hands some 300 are being dined daily, the firm having commenced with about 100 some short time ago; and if the experiment be successful, of which there can be little doubt, the whole of the hands may be accommodated on the premises. To effect this beneficial change in the habits and comforts of the hands, the Messrs. Spottiswoode have fitted up a series of kitchens, with cooking apparatus of the mostuseful and effective character, and which may be justly termed a perfect culinary *multum in parvo*. The leading features of this apparatus are a small steam-boiler, four large steam kettles, one large steam hot closet, steam cutting-up dishes and table, a large roasting oven, capable of roasting from sixteen to twenty joints at the same time; a small close fire range, with circulating hot water boiler; two good pastry ovens; a large open boiler for greens and other vegetables; and washing-up troughs, with hot and cold water *ad libitum*. This economic and ingenious apparatus is the production of Mr. H. Ingle, the eminent machinist in Shoe Lane, and reflects great credit upon his ingenuity. The result of this arrangement of the Messrs. Spottiswoode is this: The men obtain a dinner of good wholesome food, and without going off the premises, at 6d. per head, whereas they could not obtain such a dinner before this experiment was made for less than 8d. per head, a difference of 25 per cent, at least, which has a sensible effect upon their weekly earnings. The example of Messrs. Spottiswoode may be followed with great advantage by other large firms who are placed in similar positions, and thus secure for their hands advantages which are fully equal to a rise in wages, and much more beneficial than any rise, to be effectual, could possibly be.—*Observer.*

THE FLINT ARROW AND SPEAR HEAD MANUFACTURE.

Amongst the Apachees Mr. Catlin found a very interesting art, which he thus describes:—Their manufacture of flint arrow and spear heads, as well as their bows of bone and sinew, are equal, if not superior, to the manufactures of any of the tribes existing; and the use of the bow from their horses' backs whilst running at full speed, may vie with the archery of the Sioux or Shyennes, or any of the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains. Like most of the tribes west of, and in, the Rocky Mountains, they manufacture the blades of their spears and points for their arrows, of flints, and also of obsidian, which is scattered over those volcanic regions west of the mountains; and like the other tribes they guard as a profound secret the mode by which the flints and obsidian are broken into the shapes they require. Their mode is very simple and evidently the only mode by which these peculiar shapes and delicacy of fracture can possibly be produced; for civilised artizans have tried in various parts of the world, and with the best of tools, without success in copying them. Every tribe has its factory, in which these arrow-heads are made, and in those only certain adepts are able or allowed to make them, for the use of the tribe. Erratic boulders of flint are collected (and sometimes brought an immense distance), and broken with a sort of sledge-hammer made of a rounded pebble of horn-stone, set in a twisted withe, holding the stone, and forming a handle. The flint, at the indiscriminate blows of the sledge, is broken into a hundred pieces, and such flakes selected as, from the angles of their fracture and thickness, will answer as the basis of an arrow-head; and in the hands of the artizan they are shaped into the beautiful forms and proportions which they desire, and which are to be seen in most of our museums. The master workman, seated on the ground, lays one of these flakes on the palm of his left hand, holding it firmly down with two or more fingers of the same hand, and with his right hand, between the thumb and two fore-fingers, places his chisel (or punch) on the point that is to be broken off; and a co-operator (a striker) sitting in front of him, with a mallet of very hard wood, strikes the chisel (or punch) on the upper end, flaking the flint off on the under side, below each projecting point that is struck. The flint is then turned and chipped in the same manner from the opposite side; and so turned and chipped until the required shape and dimensions are obtained, all the fractures being made on the palm of the hand. In selecting a flake for the arrow-head, a nice judgment must be used, or the attempt will fail; a flake with two opposite parallel, or nearly parallel, planes is found, and of the thickness required for the centre of the arrow-point. The first chipping reaches near to the centre of these planes, but without quite breaking it away, and each chipping is shorter and shorter, until the shape and the edge of the arrow-head are formed. The yielding elasticity of the palm of the hand enables the chip to come off without breaking the body of the flint, which would be the case if they were broken on a hard substance. These people have no metallic instruments to work with, and the instrument (punch) which they use, I was told, was a piece of bone; but on examining it, I found it to be a substance much harder, made of the tooth (incisor) of the sperm-whale, or sea lion, which are often stranded on the coast of the Pacific. This punch is about six or seven inches in length, and one in diameter, and one rounded side and two plain sides; therefore presenting one acute and two obtuse angles, to suit the points to be broken. This operation is very curious, both the holder and the striker singing, and the strokes of the mallet given exactly in time with the music, and with a sharp and rebounding blow, in which the Indians tell us, is the great medicine (or mystery) of the operation. The bows, also of this tribe, as well as the arrow heads, are made with great skill, either of wood, and covered on the back with sinew, or of bone, said to be brought from the sea coast, and probably from the sperm-whale. These weapons, much like those of the Sioux and Comanches, for use on horse-back, are short for convenience of handling, and of great power, generally of two feet and a half in length, and their mode of using them in war and the chase is not surpassed by any Indians on the continent. — *Last Rambles amongst the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes. By George Catlin.*

THE 'PATAGONS.'

I felt at once amongst this little group as if I were amongst a group of Comanches of North America. Not only are they mounted, equipped, and armed, like the Comanches, with bows and arrows, and long lances, and like them in their modes of dress and ornament, but strikingly resemble them in physiognomy and physiological traits. The men chiefly divide their long hair in two parts, separated on the forehead and thrown on to the shoulders and back by a silver plated band or hoop, which is crowded down from the top of the head and over the hair, near to the eyebrows, holding the hair in its place, clear from the face and back of the ears. Their faces are always (in full dress) painted red from the eyebrows to the mouth, including the ears, and the other parts of the face painted in a variety of shapes and bright colours, and they wear no head-dresses, and very seldom ornament the head even with a single quill or feather. Their dress at this season—the middle of January, and therefore midsummer—is very slight. The men wear a breech-cloth around the waist, and the women a sort of apron of cotton-cloth or of bark, extending down to the knee, and mocassins beautifully embroidered, made of the skins of deer or goats; and, in the colder season, both men and women dress the leg with skins and wrap themselves in robes made of the skins of guanacos, and curiously painted; and their tents, which are small and light, for the convenience of transportation, are made of the skins of the same animal, or of wild cattle and horses, with which the vast plains of their country abound. Observing on the chief's face the marks of small-pox, I questioned him about it, and he informed me that when he was a boy he was near dying with that disease, and he told me that, about 1812 or 1815, as near as I could ascertain, that awful disease was communicated to his people by some white people on the coast, who were selling rum and whisky and other things to the Indians, and that more than one-half of the great and powerful tribe of Patagons were destroyed by it. 'We are poor,' said he; 'we want many things that the white people make—their cloths, their knives, their guns, and many other things—and we come here to buy them, and many of my people, who are foolish, will buy whisky, and it makes them mad, when they will kill even their own mothers and their little children. We do all we can to prevent this, but still it is not stopped, and we are afraid of getting the awful disease again.' One can easily see that I had enough to do this day, without painting, and we returned on board full of fatigue and hunger, the chief having agreed to sit for his portrait the next day, if the vessel would wait for me. My conditional appointment with the chief being explained to the captain, and the portfolio opened to him, which he had not before seen, he agreed to wait another day, whatever the wind might be, for the satisfaction of gratifying me, and the pleasure he would have ashore with me. Captain Ford proved to be a real '*bon homme*,' and, becoming as much taken up with me as the Indians were, went ashore with me the next morning, on condition that he could have the pictures to lecture on amongst the women and children, who had not yet seen them, whilst I was sketching my portraits. And when night came, and we were safe on board again and our craving stomachs pacified, he said to me that this had been to him the happiest day of his life that he had ever spent. My sketch of this rational and intelligent chief was followed by that of his wife and a warrior; and then hasty sketches were made of the little and more humbly demure of the Fuegians, at which the famous doctor, with his white head, was *minus*, he having withdrawn himself, probably with absolute disgust. The reader will easily imagine with what excitement, and with what *éclat*, and with what security and success, from this point I could have penetrated and passed through the centre of Patagonia, with the introduction of this little re-returning colony, had there been no rumours of war, and I had had my faithful Cæsar, or even Alzar with me; but here I stood alone, and the barren coast could have furnished me no reliable companions. But it may happen yet that I shall be able to see the way, and a proper time to pass through the midst of these interesting people; and then if it happens I shall be able to say more of them and their customs than I now can. Yet, from this little caravan, who had travelled several hundred miles

in this tribe most I learned many things of interest, and was enabled to learn them in a little time. As to the fabulous accounts of 'giants,' men eight and ten feet high, as related by some early writers, I learned from this chief that there actually existed no such monstrous persons in the tribe, though there were some parts of the country where the men were very tall, considerably taller than himself. From this man I learned that the government of the Patagons resembled very closely that of most of the North American tribes—a head chief, and a council of subordinate chiefs, or chiefs of bands, forming the government of the tribe. He told me they could muster 8,000 warriors, well mounted and well armed, and were abundantly able to defend themselves and their country from assaults of any enemy they had; that the tribe of Puelches on the north of them, between them and Buenos Ayres, were their relations, and that through them they traded horses and hides for guns and ammunition, to the Buenos Ayreans, and in that way could equip all the warriors of the tribe. They catch their horses wild on the prairies, and train and ride them in the same way, and as well, as the Comanches do. Their saddles and stirrups are made with great skill, and the stirrups for women (who ride astride and as boldly as the men) are suspended by a broad and ornamented strap crossing the horse's neck; and for both men and women these stirrups, which are made of wood, and curiously carved, admit but the two largest toes to enter, to guard against fatal accidents which too often befal horsemen in the civilised world. Their dead are always buried in a sitting posture, and with them their pipes and their weapons, and by the side of them their dogs and their horses: and everything else that they possess is burned with their wigwam. The Fuegians are a tribe of some five or six thousand, inhabiting both sides of the Strait of Magellan; living entirely on fish and wildfowl, and their lives are spent chiefly in their canoes, made from bark of trees, sewed together and glued, somewhat like the canoes of the Ojibbeways of North America. In the summer season they go chiefly naked, both men and women, wearing only a flap covering the hips; and in the winter, cover their bodies with robes made of the skins of the sea-wolf, which they kill with their spears and arrows. Their manufacture of flint spear and arrow heads is not surpassed by even the Apachees, or Snakes, or any other of the North American tribes, and they are made in the same forms, and by the same process, which has been described. And their wigwams, which are very small, are made by setting a number of slender poles in the ground in a circle, and bending the tops in, forming a cone, which is covered with long grass, or with skins of the sea-wolf. These people are unquestionably a branch of the Patagon family, speaking a dialect of the Patagon language, and living in harmony and friendship with them; and living by the side of and adjoining them, and still so entirely unlike, both in physiognomy and in symmetrical proportions, furnish one of the most striking and satisfactory proofs of the metamorphose of *man*, by men's different modes of life. — *Last Rambles: by George Catlin.*

HOW TO MAKE WORKING MEN'S CLUBS SELF-DESTRUCTIVE.

I.—HINTS TO PROMOTERS.

To prepare for this catastrophe, begin by showing the men that you do not trust them—that they must be treated like children; or that, at all events, you mean to do as much for them, and leave as little to themselves, as possible. Avoid having trustees, but get two committees appointed instead—one of gentlemen, the other of working men. Let the gentlemen's committee have the control of all the cash, and let the working men's committee be obliged to ask leave for spending anything. Let there be an appeal from all or any of the decisions of the working men's committee to that of the gentlemen's. Get a supercilious, ungenial manager; a thoroughly unbusiness-like or intemperate man will do just as well. The purpose can sometimes be answered effectively by having a man and his wife, and allowing the

man not to trouble himself at all about the interests of the club, and by not expecting the wife to concern herself about anything except tea, coffee, and other refreshments. These last had better be of inferior quality, nicely spoiled in making, and rather higher in price than they can be got elsewhere. Admit members under the age of eighteen or twenty. Be very careful that none of the committee ever trouble themselves to go near the club, or exert any authority while there; at all events not to do this in turn and with regularity. Let any gentleman interested in the club carefully abstain from coming near it, or taking any part in the management of entertainments or classes, under a judicious apprehension of being disliked and distrusted by the members. It must never be considered that the refinement, culture, and education of an upper class man can be of the slightest use to working men, or that the club is a suitable place for bringing the two classes together for mutually pleasant and profitable relations. If, however, a gentleman can go in a dictatorial spirit, well crammed with suspicions, and can show that he considers the club *his*, and not *theirs*, the satisfactory result may be sooner produced than probably in any other way. Make no provision for supplying entertainments for the members, and of course avoid having 'singing' or 'elocution' classes. Should discussion meetings be established, let subjects be proposed which will engender strong personal feeling and give rise to acrimonious remarks, which the chairman must refrain from repressing. Theological topics are admirably adapted for the purpose, on account of the deep interest felt in them. Let a majority refuse altogether the discussion of any subject, otherwise unobjectionable, but particularly desired by a minority.

II.—HINTS TO MEMBERS.

It is important that clerks, tradesmen, and so forth, should, if possible, be induced to join the club; not, of course, in order to give help of any kind, but to monopolise the newspapers, bagatelle board, &c. As this, however, cannot often be accomplished, the members themselves must be encouraged to treat one another in a cold and unfriendly fashion—each taking the best seats, or keeping possession of the most coveted newspapers, magazines, or games—taking care to regard the club merely as a place where they can get a little amusement and comfort for themselves — carefully pooh-poohing any notion of its being intended as a general good to the working men of the neighbourhood, and as an agency for their social elevation. Members must avoid paying their subscription regularly, and must never encourage their fellow-members to do so, or look after them when they have absented themselves—any appearance of interest in one another will not only help to frustrate the desired object, but must be viewed as a mark of bad taste.

If a man can't go to his club the first two or three nights in the week, let him be sure to say, 'Oh, it's not worth going now this week. I'll wait till next Monday.' By this means he will save twopence and set a good example, which, if well followed, will soon close the club—unless, indeed, the landlord, unfortunately, should agree to deduct from his rent all members' subscriptions in arrear, which he is very likely to do.

By way of promoting the dissensions above referred to, in connection with the discussion meeting, it will be very advisable to request that books of a strong sectarian, theological bias, or eminently destructive of received religious opinions, and likely, therefore, to be offensive to some members of the club, may be introduced into the library; or that newspapers of a similar character be placed on the table. 'Each for himself,' of course, must be the motto; mutual concessions must be carefully avoided, and nothing like the idea ever be admitted of its ever being a common social platform for men of all sects and parties.

A very useful step will be to introduce frequent dramatic entertainments, with dresses, scenery, and with the female parts performed by female acquaintances of the members. This will be pretty sure to alienate the influential friends and supporters of the club in the upper ranks, and drive away the slow-going hum-drum working men. Recitations, dialogues, and acting charades without dresses will not be of any use for this purpose, but would tend decidedly the other way. Dancing may also be introduced, with a judiciously frequent succession of 'penny hops;' and if without supervision or selection of company, so much the better. Merely proposing these cheerful little amusements will be

wise policy; because, if they are resisted, you may probably get up a faction against the ruling powers, and you might, perhaps, worry them into resigning, or, if there are trustees, they will probably refuse permission for these entertainments, and shut up the place, which would be a great relief to all parties concerned, especially to the neighbouring publicans.

In like manner, an agitation might be got up for the introduction of beer into the club, which, like the other measures, whether successful or not, would delightfully damage the concern, and probably sow the seeds of ultimate disruption. Make a good deal of the cry that 'it is not meant to be a teetotal club!' that 'it is very hard a working man cannot have his beer' wherever he is or whatever he may be doing; and that, of course, a pewter pot is an inseparable adjunct to a British workman's enjoyment of a sociable evening.

Betting and gambling can be encouraged 'on the sly;' as, of course, anybody has a right to do what he likes with his own. Few measures will be more valuable for the important purposes in view. You must discourage any interest in the mere games themselves; laugh down the notion of there being any pleasure in the exercise of the skill they may require, and vote the whole thing abominably slow without some trifling stakes. Introduce 'cards;' of course, at first, with an emphatic prohibition against playing for money, which can be gradually and good-humouredly ignored.

If all these measures are frustrated, or fail of their desired effect, get a dozen or two fellows of the roughest character you are acquainted with—thorough-going pot companions — to join the club for a 'lark.' Set them to make themselves systematically disagreeable, and to take every opportunity of making each member in particular uncomfortable; and, if possible, of getting up occasionally a general 'row.' They can take private opportunities of knocking the furniture and games about, cribbing the bagatelle balls or draughts, and generally of being able to say when they leave, they have had 'their —— two-pennorth' out of it, as was recently and elegantly remarked at a large club.

N.B.—Observe that all these hints to members can only be effectually acted on if the ladies and gentlemen interested in the destruction of the club will also kindly do their part by attending to the foregoing hints. Anything like that higher tone and ridiculously improving and elevating tendency which would be given by the presence of persons of culture, refinement, and kindly feeling, would probably be a fatal antidote to the best-laid brotherly scheme for disorganisation.

All this nonsense about making the clubs places for something more than mere amusement and gossip must be inexorably snuffed out. A working man's inability to care about anything but smoking, drinking, or playing after his day's work must be fiercely insisted on, and the whole club and institute must be kept down as nearly to the level of the beershop as may be practicable.

The necessity for all the above trouble in extinguishing the club may be avoided, however, by sensible precautions when the first proposals for establishing it are mooted. Let us, therefore, now glance at a few of the said 'obstructions,' and it may be as well here to state that nearly all the suggestions, both in this chapter and in the last, are happily based on facts which have actually occurred—the few exceptions being, or having been, in a fair way to come under the same category.

HINTS TO OBSTRUCTIVES.

At the preliminary meeting, to which those gentlemen may have been summoned who are thought likely to aid in the movement, let it be strongly urged that the working man hates being patronised, and that the clubs, *therefore*, should be entirely self-supporting, or not exist at all. Should this objection be overruled on any of the grounds mentioned in the chapter 'How can Clubs be made Self-supporting?' a good stand may be made on the ground that the club is not wanted in that particular neighbourhood—though, no doubt, very useful elsewhere; or it can be eloquently maintained that home is the proper place for the working man, and that the clubs take men away from their homes, carefully ignoring the nature of those homes, and keeping out of sight all the proofs that have been accumulated in the pages of our Occasional Papers and Magazine regarding the absurd notion that the clubs help to bring men from the public-house *to* their homes, and to make those homes happier in various ways.

If there is a mechanics' institute in the town, it may probably be converted into a Malakhoff *piece de resistance*, and the inquiry may indignantly be made why the working men don't avail themselves of the great advantages it is supposed to afford. If they won't go to such a good reading-room, capital lectures, classes, &c., of course they won't avail themselves of such common-place and degrading facilities as talking, smoking, and recreation-rooms. Do not the nobility and gentry of England rush with impetuous eagerness every night, after a hard day's work or play, to classes and lectures, and generally 'go in' for hard study? Or if there are a few exceptions among men of a domestic turn, is it not well known that they keep no servants, and that their family sit the whole evening in the kitchen, using it as nursery, parlour, library, and drawing-room, as well as for nice little dinner and music parties?

Should all these and similar arguments prove unavailing, and a number of misguided fanatics be determined to start the Quixotic enterprise, then make the movement as much of 'a hole-and-corner' affair as possible, and especially manage to prevent a public meeting being held, as that might give the working men confidence that all was straightforward and 'above-board.'

As the success of the undertaking will depend mainly, among other important points, on the working men having full confidence in the single-mindedness of the promoters, try and get these gentlemen to connect the club with some religious organisation, or other object exceedingly good in itself, but not likely to be sufficiently appreciated by the individuals they propose to benefit. Working men being proverbially free from suspiciousness, there will be no harm in taking steps that may raise the idea of there being some ulterior object in view. We can never do people any good until they are persuaded that we have some selfish object in view, and working men of course, are not at all in the habit of supposing that religious people have any sinister object at heart in the schemes they may set on foot for their benefit.

If a public meeting is held, endeavour to give it in some way or other a party or sectarian character, by means of the place at which it is held, the way in which it is announced, or the person invited to be chairman; or a few roughs, previously primed with beer, which the publican will, doubtless, gladly give 'free gratis,' judiciously placed in different parts of the meeting, will be able either to create a diversion, by means of choral harmonies specially composed for the occasion, or by interrupting the speaker with a few well-chosen questions.

With regard to the speakers, evidently the first qualification is that they should be totally ignorant of the subject. The second, that they should insist upon some extreme views of their own, and get the meeting divided into parties or factions in support thereof or in opposition thereto. One speaker can urge the necessity of uncompromising and exclusive teetotalism; another can be equally rampant as to the necessity for admitting beer. A strong prejudice may be got up against the movement among the clergy and gentry by insisting that the clubrooms should be opened on a Sunday, or among the working men, by fiercely maintaining that they ought to be entirely closed then.

Points of this and similar character, which can only properly be decided, after a time, by experience and by the subscribers and members themselves, should be pushed prematurely at the public meeting. We have known an influential public meeting end in smoke, and all operations be suspended for a year, mainly owing to one brief, prudent, and well-timed exhortation on a ticklish question, which, but for the purpose in view, should only have been discussed before a deliberative meeting of promoters and members. Contrive, if possible, that the public meeting close without the appointment of a provisional committee for carrying out its objects, by some such speech as, 'Oh, that can easily be done by-and-bye, it's getting late now;' but if the appointment be inevitable, mind and get two or three crotchetty fellows placed upon it—a man of extreme views, and known for his unbusinesslike capacity, appointed as secretary, or some gentleman disliked by the working men, or a working man mistrusted by the employers in the neighbourhood.

When the question of premises has to be discussed, urge the necessity of getting a large building, and raising £2,000 or £3,000, in order to do the thing 'in a way worthy of this important borough;' at least, if the notion of supposing that the money could possibly be got is sufficiently ridiculous. By diverting the

attention of the provisional committee [illegible] scheme of this nature, a great deal of valuable time will be gained, during which the effect of the public meeting will wear off, zeal be cooled down, and the whole concern probably be shelved for a year or two. On the other hand, premises may be taken in a locality so suitable for the early suffocation of a club, or which are so small, dark, dirty, and ill-ventilated, that the few members who go will feel like rats in a haunted house, and be speedily reduced to such dismal extremities, that they will ere long devour one another or commit a double suicide, viz., on themselves and the club of which they were the scanty ornaments.

Should you ultimately be unable to prevent a canvass of the neighbourhood for donations, get the donation list headed by leading men with some very small sums; or you may be able to frustrate the object by proposing the application of the 'Free Libraries Act' to the town, and getting all the determined public-house frequenters, close-fisted or unprosperous tradesmen, and public-spirited ratepayers in general, to come up in sufficient numbers to outvote the stupid, misguided artisans, who would gladly see it introduced. Should the proposal to apply the act be rejected, the people of property and employers in the neighbourhood will perhaps be sufficiently exasperated to make this rejection the ground of refusal to do anything to help such a set of low-minded, beer-loving sots as are desiring the establishment of a working men's club and institute.

N.B.—Prizes will, probably, ere long be offered for preventing clubs from being established, or for pleasantly smothering them if they come into existence.—*Working Men's Social Clubs and Educational Institutes. By Henry Solly.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

On Both Sides of the Sea: A Story of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. By the Author of 'Chronicles of the Schönberg Cotta Family,' &c., &c. Pp. 508. London: T. Nelson and Sons, Paternoster Row.

To admiring readers of the 'Draytons and the Davenants,' by the same author, the volume before us will be right welcome, for it resumes the story of those two very interesting families, discloses to us the fortunes of Olive and Lettice and Roger and the other favourites, (we might almost say friends) to whom the previous volume introduced us, and carries on the history into the next subsequent generation. We might almost say friends, because so well did the author set them before us, so masterly draw the outlines, so skilfully fill in, so magically make his pictures speak and move, that we all along felt them to be real, and to be personal friends gladly welcomed to our heart, even although dressed in the attire, and exhibiting the manners, thinking the thoughts, and responding to the events, of an entirely bygone age. Thus, then, we were delighted on taking up the new volume, to find that the author had placed in store for us so much pleasure as further acquaintanceship with these favourites must give; and the promise thus gratifying us at the opening of the volume, was well fulfilled in those further discoveries of their thoughts, ways, and lives which are made in 'On Both Sides of the Sea.' In all that this author produces, we find the work of a profound student of human nature, well able to divide between what is essential, vital, and unfading on the one hand, and what is incidental and deciduous on the other; and always unable to utter many sentences without dropping some genuine pearls and diamonds by the way. And although here and there something falls, some expression of opinion, some unsuccessful effort at thought that is not worthy of much regard, on the whole we know of very few books of fiction so high and noble in tone, so rich in wisdom, so, in every way deserving to be placed on the table and taken to the very heart of every worthy student. It is not every reader that deserves to open such a book as this, and there are many who could no

more appreciate it than they could supply a box to put a great city in, or a measuring tape of their own weaving to go round the world. But those who have eyes that are open, and hearts that know not only how to beat but what to beat for, 'On Both Sides of the Sea,' with the 'Draytons and the Davenants' (to which, whilst complete in its own interest, it serves as a continuation,) will be gladly placed amongst their most special book treasures.

The Management of Health: A Manual of Home and Personal Hygeine: Being Practical Hints on Air; Light, and Ventilation; Exercise, Diet, and Clothing; Rest, Sleep, and Mental Discipline; Bathing and Therapeutics. By James Baird, B. A., Author of a 'Guide to Australia,' &c. Pp. 108. London: Virtue and Co., 26 Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

THE usual rules for the management of health are here given in a condensed form. They are, for the most part, selected with good sense, but this quality fails the compiler when he treats of diet. 'Narcotics,' he says, 'used in moderation, are among the creatures which are good, to be received with thanksgiving, let the Jeameses say what they will to the contrary.' By the Jeameses he means those who follow King James in his Counterblast to Tobacco; and he not only pleads for this narcotic, but he also allows the 'moderate' use of 'pure and light wines,' and 'wholesome beers,' his plea being grounded mainly on the fact that a craving for such narcotics is prevalent. The same sort of argument applied to pill taking would prove him to be wrong in the remarks addressed by himself to foolish people who dose themselves with purgatives. He says: 'The habit of incessant purging deserves simple denunciation. The existence of this habit is proved by the immense sale of patent medicines, and to such an extent does it prevail, that an eminent physician writes:—"It would seem as if people lived to have stools, and not had stools to live. These last seem, with large classes of English society, to be the alpha and omega of earthly existence; the one thing of never fading interest; the much-loved object of daily and hourly solicitude; all the gigantic efforts of the reasoning faculty; all the empyrean flights of the imaginative faculty are postponed for the elevating function of evacuating the bowels.' All this is absurd folly, worthy of ridicule, were not the consequences so serious. Let those who have fallen into the practice at once give it up, and substitute bathing, exercise and dietetics, for pills, and the benefit of the change will soon be apparent.' We thoroughly approve of this advice.

Little Sermons for Little People. By William Locke. Pp. 48. London: S. W. Partridge, 9, Paternoster-row.

THE writer says, 'Having been called upon some years ago, as Honorary Secretary of the Ragged School Union, to assist in finding matter for "Our Children's Magazine," I put together, in plain language, a few simple thoughts on serious subjects; and gave them the form of short and simple addresses, under the title of "Little Sermons for Little People." I am told they have proved interesting and instructive to many. Some friends advised me to bring them out in a little book at a small price, thinking they would sell generally among our Sunday schools, and tend to fix more deeply in the minds of some careless scholars the essential truths of scripture that they hear so often from the lips of their teachers.' Several editions have already been sold. The doctrine is that common to the 'Evangelical' denominations.

Helena's Household: A Tale of Rome in the First Century. Pp. 437. London: T. Nelson & Sons, Paternoster-row.

WITH pencil dipped in vivid colours the author of Helena's Household paints stirring views of Rome in the first century of the Christian era. In the outset, Nero is on the throne; and in the progress of events we are introduced to the emperor, his court, and courtiers, and many prominent inhabitants of the great city: we witness the burning of Rome; we bleed with the persecution of the Christians; we behold with horror the siege and destruction of Jerusalem; we rejoice in the fall of Nero; listen with admiration to the preaching of Paul, and pass through many other of the famous occurrences of that eventful first century; to which are added situations of intense interest in connection with the lives of various *dramatis personæ*, whose characters and history the author describes with learning and no mean skill. With all its merits, however, and they are many, the tale, as a whole, is defective in its plan. The

interest is allowed to arrive at its acme and to abate long before the close of the story is within view. There is besides, on the whole, an undue predominance of the historical, the disquisitive, and the contemplative elements, over that which is most important,—the development of character, and that which is next in interest,—the march of action. This is all the more to be regretted, as the book has many fine qualities, amongst which we note a thorough nobility of tone; indicating both a high and a broad appreciation of the true Christian life.

My Mother. By Ann Taylor. London: S. W. Partridge, 9, Paternoster-row.

THE old familiar tale of My Mother,

> 'Who fed me from her gentle breast,
> And hush'd me in her arms to rest,
> And on my cheek sweet kisses press'd.'

is here produced in a splendour which it can never have attained before. Type, paper, binding, and illustrations are all magnificent.

The Gospel of Peace. By J. A. Mant. London: Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster-row.

A LOVELY little tale of an angel who, in a dream, gave certain advice and a promise to a little girl; and of the manner in which the advice was carried out, and the promise fulfilled; the end being the death of the child, and the restoration to domestic peace of its father and mother, whom strong drink had threatened hopelessly to divide.

The Philosophy of Revivals: or, The Nature, Necessity, and the Instrumentality of Conversion, and the conditions on which it depends. Pp. 147. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster-row.

THE philosophy of revivals is not to be found in this little volume; but the author gives a series of explanations of his views of the nature, necessity, and instrumentality of conversion, which should secure for his volume grateful reception in 'Evangelical' circles.

The Weaver-boy, who became a Missionary. Being the Story of the Life and Labours of David Livingstone. By H. C. Adams; author of Our Feathered Families; The Young Naturalist's Library, &c. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, 27, Paternoster row. Pp. 318.

Well printed, and nicely bound in cloth this little volume retraces the story of Dr. Livingstone's most interesting career, as far as at present known. It is founded on the great traveller's autobiography, and does not profess to do other than keep pretty closely to the original narrative. The composition is sometimes diffuse and rambling, and not always grammatical. In other respect, the volume is very suitable for youthful readers.

From First to Last; or, Who was to Blame! A Tale founded on facts; showing the evils of giving intoxicating drinks to young children: Illustrated by Fairholt, Williams, and others. By J. P. Hodgson; author of Emma Gray, and other tales. Pp. 42. London: T. T. Lemare, 1 Ivy-lane, Paternoster-row.

THE story of a lovely child, who, through well-meant, but foolish parental training, grew up into a woman, accustomed to drink; and at length died in a workhouse. It is told in an affecting manner.

Anecdotes of the Aborigines; or, Illustrations of the Coloured Races being 'Men and Brethren.' London: S. W. Partridge, 9, Paternoster-row.

A COLLECTION of anecdotes, intended to awaken in the minds of the young a kindly interest in our fellow creatures 'guilty of a skin not coloured like our own.'

Assorted Handbill Packet, containing One and Two-Page Tracts. Stirling: Peter Drummond. London: S. W. Partridge and W. Kent and Co.

EVANGELICAL tracts on the Sabbath, racing, conversion, and the other usual topics. Many of the impressions are in the forty-sixth or forty-seventh million.

Lectures on the Turkish Bath. Delivered at St. Ann's, Cork. By Richard Barter, Esq., M.R.C.S.E. London: J. Burns, 1, Wellington Road, Camberwell.

MAKE the reader long to rush into a Turkish bath at once.

Illustrated Handbills. A shilling assorted packet. London: S. W. Partridge.

ON the whole, a very capital collection of one-page tracts, all illustrated, chiefly on temperance, kindness to animals, smoking, and Sabbath-keeping.

Condensed Temperance Facts for Christians. With Remarks on Ancient and Modern Wines and Malt Liquors. By J. Mackenzie, M.D., J.P., Provost of Inverness, etc. London: Trubner and Co., 60, Paternoster-row.

An admirable pamphlet, well adapted for general distribution. In his preface the author says:—

In the following Observations on Alcohol, I have to acknowledge being greatly indebted to my friend Dr. F. R. Lees, in whose numerous works the history of intoxicants is investigated in a manner that creates astonishment at the immense amount of patient research bestowed on it by a truly philosophical and logical mind, such as is rarely indeed to be met with. I have also profited by studying the Word of God, by the works of, or correspondence with, Baron Liebig, Mulder, Lyon Playfair, Christison, Carpenter, Day, Beaumont, Percy, Gairdner, Johnston, Nott, and many other writers on the same subject in Britain, the Continent, and America; for without the light of chemistry and physiology to show the action of alcohol on the human body, abstainers can give no clear scientific reasons for refusing to drink intoxicating liquors. And without such proofs as these sciences afford, that alcohol is altogether and always injurious to health, however disguised under the names of wine, malt liquors, or cordials, it will be long ere Christians satisfy themselves that the drinking usages of society are *unchristian*, and dangerous to our hopes of eternal life. I have written chiefly for *Christians*—lovers of God and man—under a conviction that ignorance as to the real action of alcohol on their health, mentally and bodily, is the sole reason why they hesitate to become abstainers; since all must admit the inconsistency of professing love to God and man, yet, at the same time, merely to gratify a lust, or to comply with a senseless custom, deliberately acting so as to injure that health of mind and body which we received from God expressly to glorify and serve Him on earth, and be of use to our fellow-creatures.

Fourth Report of the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society. 1868. Manchester: Guardian Office.

The committee of that admirable and important institution,—the Education Aid Society,—report that 'during the past year the committee has entered upon a wholly new experience. This association was first launched in 1864, with an abundance of money, whilst the acquiescence of school managers had to be sought, and scholars were wanted. Gradually, as the society became known, the school grants attained more general circulation; until in the year 1866, a maximum of about 10,000 children of the poor was gathered into the schools. So long as the funds permitted it, this steady increase of the numbers in receipt of grants was a satisfactory condition, as indicating extending usefulness. The original position however is now reversed: scholars are more plentiful than money. The augmentation of the number of children aided has not been the sole cause of this. The income of the society has also declined. As the year 1867 advanced, the disparity between income and expenditure grew so serious that it became necessary to consider in what manner the operations of the society could best be curtailed to meet its altered circumstances.' 'A special meeting of the committee was held in July last, when the following important resolution was passed:—"That in the present state of the finances the usual issue of school grants be postponed until further notice." The committee came to this decision with deep regret, foreseeing that the usefulness of the association must thereby receive a serious check. These fears have been fully realized. The managers and masters of schools who have so long been accustomed to look upon the society as a friend on whom they could rely, have in several instances keenly felt the loss. Looking at the adverse effects which have resulted from the discontinuance of the issue of new grants, it is not overstating the case to say that the cause of education in this locality has thereby experienced a great discouragement. One example may be given. The managers of a large and important school which sprang into existence mainly through the prospect of support from the Education Aid Society (situated in the heart of a poor district), now find themselves in a dilemma, as the withdrawal of £20 per annum from the society involves the school really in a loss of £60 per annum, viz., £20 from the society, £20 of part school fees from parents, and £20 of the government grant. The case of the

parents and children is equally trying. Many applications from parents seeking education aid have been received. Unfortunately, under present circumstances, such applications cannot be entertained. The children themselves, it is to be feared, will be left to swell the already too great numbers of the uneducated. The actual money distributed by the society represents but a small part of the benefits which it confers, as in the majority of cases the supplementary fee paid on behalf of indigent parents is multiplied. The society usually finds one part of the school fee, whilst the parent provides the remainder. These together enable the managers to secure the benefit of the government grant. Thus £20 from this society yields £47 per annum to education. Since the commencement of this association, in the year 1864, about £6,000 has been paid in school fees; or, according to the above calculation, the large amount of £14,000 has been circulated in the promotion of the education of the poor through the action of the Education Aid Society. No stronger argument could be furnished as an appeal for the additional funds which are required.'

Britain's Drawbacks. Being a Brief Review of the Chief of those National Errors which retard the prosperity of our country. By Rev. Professor Kirk, Edinburgh. Glasgow: Christian News Office, 142, Trongate.

A VERY well conceived and ably written pamphlet, which we can very strongly recommend. It deserves to be circulated in millions. To all our readers we say with hearty emphasis, Get it, read it, and distribute it.

Working Men's Social Clubs and Educational Institutes. By Henry Solly, late Secretary to the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Pp. 320. London: Working Men's Club and Institute Union, 150, Strand.

UNQUESTIONABLY *the* book on the subject. Absolutely indispensable to all promoters of Working Men's Clubs.

The Life of Jesus for Young People. By the Editor of 'Kind Words.' London: Henry Hall, 56, Old Bailey.

Now publishing in monthly parts. The story simply and clearly told. The scenery nicely illustrated.

Catalogue of Stirling Tracts, &c.

A WONDERFUL list of religious and temperance publications, all the results of the earnest philanthropic enterprise of one man.

The Church of England Temperance Magazine. A monthly journal of intelligence. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, and S. W. Partridge.

SPIRITED and excellent as ever.

Priest and Pastor, a Word in Season. London: E. Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

A WELL-WRITTEN non-conformist pamphlet.

Catalogue of Publications. Dublin Tract Repository, 10, D'Olier-street, Dublin, and 9, Paternoster Row, London.

Why we should not be Poisoned because we are Sick! or, the Fatal Absurdity of Drug Medication Exposed and Confuted by the Confessions of its Most Eminent Practitioners. Edited by One of its Victims. London: J. Burns, 1, Wellington Road, Camberwell.

Old Jonathan, the District and Parish Helper. Monthly. London: W. H. Collingridge, 117 to 120, Aldersgate-street.

The Baptist Magazine. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Scattered Nation. Edited by C. Schwartz, D.D. London: Elliot Stock.

The Hive; a Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday-school Teachers.

The Church. A monthly penny magazine. London: Elliot Stock.

Meliora.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

THE United States of America seem destined to be the trial ground of social theories. Almost all new ideas originate there. Not a few old ideas, which had, as we supposed, been abandoned long ago, have been revived there. At the present time two remarkable experiments are being worked out there, which involve the ultimate position of woman in the body politic. In Western America she is being reduced to the position which she occupied in early historical times; in Eastern America she is claiming a place far beyond that which has ever been accorded to her. On the shores of the great Salt Lake she has become a mere instrument for populating the newly inhabited district, and patriarchial life is restored under conditions which render polygamy as much a matter of course as when the first great emigrant went forth to take possession of a land wherein he had not a foot of ground. On the shores of the Atlantic, where population is already dense, and women consider a large family a serious calamity, they are demanding equality with men in science, religion, and politics. In Utah women are looked upon as little else than breeders; in New England they are claiming to be teachers. In the West they bring forth the men children who have to convert a wilderness into a fruitful land; in the East they lecture and agitate. In the one country they are confined to the nursery and the kitchen; in the other they occupy the pulpit and the platform. Of these two extremes we may be certain that the first will never prevail in England. It is true that there are in this country something like a million more women than men, and that under a system of monogamy, there must be that number of women who cannot be married. Nevertheless England is far too densely peopled to permit a change which is so repugnant to the Anglo-Saxon mind that, even in the freest and most tolerant country of the world, it is in danger of suppression by armed

force. It is by no means so certain that the other change is not close at hand. The numerical disproportion of the sexes referred to seems to render it inevitable. Granting that the primary duty of women is wifehood and motherhood, we are met by the question, What shall these women do?—these million women for whom there are no husbands, and who cannot become mothers? Hitherto they have been confined almost exclusively to two occupations, the lowest and the highest,—menial service, and the education of youth; and they have been forbidden admission to wellnigh all other employments. If we ask why this is, the answer will be little creditable to those who are responsible for it. Of two things, one; either we, men, deem the education of our children so little important that we are willing to leave it to those whom we deem unfit for most of the functions of life, or else it is pure selfishness which makes us ready to give up to women work which it would be inconvenient for us to undertake, while we exclude them from employments in which they might become our competitors. Whatever be the cause, the result is that, while we permit women to develope the mind, we forbid them to heal the body. In this case the exception proves the rule, and the accidental admission of one or two ladies to the ranks of the medical profession has excited the ingenuity of the other sex to devise means for preventing the recurrence of so portentous an event. Even in other professions the jealousy of men is notorious. Women are indeed allowed to become authors, for the simple reason that there is no possibility of preventing them. They cannot be excluded from the 'Row,' as they are from the 'College' and the 'Hall.' Nor does the British Museum refuse to receive their books, as the managers of the Leeds Fine Arts Exhibition, which is now being held, refused to receive their pictures. The result, viewed from the man's stand-point, is a justification of his selfishness. In poetry, fiction, and even science, women have fairly competed with men, and the names of Mrs. Browning, 'George Eliot,' and Mrs. Somerville, are permanent additions to our literary roll. What is there to prevent women from obtaining equal success in the professions, and even in politics, though sexual jealousy views this last contingency with dismay?

But while we may be sure that the party in possession will not yield it without a struggle, it is nearly certain that they will have to yield it. The fact that women can do something more than 'suckle fools and chronicle small beer' has been proved; and therefore they will not rest satisfied with these functions. Nor is there any reason why they should. If a

woman is capable of being a skilful doctor, why should she not be one, as well as a tender nurse? In this case, especially, the distinction between the work which a woman may do, and that which custom forbids her to do, is so slight that it will be impossible to maintain the existing 'hard and fast line.' It is absurd to write sentimental couplets about woman being a 'ministering angel' when 'pain and anguish wring the brow,' if the ministration is to be confined to preparing the poultice and pouring out the draught, if she is to take no note of the varying symptoms from hour to hour which no one is so well qualified to observe as she. There is an amazing inconsistency in the exclusion of women from political privileges under a sovereign who is a woman. If a woman is competent to be at the head of the state, and to exercise her influence in matters of domestic legislation and foreign policy—an influence that is enormous even in a constitutional country—much more must she be competent to have a share in voting for the 658th part of one branch of the legislature. Or, to put the case in another way,—What shall we think of entrusting the franchise to the beerhouse keeper, and withholding it from Miss Burdett Coutts?—of enfranchising the man whose trade is built up on the ruined health and fortunes of his customers, and of disfranchising the founder of bishoprics, the donor of people's parks, the builder of churches and markets? Is there logic or common sense in holding the small London tradesman competent to decide political questions, while Miss Carpenter, the philanthropist, and Miss Martineau, the political economist, are considered incompetent? Such anomalies as these shew that the test of sex is wholly inadequate. Hitherto it has been said that women ought not to have the franchise because they do not care for politics. Would men care for politics if they had not the franchise? The essayist who has lately been writing in the *Saturday Review* bitter things against women because of their frivolity, would be the last man to consent to the true remedy for frivolity—new interests. We believe, however, that it was a female writer who uttered the worst slander against her sex, when it was said that a woman would always vote for the handsomest man, or for him who paid her the neatest compliment, or made her the most costly present. That there are women who would do this is possible, for it is certain that there are men who would vote for the candidate who gave nine pints of beer rather than for him who would give only one gallon. But it is doubtful if women in the mass would prove more weak or more venal than men. If they were well grounded in politics, and had a rational and intelligent interest in the wants of

their own time, and were as free to study the parliamentary campaigns of the Victorian age as they are the Wars of the Barons and the Roses, they would be far better qualified to vote than at least one half of the electors who will be on the new register.

The present unsatisfactory position of women is partly the cause, partly the effect of their imperfect education. They are unfit for the duties of citizenship, because they are not trained for them; they are not trained because they are deemed unfit for them. The same thing may be said of such education as they do receive. It is assumed that women need not be thorough in anything, that it is enough for them to have a smattering of a few subjects, and the result is an education lamentably superficial; and because it is superficial the pupils are never thoroughly taught. How completely teachers and taught pursue each other through this vicious circle is abundantly shewn in the reports made by the assistant commissioners to the Schools Inquiry Commission. The reports of Mr. Fitch and Mr. Bryce are in this respect especially valuable, and as they enter most completely into the whole subject of female education, we shall do our readers a service in laying before them remarks and suggestions, which, being contained in one of a series of twenty blue books of some 800 pages each, are not easily accessible.

Mr. Bryce, who was appointed to examine the schools of Lancashire, points out that there are three motives by which a parent is influenced in determining how much he will pay for his sons' education, what school he will choose for them, and what branches they shall learn. The first is an appreciation of the worth of education, as training the mind, and moulding the character. The second is a deference to the opinions of persons of his own rank, which requires boys to remain for a certain number of years at school, be taught certain things there, and have a certain sum of money expended upon them. The third is a desire that his sons should get on in the world, and should therefore have the knowledge and the sharpness that may help them to do so. Of these three the last is the most powerful and the most common. But in the case of girls it does not exist. Except those daughters of small shopkeepers and publicans who are put on market days behind the counter, and those daughters of poor professional men who must go out as governesses, there are no girls to whom knowledge is of practical value,—none of whom it is supposed that the education has anything to do with the after life. The first motive influences very few parents as regards the sons, and still fewer as regards the

daughters. "Although," adds Mr. Bryce, "the world has now existed for several thousand years, the notion that women have minds as cultivable and as well worth cultivating as men's minds, is still regarded by the ordinary British parent as an offensive, not to say a revolutionary paradox." It is therefore the second or social motive that practically controls the education of girls. Society has agreed to set a high value upon a young lady's music, dancing, and general air of good breeding, and a somewhat lower value upon her French and her skill in drawing and fancy work. These, therefore, are the arts in which parents desire that their daughters should excel. This low standard, as Mr. Fitch (the assistant commissioner who inquired into the schools of Yorkshire and Durham) points out, is the greatest hindrance to improvement in the education of girls. He found many a governess earnestly endeavouring to improve the quality of the instruction under the great difficulties of parental apathy and discouragement. Everywhere he was told by the governesses that the parents cannot 'see the use of' any subject of instruction, except plain rudiments and accomplishments. The girl's business is not, like the boy's, to get on in life by her own exertions, but to get a husband. Hence she is taught the accomplishments which will make her attractive before marriage, rather than the solid instruction which will make her a valuable and intelligent companion afterwards. In fact, there is a prevalent belief that such instruction is an actual disqualification. And to some degree it certainly is so. A man who is himself but imperfectly educated would be slow to choose a life-long companion who is better instructed than himself. Presuming that the husband and the wife have equal abilities and equal love of knowledge, the second has an advantage over the first in the greater leisure which she enjoys and the greater opportunities for study. It may seem a very unworthy jealousy which would make men prefer a superficially instructed to a really educated companion, but such jealousy does undoubtedly exist. The consequence is that women will not incur the danger of spoiling their future career by a reputation for bookishness. As marriage is always considered the end and object of their lives for which all other considerations should be sacrificed, it is easy to see how small are the chances of their undergoing the labour of acquiring knowledge which will in their opinion injure far more than aid them. Mothers are acutely sensible of this consideration, and their views, as represented to Mr. Bryce by the schoolmistresses, were invariably the same. 'They' (the mothers), say the mistresses, 'are profoundly indifferent to their daughters' diligence, (as a

moral quality) or to their progress in the more solid branches of an English education. If a girl begins to get interested in the school-work, and is seen in the evening busy over her theme, her mother comes to me and says "Now miss, you must not make Augusta a blue."' 'If I report that another does not try to improve herself in arithmetic, the mother says,—"Well, you know, I am anxious about her music of course, but it really does not matter about her arithmetic, does it? Her husband will be able to do all her accounts for her, you know." I find people who are willing to pay £2. 12s. 6d. for twelve dancing lessons, grumbling if they are asked to pay £3. 3s. for a quarter's English, including all the regular school work. To those of us who are conscientious, and wish to do the best for the mind and character of our pupils, school-keeping is a thankless and troublesome task.' To those who are content to float with the stream, putting the names of eminent 'accomplishment' masters in the prospectus, and leaving the rest of the teaching to ill-paid governesses, it is an easy one. Of course, the first are the few, the second are the many. Of the schools conducted by the latter, Mr. Fitch gives us a vivid but melancholy picture. The first thing which he noticed was that girls' schools are much smaller than boys'. The average number of pupils in one of the first is but twenty-five. This fact is due partly to the parents' belief that a small school is more like a home than a large one, and that the pupils in the first are more likely to obtain attention and a regard to individual peculiarities than they would be in the second. It is due also in no small measure to the greater jealousy which is felt with regard to the daughters' than the sons' school associates. A boy will be sent to a grammar school, in which are boys of all ranks; such an arrangement would be considered highly objectionable for a girl. Then again, school-mistresses generally shrink from the responsibility of superintending a large establishment. They aim rather to raise their terms than to increase their numbers. The result is that girls' schools are much more expensive than boys'. They ought to be less expensive, seeing that women who do a given amount of work are satisfied with a smaller remuneration than men, and that the expenses of a household consisting entirely of female inmates need not be so great. Nevertheless, relatively to the advantages purchased, and the teaching power employed, much more is always charged for girls than for boys. If a lady is to obtain even a humble livelihood out of the profits on twenty or twenty-five pupils, she must make a large demand on each; consequently, the 'extras' form a formidable item in the

school bills. Taking the typical bills which Mr. Fitch supplies, we find that one-third of the whole sum paid for education, apart from boarding, is for 'general school-work,' and two-thirds for the extras or 'accomplishments.' 'Nothing,' says Mr. Fitch, 'can well be more extravagant than the waste of money and of educational resources in these small schools. There is little life, no collective instruction, and nothing to call forth the best powers of either teacher or learner in a school where each class consists of two or three pupils only. Even if a teacher were highly qualified she would in time grow dispirited and mechanical under the sense that she was frittering away her strength in small efforts, and producing results so insignificant in proportion to them. But the teachers are not highly qualified.' Mr. Fitch estimates that the number of governesses who have been educated with a view to the work, and who contemplated it as a profession, is very small, not more than six or seven per cent. The majority of schoolmistresses are women who wish to get a living without loss of position, and who, considering teaching to be 'genteel,' enter upon it without any qualifications. Boarders being more profitable than day scholars, the schoolmistress lays herself out for the first, and hence the greater number of girls are for a number of years consigned to a conventual kind of life, and lose the advantages to be derived from the more healthy and natural atmosphere of an orderly home in which there are father, mother, and brothers.

The artificialness of the boarding-school life is not the worst of its defects, for that is capable to a great extent of being corrected when the girl's school years are over. A more serious defect is the want of systematic discipline. The rule is generally lax, the pupils are usually dawdling. It is for this reason that the use of masters is desirable. Really, this resort to male tuition is a confession that the schoolmistresses are imperfectly trained. A woman ought to make a better teacher than a man, because she has quicker sympathies, and a greater facility in communicating what she knows. But unfortunately her knowledge is meagre and indefinite, and she does not seem to possess the same power of enforcing attention and inciting to industry that a man does. Up to a certain age the pupil will perhaps be as amenable to the mistress as to the master; but after that—that is after twelve or thirteen—, girls will certainly pay more deference to the second, probably because he is more exigent. The system of giving lectures is one of very questionable utility. The lecturer has a very miscellaneous syllabus to begin with. One schoolmistress said to Mr. Fitch, 'My young people take great

interest in science. We have a lecturer who comes weekly during the season, and gives us courses on astronomy, heraldry, (!) botany, and architecture. Sometimes, too, when it is quite fine, we go out and pluck flowers, and afterwards dissect them and have a lesson on their parts.' Only a person utterly ignorant of science could suppose it possible to teach any one of these subjects, much less all four, in a series of a dozen lectures. The little that the lecturer might do he does not attempt. Instead of laying down definite principles which might be afterwards applied by the pupils themselves, he generally shoots far above their heads with poetic generalisation about science, and avoids detail of any kind. The day of lecture is, however, an incident to relieve the monotony of the convent-like life. "Other lessons are put away, dress is specially attended to, and the young ladies ranged in close order sit and smile rather as spectators at a festal exhibition than as students." This is but an illustration of the superficial character of girls' education. Up to a certain point the instruction is as systematic as that of boys. But beyond that point all is desultory and aimless. There is nothing bracing, nothing demanding close attention or a concentration of powers. Shakspere and Milton may be read with pleasure, but no attempt is made to understand the archaic words or the allusions. Even in the best schools the highest ideal seems to be to produce 'well-informed women,' but it does not enter into the scheme to make them thinkers, or to encourage the pursuit of truth as truth. If we take up the subjects that are generally taught, we shall find the superficiality mentioned above pervading each. Needlework degenerates into the *strenua inertia* of 'fancy work,' which takes the form of 'tatting,' and 'crochet' in low church, and of altar cloth embroidery in high church schools. French is not taught grammatically, and much more is thought of a pure accent than of grammatical accuracy. Music is taught indiscriminately to girls whether they have an ear or not, and to this 'accomplishment' they devote an inordinate amount of time. Drawing is not so universally taught, and, where it is, the great object seems to be to turn out sketches that may be shewn at home, and which, by their high finish, always betray the drawing master's handiwork. The 'finishing' school is just like all other schools, except that the charges are higher and the pupils therefore more 'select.' Altogether it is not only possible, but highly probable, that a girl whose education has cost £700 will leave school knowing absolutely nothing, if by knowing we mean comprehending and grasping a subject. She will sing, play the piano, get through a piece of worsted

work, know enough French to ask the price of a pair of gloves in a Paris shop, retain for a few years a certain number of dates and disjointed facts, and find the latitude and longitude of a place on the globe. All the rest is nought.

It is not surprising that this state of things should exist, unsatisfactory though it be. The small importance attached to female education in former times is shown by the fact that whereas the Schools Commissioners found 820 endowed schools existing for the education of boys, they found only twenty existing for the education of girls. The same indifference shewn in mediæval and post-mediæval times was exhibited in a very remarkable manner only a few months ago, when the great scheme for middle-class education in London was started without any provision for the teaching of girls. There seems to have been a general consensus of opinion that education is not adapted for women, and that women are not adapted for education. Assuming that domestic life is their only occupation, learning is supposed to be incompatible with it. Unfortunately the instruction given is not suitable even for this standard.

'I cannot,' says Mr. Fitch, 'find that any part of the training given in the ladies' schools educates them for domestic life, or prepares them for duties which are supposed to be specially womanly. I am repeatedly told that the cooking, the government of servants, the superintendence of their work, the right management of the purse, and the power to economise all the resources of a household, are of more importance to a girl than learning. All this is confessedly true. But then these things *are not taught* in schools, nor are the laws of health, the elements of chemistry, the physiology which would be helpful in the case of children, the political economy which would preserve ladies from mistakes in dealing with the poor, nor any, in short, of those studies which seem to stand in a close relation to the work a woman has to do in the world. Everywhere the fact that the pupil is to become a woman and not a man operates upon her course of study negatively not positively. It deprives her of the kind of teaching which boys have, but it gives her little or nothing in exchange. It certainly does not give her any exceptional teaching adapted to her career as a woman.'

It is to the credit of the teachers that the attempt to improve this most inefficient tuition should have been made in the first place by them. The supply has, in fact, preceded the demand, the market has been furnished with a better article than was asked for. The schoolmistresses have shewn the parents a more excellent way, often in vain, though, at last, even match-making mothers are beginning to doubt if the 'accomplished' ignoramus — the girl who can sing, and dance, and draw, and read a French novel, but who knows nothing of the literature and the history of her own country, and nothing of any single branch of science—is, after all, the highest type of girlhood *per se*, or, which is more to their purpose, the type that young men prefer. It is in-

teresting and not a little amusing, to see how whole tons of theory, with regard to the mental capacity of girls, are being out-balanced by an ounce of fact. The extension of the University local examinations to girls has extinguished a whole host of popular notions of most venerable antiquity. To Cambridge the merit of this great achievement is due. The authorities of the University proceeded boldly, and yet cautiously, in their somewhat startling innovation. Five years ago they gave permission to a voluntarily formed committee to conduct a trial examination of girls with the same papers as had been used for boys. The result was so successful that they followed up this experiment by admitting female candidates to the examination of male candidates. This change seemed to supply just what was wanting in the education of girls; it gave a stimulus to the pupils and system to the teachers. At the trial examination, above mentioned, 90 per cent. of the candidates failed in arithmetic, but two years later all but three of the candidates passed. The report of the Syndicate of the University, for 1867, is full of most gratifying evidence in support of the equal capacity of girls to that of boys. The report says, for instance: 'In Shakspere the girls were again successful, and on the whole more than the boys. In religious knowledge the work was in general well done. In the papers on the *Horæ Paulinæ*, on the catechism, and on Whately's Evidences, the girls excelled the boys. Three seniors attempted Greek, all of whom passed. Five out of seven seniors, six out of eight juniors passed in Latin. In French eighty-four out of eighty-eight juniors, seventy-two out of seventy-four seniors, passed;—and of the juniors the girls translated with far greater spirit than the boys, and were equally superior in handwriting and spelling. Twelve seniors and ten juniors passed in German, six of each division obtained marks of distinction, none failed. Two seniors and one junior obtained nineteen-twentieths of the marks. The examiner was much gratified with the work sent up.' The report further states that girls 'are not tempted by the hope of obtaining a place in the Honour Classes to try a great variety of subjects; comparatively few take the full number of sections allowed.' The characteristic mental difference of the sexes is thus illustrated in the same report:—

'The best boys write with vigour and precision, the best girls with ease and vivacity. The boys were for the most part content to retail information derived from books, or to describe the process of some branch of manufacture,—the girls were eager to express their own views, and were most successful when they endeavoured to trace their own intellectual phases, or to depict the trifling incidents of every-day life.'

This year's examination is 'equally encouraging with its

predecessors.' Girls were examined in Latin, Greek, Euclid, Algebra, Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Mechanics, and Political Economy, as well as the more usual subjects. The examiner in Euclid, who is the examiner for the whole of England, stated that the girls seemed able to distinguish with far more readiness between the essential and the formal portions of a proof than the boys. This is quite in accordance with the reports of some of the assistant commissioners. For instance—Mr. Gifford, who inspected the extra-metropolitan portion of Surrey, and the County of Sussex, mentions that in a proprietary school, in which boys and girls were working side by side in the same class, he found the girls quite as proficient in Euclid as the boys. To put against this, we have the remarkable statement made by the same gentleman, that the singing of boys in class is more correct than that of girls, although this has hitherto been deemed almost exclusively a female accomplishment.

Akin to the university local examinations are the examinations of individual schools. It is probable that the second plan will not be practicable to any large extent for some years to come. The assistant commissioners give different information on this point. One says that the higher class of schoolmistresses would gladly have their work tested by this means. Another describes the almost ludicrous alarm with which even his general questions as to the conduct of the school were received, and the indignant resentment with which the mistresses resisted such 'inquisitorial' investigations. We do not anticipate that either boys' or girls' schools will submit to formal examinations for some time to come. The university examiners will always be more popular, because the teachers can always send up their picked pupils. It is for this very reason that the examination of the schools is so much more desirable, and would be so much more efficient.

It is satisfactory to find that the old prejudices against instructing girls in the higher branches of study are fast disappearing. The main objection—that such instruction injures a girl's marriage prospects—still exists to a lamentable degree, but it is not so universal as it was. As Mr. Fitch well says: 'It would be a strange commentary on our present system of education if it could be proved that the studies which are supposed to elevate and refine men, had an opposite effect on the other sex.' The fact is, that even if our aim in instructing our daughters be solely to train them morally, we shall best reach that aim by training them intellectually. The most formidable enemy to a high moral standard is mental vacuity. To withdraw a girl's mind from what is frivolous and to kindle her in-

terest in serious and thoughtful study, is the surest way to defeat that adversary of whom the nursery couplet says that he always finds mischief for idle hands to do. If men in choosing their wives would remember this they would spare themselves much disappointment, no little sorrow, and sometimes downright shame. The ignorant wife is the frivolous woman whose only resources are shopping and scandal; the first is a very costly employment, as many a husband suddenly surprised with a long milliner's bill can testify; the second is, at best, a mischievous and not unfrequently a dangerous occupation, tempting the teller of scandal to be at last the actor. The fear which men who are not so foolish as to be jealous of their wives' acquirements entertain that learning spoils their chief charm, modesty, and converts them into those most insufferable of all beings, female prigs, is not borne out by facts. It is quite untrue, says Mr. Fitch, that 'the schools in which the intellectual aim is highest shew any deficiency in good breeding. It happens that the finest manners I ever saw among young people,—the most perfect self-possession, modesty, and freedom from affectation, were in a class of girls who were brought to me to demonstrate a proposition in Euclid.' In truth there is nothing which humbles so much as the attainment of knowledge. It is only when we begin to learn that we discover how ignorant we were and are. The more we learn the more we find we have to learn. It is the mountaineer, not the idle saunterer in the plain, who most truly appreciates the height of the mountain. Women being naturally more modest than men, will be even less likely than they to be puffed up by learning. The physical argument against education has a little, but only a very little, more foundation than the moral. Women have not, it is true, the strength of men, and perhaps would break down more quickly under the severe strain of an examination for the India civil service, or for one of the higher degrees at the London university. It is for this reason that the advocates of examinations deprecate the publication of class lists for girls. They say that these find quite sufficient stimulus in the desire to obtain a certificate of merit, and that it is unnecessary to introduce the element of personal rivalry. In fact they adopt the Oxford rather than the Cambridge system so far as they classify at all. It is a question gravely discussed if the former is not the better system for young men as well as for girls. No doubt it is desirable that girls who read for an examination should have a proper physical training. The first is likely to bring about the second. At present both factors are wanting. Neither mind nor body is really educated, and the result is that a girl, when she leaves school, is

too often vapid and weakly, and takes to reading French novels on a sofa, as the most suitable employment for an empty brain and a feeble spine. Miss Beale, the principal of the Cheltenham Ladies' College, puts the point well when, in her evidence, she says, 'That for one girl who suffers from over work, there are hundreds who suffer from the feverish love of excitement, and the irritability produced by idleness, and frivolity, and discontent. I am persuaded,' she adds, 'and my opinion has been confirmed by experienced doctors, that the want of wholesome occupation lies at the root of much of the languid debility of which we hear so much after girls have left school.'

A higher standard of teaching necessarily involves better schools and better teachers. It is more easy to improve the first than the second. One great fault of existing schools has been well pointed out by Miss Wolstenholme, the proprietor of a private school near Manchester. The small size of most girls' schools hinders their efficient management, because the fees which are required to obtain efficient teachers fall heavily on the parents, when there are only a few between whom the amount can be distributed. The establishment of large day schools in all important towns would be of great service. Girls, no doubt, will be best brought up at home, so far as domestic training is concerned. The life of the boarding school is too artificial to be wholesome. If, therefore, it were possible to send girls to a large and thoroughly good school every day, they would obtain the best education from the most efficient masters at a moderate cost, as boys do; and they would not be consigned for some six or seven years to a semi-conventual life. Such a school is the Ladies' College at Cheltenham, with its 130 pupils; such, too, is Miss Buss's North London Collegiate School, with its 200 pupils. Even in small towns the experiment has been tried on a restricted scale. The Rev. F. V. Thornton has, for instance, established at Callington, a Cornish town of some 2000 inhabitants, a school which the children of both sexes and all classes attend, all being educated together, and with the best results. The Rev Mark Pattison, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, has suggested that an institution should be established in every large town and populous neighbourhood, where systematic courses of lectures, at a moderate fee, should be given to girls after their governess education is over, the institution to be of local origin, and locally managed by ladies, but under a central board in London. Of course the improvement of schools now will have as one most important result, the improvement of teachers ten or fifteen years hence. At the

same time this amelioration is not all the change that is required. We need some test by which the fitness to teach may be ascertained. We may establish good schools, but we cannot compel all girls to go there; nor can we provide against the adoption of teachership as a *pis aller*, by women who have been driven by the death of parents, or the loss of money, to enter this profession as a means of livelihood. The only safeguard which can be offered is the examination and certificate system. If the duty of examining governesses, and certifying those who were competent, were once committed to some competent authority, the difficulty would be surmounted. It would be of small importance that the examinations were voluntary, so far as the state was concerned. Practically they would soon cease to be voluntary. The public would compel governesses to undergo the examination, by refusing to employ those who could not produce proofs that they had passed it. This, we think, is clear, even from the evidence of Mr. Robson, secretary of the College of Preceptors. Although he was strongly in favour of a Compulsory School Registration Act, similar to the Medical Registration Act, he could not, on cross-examination by the commissioners, shew how such an act could be applied without inflicting great hardship and involving unnecessary interference; and at the same time he admitted that, even though the number of teachers who had submitted to examination by the college was very small, it was increasing, and the public were beginning to estimate at its right value the worth of a college certificate. A new scheme like this necessarily takes considerable time to obtain proper recognition, but in such a case the beginning is half the battle. When such an institution commences to be recognised, it will, if it deserves general recognition, speedily obtain it. Moreover, it must be remembered that it is only within the last four or five years of the twenty-two during which the College of Preceptors has existed, that public attention has been aroused to the unsatisfactory nature of English middle-class education. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the influence of the college will now rapidly increase, unless, indeed, some institution with greater reputation should undertake the work that is so urgently required. As we write, a petition has been presented to the Vice-Chancellor and the Senate of the University of Cambridge, praying that body to undertake the examination of women above the age (18), which is now the limit for candidates at the university local examinations, with the view of granting certificates that would be a guarantee of fitness to teach. The memorialists include some of the leading female educationists

in the country, and their prayer is supported by many of the most distinguished members of the university. By granting this prayer the university would add another to the claims it has lately made upon our gratitude, as a great national institution which is yearly becoming more alive to the incalculable good it may effect by conferring upon the whole country the benefit formly confined to a small class. If the universities will undertake the onerous, but noble, task of examiners for the nation, they need not fear the result of any changes, however great and however dreaded. They will be founded upon the rock of national gratitude too surely to be shaken by the temporary blast of popular clamour.

At the commencement of this article we referred to one especial branch of women's education, the training of female medical practitioners. The annual meeting of the Female Medical College, which has been held in London while we have been writing, renders it desirable that we should say a few words upon an institution commanding our warmest sympathy. The profession of medicine was formerly open to every one, just as veterinary surgery is now; but, in process of time, as the healing art became more and more of a science, certain societies and corporations, such as the Apothecaries' Company and the College of Surgeons, instituted examinations and obtained power to confer diplomas. By degrees the permissive system became a compulsory one. Eventually the Medical Registration Act was passed a few years ago, and thus rendered more rigid than ever the submission to examination as a condition of the right to practice. There is no doubt that this change has, in the main, been a vast improvement upon the old days when the barber and the surgeon were one and the same person. But there was one branch of practice, midwifery, which could not be thus restricted. It was found impossible to forbid women to act as midwives, for the simple reason that the poor are unable to pay for the services of qualified accoucheurs. Moreover, this was a department so little lucrative that the profession did not care to monopolise it. Consequently, while women were rigorously excluded from the highly paid branches of medicine and surgery, they were left in undisturbed enjoyment of the ill-rewarded obstetric practice. Until lately these *sages femmes* have been of the lowest class, both socially and intellectually. The Female Medical College is intended to provide a higher class, to instruct ladies in fact in a profession which was, until the time of Louis XV., exclusively their own. In doing this a double object is obtained. Qualified female attendance is offered to women of all classes, at a time when it

is peculiarly fitting that female rather than male assistance should be offered; and a new career is opened to many women who are for ever complaining, and with reason, of the few employments which masculine monopoly has left open to them. Thus far the College, which has been established in Fitzroy-square, London, has been exceedingly successful. At the first annual meeting just held, it was stated that there were sixty-nine enrolled students, and of these many have already settled in practice, and have succeeded so admirably, that amongst a large number of cases which they have attended, not a single death or casualty has occurred. The College has wisely refrained from connecting itself with what is called the Woman's Rights Question. It is desirous of receiving the support of those who would not be prepared to adopt what we may term Social Radicalism. Moreover, it is important that the College should not set itself in antagonism to the medical profession, since it is to the members of that profession that female medical students must look for instruction during some years to come. At the present time lectures are given by well-known professors. The number of students has increased so rapidly that there is every reason to expect that the College will shortly be self-supporting. It is now purposed to raise a special fund of £1,000 for obtaining a Royal Charter, or Act of Parliament, by which the College would be empowered to grant diplomas. At present the students have the opportunity of becoming practically acquainted with their work by attendance at the Lying-in Hospital, in Endell-street, Bloomsbury. The readers of *Meliora* will be particularly interested in knowing that Dr. Edmunds, who is the chief founder of the College, and a warm supporter of the temperance movement, has succeeded in eliminating alcohol from the treatment of lying-in women, and that those accustomed hitherto to their beer or stout, have learnt experimentally and to their great surprise, that their recovery is much more favourable under a milk than under an alcohol regimen.

There is one other institution which we must notice, though as yet it is rather a project than a reality. It is proposed to establish for women, a college, in the Oxford sense of the term. The scheme contemplates the erection of a large building within 100 miles of London, capable of holding 100 students, and calculated to cost £30,000. The resident authorities are to be women, but the various classes will be taught by either men or women, as may be found desirable. Local residence will be made an indispensable condition, and it is intended that the college course, including board and lodging, shall not cost more than £80 a year. Some eminent

persons have come forward to assist the scheme, and the council includes the Bishop of St. David's, Lady Churchill, the Dean of Ely, Lady Eastlake, Mr. Llewellyn Davies (who has described the project in *Macmillan's Magazine*, for June), Mr. Gorst, M.P., the Recorder of London, Mr. Paget, Miss Swanwick, Miss Greenwell (author of the Life of Lacordaire), and Miss Davies, the honorary secretary. One lady, Mrs. Bodichon, has headed the subscription list with £1,000, and many other subscribers have given £100 each. It is, as yet, too early to say if this somewhat bold, and certainly most interesting scheme, will succeed. We shall, at least, wish it success, even those of us who most firmly hold with the author of 'The Princess,' that

> '———Woman is not undevelopt man.
> But diverse: could we make her as the man,
> Sweet love were slain: his dearest bond is this,
> Not like to like, but like in difference.
> Yet in the long years liker must they grow;
> The man be more of woman, she of man;
> He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
> Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world:
> She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
> Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind;
> Till at the last she set herself to man,
> Like perfect music unto noble words.'

THE EDUCATION OF BOYS.

IN one sense, more than either extension of the franchise or the Irish Church, education is, and ought to be, the question of the day. The generation now rising up will most imperfectly perform their duties as electors, and will be unable to form a really sound judgment on any momentous or disputed subject, if they remain contented with a culture so sordid and superficial that it is barely one degree better than blind ignorance. The elaborate report of the schools inquiry commission will, when complete, fill twenty-one volumes, and will supply an enormous mass of valuable information and suggestion, well calculated to form a text-book for real reformers in future times. What has been already published proves, in a clear and positive manner, the existence of a state of things which most thoughtful men have at least suspected, but which is, to say the least of it, deplorable. For want of knowledge, energy, and organisation, we have allowed our educational machinery to get altogether out of gear, and we stand face to face with a wasteful and barren expenditure of

means provided by noble charities, with ignorant scholars, careless parents, dulled and disheartened efforts on the part of the masters, and, with but few exceptions, parents, pupils, and teachers all singularly apathetic. For the wealthy, a good education can no doubt be obtained at our large public schools aided by the universities; for the poor, the privy council schools in large towns are doing excellent work; but for the middle and lower middle classes, which, after all have practically ruled the country for more than a score of years, there are literally no decent schools provided to which a man may send his son with the certainty that for a reasonable sum a good and sound education—either primary or secondary—will be given. In the present article we propose to examine that portion of the subject which refers to the state of education in the manufacturing districts, more especially in Manchester and Liverpool, and the condition of the endowed or grammar schools, as well as of the proprietary and private adventure schools, and to arrive at some conclusion as to what they actually effect for the pupils who use them, chiefly the sons of shopkeepers, clerks, foremen, petty manufacturers, and professional men of moderate incomes.

With regard to endowed schools, these are in all conscience rich and numerous enough. Mr. Fitch's report is perhaps the clearest in arrangement, and the most fertile in suggestion for schemes of improvement that has yet appeared; it also possesses a valuable addition in the shape of an educational map, to which we recommend attention. This gentleman visited upwards of sixty endowed schools in the West Riding of Yorkshire, besides a multitude of seminaries of other kinds; and Mr. Bryce reports on about the same number in Lancashire. As might be expected from the antiquity of the foundation of many of the endowed schools, the decay of some places, the rise and progress of others, with the shifting of population in these days, it has come to pass, that these schools are often in remote places, where the inhabitants are few and decreasing, or in cathedral towns where, at most, the population is stationary in numbers; while in manufacturing towns, the prosperity and population of which have increased enormously within a very few years, there is a great deficiency of endowment. Thus Giggleswick, a village joined with Settle, having 2000 and odd inhabitants, possesses about £1,200 per annum; York, with 40,000 and odd, has about £2,654 per annum for education; while Huddersfield, Middlesbro', Dewsbury, &c., are unprovided for. The same sort of thing occurs in Lancashire, of which Blackrod and Middleton are instances; both possess endowed schools with exhibitions attached, but they

have literally no scholars to take advantage of them. If we inquire how far these schools carry out the will of the founders, and whether, if they have departed therefrom, it has been for the advantage of the school, and with a view to meet the wants of the age, the answer is as unsatisfactory as can be. Hardly any comply with the letter, few with the spirit of the founder's will, and any alterations have been uniformly made to the disadvantage of education. The founders have usually ordained the study of Greek and Latin, simply because, in their days, that was the best learning known. Out of sixty schools, thirty-one afford instruction of the same pretensions as a national school; about twenty-five are steadily decaying; five or six only have taken a new lease of life. Even on the books of these sixty schools there are only 3,510 scholars; the number actually in attendance fall far short of this estimate. Of these, twenty-nine per cent. professed to learn Latin, and seventeen per cent. Greek, yet about thirteen per cent. only could actually read a simple passage from a Latin writer. Hardly any school has its full complement of scholars; notwithstanding this, the buildings are mostly so ill ventilated, cramped, and small, that often the atmosphere is of the worst kind. Sometimes two or three pupils will represent the whole school; the master, of course, pocketing his salary as usual. In many, the privileges of scholarships and exhibitions at the universities have lapsed from disuse. Some almost incredible examples of the shameful abuse of the charities are mentioned in the report (Vide. p. 156, 177, 132, 127). In fact the endowed schools do not fit anything like 20 per cent. of their pupils for the universities, and it is estimated that, on the whole, parents so far distrust the grammar schools that three-fourths prefer placing their children at private schools. One of the first points which influences a school is the constitution of the governing body, but in many cases the trustees are too few, or incompetent, or absentees, are deficient in local knowledge, or in energy. The rule which permits a certain number of them to die out without renewal is not likely to produce an efficient board. A case is mentioned wherein out of twelve there were but three living, and of these two were paralytic and the third imbecile. It is in the selection of the trustees that, in Lancashire especially, a most beneficial alteration might be made. There is a larger admixture of Nonconformists and Catholics in the population than in most counties, but it is the rule in practice, though not of necessity, to elect the trustees from members of the English Church only, and hence the parents of boys of other denominations feel themselves unjustly deprived of any share

in the government of these schools, and send their children elsewhere. It is pleasant to find that as respects the actual management of the funds there has been more carelessness than dishonesty. Often the monies have accumulated, and the lands been greatly improved, while the school-house has been left miserably ill ventilated, and mean in appearance, as at Bolton and Oldham. The scholars as a consequence fall off rapidly. Here the trustees have obviously misunderstood their primary duty. The commissioners report that in many places the trustees, masters, and parents alike were desirous of improving the school, but were ignorant of the mode of obtaining the necessary powers. The Court of Chancery they had learned to dread and distrust; to Parliament they never dreamed of applying; and, though they knew vaguely that the Charity Commissioners had some kind of authority, there was no one on their side able and willing to take active steps in the matter. Moreover, though the masters are sometimes obstructed by the board, the board often find their hands tied by the master. The office of the last is sometimes regarded as a freehold property. He may not do his duty, but the board can neither stop his salary, dismiss him, nor turn him out of his house. He is, indeed, bound to teach Greek and Latin gratuitously, but he may charge fees for all other instruction. In some instances, therefore, we find it stated that he deliberately chokes off all the non-paying boys in order to enlarge his emoluments; in others, he prefers indolence, and teaches the boys in such a slovenly, desultory way that hardly any children come to him, and he enjoys his salary in peace. Again, he is sometimes a university man, able and ready to teach Latin, Greek, and mathematics, but the neighbourhood is poor and thinly populated, and the parents who send their boys do not desire that kind of teaching. There is an obvious tendency to a falling off in the social standing of the scholars at grammar schools. Those men who were themselves educated there send their sons either to more celebrated schools or to private seminaries, and shopkeepers prefer the latter in order to obtain some imaginary advantages in commercial education. The master may be a scholar, occasionally a really able man, and with (though rarely) a natural capacity for teaching, but he has no competent staff to teach and train those children who are sent to him in what they ought to learn, and the others do not come to be taught what he really could teach them. It is satisfactory to find that the religious difficulty is small, and that where in large towns there is sectarian animosity, it is more often owing to political antagonism than anything else.

In the smaller towns and open districts Protestant parents do not demand any distinctive dogmatic teaching for their children, but do not object to it so long as it is not forced upon them. At the same time 'they desire, though not earnestly, that religion should in some general way be recognised in the school.' On this account the catechism is sometimes objected to, but the Scriptures hardly ever. If any dissentients are found, it is among the Catholics or Unitarians. Mr. Bryce found one small grammar school where both the trustees and head master were Unitarians, but many of the scholars were of the Church of England. In another, managed by a Baptist congregation, the master also being a Baptist, the children were of all denominations, including the Roman Catholic. This school, oddly enough, was founded by an English clergyman. A third was managed by the Society of Friends, the master was a member of the Society, but not one of the pupils was; two were Catholics, and the majority were of the Church of England. It is evident that in these small rural endowed schools good primary education is the thing really wanted, and that there are no reasons for having as a master, for boys never designed to go to Oxford or Cambridge, a university man who can only teach Latin and Greek, where such teaching is not desired, or who is a clergyman of the Established Church, whilst his scholars are of all denominations. At the head of a great school it is otherwise, but as master to a school of the kind alluded to such a man is simply out of place. Mr. Fitch puts this very strongly:—

'Four of the worst schools I ever saw in my life were conducted by clergymen. They were nominally grammar schools, but no Latin or Greek was taught in them. They were the only schools in their respective villages, and they were filled with the children of the poor. As to methods and results, the work was such as would have disgraced a pupil teacher in his first year. A clergyman attempting to do the work of an elementary teacher is always in a false position: he rarely does it well, or possesses much sympathy with beginners. His habits of mind unfit him for small details and for the drudgery of elementary work. He has seldom studied the art of teaching. Indeed, he generally looks down with contempt on the methods by which a trained teacher would win the attention of his pupils, and thinks, not unnaturally, that his own university standing makes him independent of such artifices. * * * Any indirect educational influence proceeding from the mere presence of a gentleman and a scholar among the boys is practically neutralized, when the duties he undertakes are distasteful and badly discharged. A master who feels his work to be beneath him, and who is always showing that he thinks so, whose temper is acidulated by a dislike to his profession, and by the consciousness of failure in it, has parted with all power to ennoble and refine his pupils.'

With regard therefore to such schools it would be desirable to alter the scheme, so as not to confine the selection of masters to clergymen at all. A well-trained able teacher from a government school would be in every way more suitable. He

would give a really sound education in English arithmetic, writing, and geography, with an elementary knowledge of mathematics, and Latin if required,—a thing apparently wholly unattainable in any place at whatever price, except in one or two well-known schools, or in the upper classes of government schools. This has been actually done in one or two places, notably at Drax, and with the very best results. Mr. Bryce takes a rather opposite view, and alleges that the teaching of the training college men is apt to be mechanical, and that their knowledge, though wide, is superficial. We think this judgment is scarcely well founded. Elementary knowledge may be both sound and accurate, without being either profound or minute,—but in such a case it cannot justly be termed superficial. The conclusions arrived at by the commissioners as to the value of the education actually received by those not poor enough to attend the privy council schools, and too poor to pay for first-class schools, are sufficiently lamentable. Whether at grammar schools or at private schools, the classical learning professed to be given is pronounced a 'delusive and unfruitful thing.' Reading aloud is done in a stumbling, bungling, discordant way. In spelling, twelve per cent. were good, twenty-five tolerable, thirty-three poor, thirty bad. In Lancashire the writing is a point on which parents lay great stress, consequently it is generally good, often very good. The conclusion is irresistible, that if they were equally desirous of higher attainments in other things these would be forthcoming. Arithmetic seems rather to be regarded as the trick or art of reckoning than as the science of numbers; and even where the principles are effectively taught, it would seem that the head-masters, if university men, have a certain contempt for it, as if it were an ordinary and vulgar item of education, while the parents desire it solely with a view to practical application in business, and not as a means of training the intellect in intelligence and method. Of the total examined, twenty per cent. were good, fifty passable, thirty bad. There was perceptible a good deal of slowness and dawdling, and, what is singular, the new short methods used in offices do not appear to be taught or explained. In geography, fifteen per cent. only were good. History is unsatisfactorily taught, more, however, from the want of good elementary and text books, than from the disinclination of the pupils for that study. English grammar is better understood than formerly; but where English literature is professedly taught it is little better than the commencement of a system of cram, both unintelligent and superficial. Mathematics, except in two or three schools, has little attention paid to it.

Latin scholarship is very poor. There are no creditable classical scholars, except in some of the very large grammar schools, or expensive private seminaries; and, though it did not come within the scope of the inquiries of the Commissioners, we can state as a matter within our own knowledge, that at these large schools the teaching in school hours is quite inadequate to effect even moderate proficiency unless it is supplemented by that of a private tutor or coach. We know of one case where the school fees for a day pupil were about £16, but the parents were obliged to pay £18 to a tutor to assist him with some others in preparing and explaining his lessons. In another instance, a boy preparing for a competitive examination, and nominally taught by first-class masters, was actually coached every evening by a Government schoolmaster. If the Latin is bad, the study of Greek is reported as altogether dying out in Lancashire, from an idea of the parents that it is inconsistent with a commercial education and practical business. The French teaching lacks strength and accuracy. On the whole it may be that better penmanship and arithmetic and more scriptural knowledge were found at small private schools, but the last was often superficial, and, though there was a certain familiarity with doctrinal dogma, there was little idea of its meaning. The parents prefer private schools, from an idea that their wishes are more attended to, and that the master is more assiduous, as having greater interest in teaching; and partly, perhaps, because they find their children learn nothing at an ordinary grammar school, and that at a higher school the necessary private tutor is a heavy expense. It is Kingsley, we think, who speaks of the happy kingdom where 'the masters say the lessons and the boys hear them;' but here it appears the private tutor masters the lesson, the boy says it, and the master only listens to it. Again, the work is not only bad in quality, but deficient in quantity. There is a growing tendency to increase the number and lengthen the duration of holidays. In some schools literally half the year, in others fully one-third, is consumed in idleness. It is proposed that, in order to insure some work being done in the holidays, the half-yearly examinations should be held at the commencement instead of the end of each term, and this plan is now carried out at Durham. Still, with five boys out of six, no effectual work could be got out of them in the holidays without a tutor or the presence of a father, and in either case the parents would feel it a hardship if the vacation were so unreasonably long as to require extra expence or trouble. Then, again, the complaint of the want of good under-masters is great and general. The salaries they receive

are small, but perhaps as large as they deserve. Sometimes they are clever, but drink, or are otherwise disreputable; in other cases they are dull and ignorant; nevertheless, all the grounding and elementary teaching is given by them, and the result is what might be expected. Again, under-masters complain of the neglected and unprepared state in which their pupils come to them in the first instance. If schools could be amalgamated so that really efficient teachers for each branch of education could be procured, it is certain a great improvement would follow. Under the Scotch system the parent pays separate fees for each item taught, and it answers well to do so there, because the Scotch value learning; but it is alleged that English parents are so apathetic and sordid with regard to culture, that they would unduly economize if the plan were worked here. With regard to a better supply of under-masters, a suggestion of Mr. Bryce deserves notice, namely, that in cheapening the universities provision should be made for the establishment of lectures in what the Germans call Pädagogik, and there should be the institution of some body empowered to grant certificates of fitness for teaching.

Not the least interesting part of the report is that referring to Manchester and Liverpool. In Manchester there is one remarkable feature, namely, the very small proportion in its population of that educated and professional middle class which desires culture for its own sake, and not for what is gained by it in a business point of view. Three questions suggest themselves:—What kind of an education do the Manchester business men want for their sons? where do they obtain it? and what is the quality of that actually received? Now, the great majority of all in Manchester, not labourers or artizans, are engaged in commerce, and for commerce the sons also are destined. The merchant is more acute, but not more wise than the farmer. Since he cannot keep his son at school and college until he is twenty-two, or, as it is called, make a gentleman of him, he takes him from school and places him in his counting-house at fourteen or fifteen. All that he requires in the way of education is that his son should write well, read, and be quick at accounts; also that he should pass muster in society in history and geography. He is hostile to Latin and Greek, and to grammar schools in consequence; he thinks lightly of mathematics, and not much more of French and German, which is curious, if true, since there is a great German trade in Manchester, and many Germans are resident there. Owens College, which gives a quasi-university course, does not suit him, nor does the grammar school, therefore he sends his boy to a private adventure school to receive what is called

a commercial education, from which the boy is too glad to escape to the comparative freedom and independence of the counting-house. Few boys are kept at school for more than three years, only twelve per cent. stay over fourteen years of age, and less than two per cent. over sixteen. Having little education, they have no love for knowledge as they grow up. A proof of this is the poor attendance at Owens College both of day and evening students. Owens College was established in 1851, and has eminent men as professors, besides being affiliated to the University of London. One would say that of the thousands of young men employed in business, many hundreds would be glad to study one or two of the many subjects which are there well and scientifically taught;—but in 1865 there were but 128 day students, and of evening students 313. From inquiries made among the clerks, salesmen, and overlookers in one of the largest warehouses in Manchester, it appears that fifty per cent. came from private schools in or near Manchester, twenty from private or endowed schools elsewhere, twenty from Government schools, and ten from the grammar school. The young men spend their evenings at concerts or glee clubs, or less innocent amusements, and prefer pleasing their ears and exercising their voices to studying under college professors; but there is no reason to imagine that even music is learned scientifically or seriously. It is a matter, we own, to arouse grave and somewhat mortifying reflections that there were, in 1861, six per cent. fewer of children at any school than in 1834. At the present time about 82,300 children ought to be at school in Manchester and Salford, but there are only 55,000 on the books, and the average attendance is 38,000. It, therefore, is clear that three-fifths of the children are receiving no education at all, and we call attention to the weight and significance of the fact which these figures demonstrate. Liverpool is, in some respects, differently situated; the proportion of the middle to the working class is larger than in Manchester. Joined with Birkenhead, Liverpool has a population nearly as numerous as that of any town in England, with the exception of the Metropolis. Besides a good average of professional men, there are many merchant brokers (the cotton brokers being usually wealthy), and a floating population, half sea-faring and half mercantile. There are also an immense number of gentlemen in a position of trust receiving fixed salaries. Therefore, practical mathematical sciences, such as astronomy and navigation, are preferred to chemistry or mechanics. English composition and some knowledge of continental languages are also necessary in counting houses;

there is, in consequence, some demand for them in education, but it exists on the same principle that the Leeds people desire that their sons may be taught chemistry, not that the boy may discipline his mind by mastering an exact science, but that he may improve or invent new methods of dyeing cloth. The average parent in Liverpool is, according to Mr. Bryce, as little enamoured of culture as the Manchester man. There is no grammar school, endowed or otherwise, but there are three large day schools handsomely built and well situated. The Royal Institution school is the most classical, and has a high reputation and able masters. The fees are high (about £26), and there are about a hundred boys, but only two or three proceed annually to the Universities. The College consists of three distinct schools, so sharply divided both in school and play hours that it is apparent social distinctions founded on wealth are strictly observed. Of the one hundred and eighty boys in the upper school, four or five only are annually sent to the universities. The middle school of about 300 is filled by children of the better class of shopkeepers and clerks. The fee is £15, and the boys commonly leave at fifteen years of age. Latin, but not Greek, is taught. There are 370 in the third school; the fee is £5. 5s.; mathematics, French, and the elements of physics are included in the course. Many of the boys come from the Privy Council Schools, and leave at about fourteen years of age. The Institute is divided into two departments. The studies are much the same as in the college, but the fees rather lower, and there are about 700 boys. These schools are all reported to be excellent; nevertheless, many complaints are made as to their educational results. When boys are taken away at sixteen it is not wonderful that their attainments are meagre, and their range of ideas limited. It is for this reason that, though they are fit to be clerks, they are unfit to be anything more than clerks, so that, now, prospects of advancement, being rarely deserved, grow more and more rarely realised, and clerkdom is becoming a distinct social class whose members are more marked off from and rise more rarely into the class of merchants. On the other hand, it is stated that youths when kept at school till eighteen, and still more when they have been to the universities, take very ill to the dull routine of business. Moreover, it is the rule in the offices that the last comer should take the rough work, lock up, and post the letters, so that a graduate of Oxford might find himself at the orders of an apprentice of sixteen. Once over the preliminary drudgery, no doubt he would be qualified to rise higher and more rapidly than the others, but the first process is too unpleasant

to be submitted to. If the term of apprenticeship were shortened from five years to three, the boys could then stay at school until seventeen, a change likely, we should imagine, to prove beneficial. There is one fact on which the Commissioners report unanimously, that gratuitous instruction for the children of persons able to pay is hardly ever valued, and is in proportion sterile and mischievous in its results.

For the evils which we have endeavoured to sum up for our readers, and which are undoubtedly proved to exist by the voluminous evidence contained in the report, the remedies suggested are manifold, and some of them extremely well adapted for the purpose. It seems right that Government should have a greater latitude with respect to endowed schools, and a more direct authority over them in order to make them do their appointed work, than over schools of any other kind. The nation has a clear right to demand that property left for the good of the nation should not be administered and managed to its obvious detriment and injury. The endowments of the smaller schools might well be amalgamated, with a view to dividing them into three classes, which would be distributed according to the wants of the district. There would be primary, secondary, and first class schools; or, again, there might be central and branch schools, and the boys might proceed from one to the other, if their abilities and opportunities permitted. The constitution of the board might be altered, so as to secure the presence, first, of men locally interested in the school, and also of others of liberal education and ideas. In all cases, except, perhaps, where the original provisions were pointedly otherwise, the rule by which the selection of trustees is restricted to members of the Established Church ought to be abolished. The master ought in no case to have a fixed salary independent of his own exertions; he should be paid by fees, so as to give him a direct interest in the increase and reputation of the school. Moreover, there ought to be power for the board to dismiss him when found incompetent or unsuitable. All such schools ought to be annually inspected and reported on by the government inspectors. This, combined with the university local examinations, would go a long way towards getting a better and more thorough kind of teaching. We attach even more importance to inspection and examination of the whole school than to the local examinations, because the last restricts efforts to a few clever boys, but the first establishes a certain standard for the great mass of the scholars. In England it is not yet possible to insist on compulsory inspection of private schools, but it ought to be provided for such masters as desire it; and a public report

of efficiency, or of the reverse, would go far to discourage bad private adventure schools, and would immensely stimulate the exertions of the masters. The class of persons for whose children secondary schools are required, are not those for whom compulsory educational powers are needed. They all send their children to some kind of school—the complaint is that they get bad and inadequate results. That the right to free education for middle class children will be in any future scheme abolished is most probable and certainly desirable. Free education, as given to the successful pupils in a competitive examination, is in these days a premium on riches, for the parents who can afford to engage the best private tutor for their sons, are pretty certain that their children will carry away the prize. But there are cases in which to abolish altogether free education would work hardly. A widow, or a disabled and broken down professional man, say, has a well-conducted, industrious son—whether very clever, or only moderately so, does not affect the question. It would be satisfactory that the trustees, after examining the whole circumstances of the case, and considering the poverty or misfortunes of the parents, should be allowed to place annually on the list of those who are to be excused from paying the usual fees one or two such scholars. It would also be right that the board should do this privately, in order that there might be no invidious social distinction between these and the other pupils. To our own knowledge several very learned and eminent men have thus risen from the ranks. Two especially were the sons of widows in such impoverished circumstances that the free grammar school was all they could look to; and in these cases the education was thankfully received and made the most of in the best sense of the word.

We have already alluded to the suggestions for the better supply of under-masters;—and by amalgamating the small useless endowed schools, the trustees will be enabled to offer better salaries and prospects to these gentlemen, which, after all, is the secret of obtaining able and efficient service. That proper organization succeeds, if tried, is apparent, since the Moravians, the Society of Friends, some of the Methodists, and the Roman Catholics, have established private denominational schools, where the education given receives unreserved commendation as being thorough, liberal, excellent in quality and quantity, and moderate in cost. The pupils are also stated to be in a state of admirable moral discipline. Meanwhile, to use the words of one commissioner in reference to other schools:—'Our English education is not a system—it is a chaos. * * * The inquiry has been not a little difficult,

and unspeakably disheartening.' Another, referring to Lancashire, says :—'If the teaching received by the upper section of what is called the middle class is neither searching nor stimulating, and not such as produces any permanent effect on the mind and character; if that of the lower section of the same class is, as it unquestionably is, narrow in range and poor in quality, scarcely fitting boys even for the sale-room or counting-house, this is not so much the fault of the schoolmasters as of the public. Those very faults of the commercial class which are charged on the badness of its schools—its want of intellectual interests, its worship of wealth, and show its indifference to every thing which has not a direct money value, are themselves the causes which keep the schools down to their present level.'

UNPAID MAGISTRACY AND PRISON REFORM.

THE amount of irresponsible power which is wielded by those who are named generally the unpaid magistracy, in other words, the County Justices of England, is almost without parallel in the civilized world. In countries avowedly and openly despotic, apprehension of interference by the supreme authority places no small check upon irregularities and abuses; and when that supreme authority is made accessible, the removal of grievances is sometimes prompt, peremptory, and alarming to those who, without the intervention of public opinion or the co-operation of the public press, are called to account. In most of the departments of Government the representative system is a safeguard against official irregularities, and to a certain extent a guardian of the public purse. Members of Parliament have to give an account to their constituencies, and their short-comings or misdoings will be brought before that censorious, and sometimes severe tribunal—the electoral body—which invested them with legislative power. So in municipal matters, members of the Common Council only occupy their places temporarily, and are, from time to time, returned to the burghers, to whom they must answer for the exercise of their stewardship, to be re-elected or rejected according to the estimate formed of their deservings. But the unpaid magistracy are appointed for life; they represent nobody but the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Chancellor, or whoever the functionary may be to whom they owe their nomination. Once invested with authority, they decide on the amount of local taxation to be levied on the

community, without any, the slightest control upon their legislation. In very many counties the accounts are kept in the rudest and most unsatisfactory manner; the audit is frequently left wholly to the members of their own body, and there is no unity or uniformity of system in different districts. Budgets presenting estimates of income and expenditure, such as are always previously prepared and circulated when Parliament is to vote monies for the public service, are little known to the petty parliaments who fix the local ways and means, while *routine*, that very easily satisfied monarch, becomes the ruler, the unmolested, unimpeached ruler over the county exchequer. His statistics are generally as imperfect as his accountancy is bad.

We have, or are supposed to have, our code of criminal law, to which the administration of justice is made subservient. We have, or are supposed to have, the Prison Discipline Act, over whose application one set of prison inspectors are appointed to watch. And we have our bench of ambulatory judges, who (with undoubted aptitude, and unquestioned purity) give effect to the requirements of the Legislature, and yet there are perhaps no two gaols in England in which it can be said that they present the same evidences of the application of a national law, or the same results from that application. In truth, the administration of the same code in different provinces of Great Britain, and the facts which represent such administration, are nearly as varied and as irreconcilable as those of separate codes in different kingdoms of Europe.

The want of unity of action, of any general and accordant system of administration, is visible not only in the various cost of prisons and prisoners, under the various schemes of prison management, but in the extraordinary discrepancies and contradictions presented by the different returns, whose statistics are supposed to show the influence of that management upon the reformation of criminals, and the diminution of crime. As every county gaol has its own plan of bookkeeping (county Justices are for the most part, be it allowed, not very much advanced in the science of accountancy), it is very difficult to draw correct comparisons even in matters of pounds, shillings, and pence.

Prison discipline, like every other department of county legislation, and perhaps more than any, suffers from the constitution and habits of the magisterial body. Independence of action, jealousy of control, inveterate usages, and the many susceptibilities and sources of self-love and superiority which attach to social position, are all unfriendly to the best administration of justice, and exercise a baneful influence upon men

who are constantly looked to as the keepers of the Queen's peace, and the ever-present dispensers of the law.

Taken as a body, of whom do the county magistracy consist? Of all the hereditary nobility, of all titled people as a matter of course; of all the representatives of ancient county families; of most of the *nouveaux riches* who may obtain the favourable opinion of the Lord Lieutenant; a large sprinkling of Anglican Church functionaries; and the leading land owners and county squires, who like to put in an appearance at Quarter Sessions, and to exercise the authority of a Justice of the Peace in their little spheres of local influence. In all this machinery is there a single popular element? Has public opinion a word to say—a single word of power—in this wide sphere of administration? The Lord Lieutenant is the selection of the minister for the time being, nominated practically for life, and almost invariably representing the opinions of the Government that appoints him. Popular or unpopular, stupid or intelligent, he holds his high office for life, and discharges his duties without any real responsibility, and those whom he appoints to exercise magisterial functions are as immoveable and irresponsible as himself. Inattention to duty, absence from the bench, inaptitude for business, or other short-comings, scarcely ever lead to dismissal, animadversion, or even observation. And if now and then a word of reproach is directed against them, there is the ready answer, are they not unpaid? Do they not give their gratuitous services to the country? And who has ever ventured to call them corrupt? But men invested with power may be very mischievous without being corrupt—and there are many ways in which mischief may be done—not only by the absolute neglect of active duty, but by an inadequate or injurious estimate of the claims of duty. Absence from the field of usefulness may be less injurious to the social interests than pernicious interference. A busy, bustling magistrate, fond of the exercise of authority, inaccessible to the influence of public opinion, and with too little energy, or too little sagacity to escape from the trammels of routine, is often a plastic instrument in the hands of others. Who that has watched the proceedings of a bench of magistrates at Petty Sessions can have failed to observe the controlling power which directs the whole machinery? In many instances the Clerk to the Justices is the real expounder and administrator of the law, and perhaps a safer guide, on the whole, than their 'Worships,' who are supposed to be the supreme arbiters. Sometimes, when the prominent actor enunciates a strong opinion—however erroneous—there is too

much timidity to give expression to a doubt or a difference. If the paramount lord or the patronising squire pronounce a dictum it is seldom that the parson justice ventures upon a contradiction to his suzerain. And it may well be doubted whether the clerical body ought to be on the bench at all. They have other duties, other claims upon their time and attention, and if it has been deemed fit to deny them the privileges of making the laws, there are still more emphatic reasons for not allowing them to be the judges and administrators of the laws. Another objection to clerical justices is that the selection is offensively partial, being almost wholly, if not altogether, confined to the Anglican ecclesiastics. There is scarcely an example either of a Roman Catholic Priest, or a Dissenting Minister being called to the bench. This is one of the inequalities which pervade our whole social system, and would seem to imply that to no clergy but those of the Established Church can the administration of justice be safely or properly confided. There may be reasons for requiring that churchwardens and other functionaries discharging ecclesiastical duties should belong to the so-called religion of the state; but the duties of a magistrate are not ecclesiastical, and the choice of justices from the Anglican clergy alone is a reproach and a degradation stamped upon the class who are not admitted, and affords another evidence that the principle of equality is invaded and ignored even in the constitution of the ordinary tribunals, by giving preference to the religious teachers of one sect, to the prejudice and exclusion of the religious teachers of the other sects. As regards the dissenting ministry the exclusion is absolute, and the dissenting bodies in general are not fairly dealt with. In Devonshire, at least, about one-third of the population, amounting to about 600,000, are non-conformists; yet, among 322 county magistrates there are certainly not ten dissenters, probably only four or five; but there are no less than thirty-three clergymen of the establishment, and in one district (Southmolton) out of sixteen justices, eight are Church of England reverend divines. Whatever Church of Englandism may be, its tone and temper must predominate in the management of our prisons. Among the Visiting Justices of Devon not a single dissenter is to be found.

The interests of indolence, as Bentham calls them, have much to do with the mal-administration of prisons. To subject all convicts to the same undiscerning and indiscriminate discipline, to avoid any classification of criminals, to apply to the young and the old, the weak and the strong, to the susceptible and the hardened, to the manageable and the rebellious, to the trembling offender and the practised and

professional thief, an unvarying scale of conviction and punishment is, no doubt, a very easy task, a very simple sort of despotism to be exercised by visiting magistrates and prison officials. Can it be expected that they should occupy themselves with unravelling all the varieties of human character, with studying all the facts of the past, tracing the influences on the present, and anticipating the results in the future, in applying their system of prison discipline to every individual man? Theirs is a less complicated duty: it is theirs to prescribe the same universal medicine for all the moral and social ailments committed to their custody—bare planks, profitless labour, isolation, treadmills, cranks, solitary stone breaking, or oakum picking. Why should they be troubled with the wide distinctions which exist between one criminal and another? Do not they see sin and cannot they adjudicate suffering, and can anything be more simple, more proper, more reasonable, and more magisterial? Their punitory code, applied to crime, is exactly what the 'Heal-all' quack medicine is when applied to disease. Between the committers of the *same* offence the law makes no distinction, and why should they in their treatment of ALL offences, when the offender is delivered over to the gaoler's keeping? He is not sent to prison to be instructed; instruction is only fitted for those who have committed no crime; he is not there to be taught a trade. O no! he would then compete with the honest labourer. He is not there to have any improvable elements in him turned to account, whether by the work of his hand or the education of his intellect. He has offended against the laws, and in his person the law must be vindicated, and society have its revenge; for, after all, revenge is the purpose to which effect is to be given. Society has been wronged. What better can society do than to wreak its vengeance upon the wrong doer? All this is a very easy task. A little resolute obstinacy, a persistent closing of the eyes, and stopping the ears against the claims of humanity, against the evidences of experience, against the comparison of results between one and another system of prison management; in a word, the determination to do what has been done, and to resist all suggestions of change, as not only critical but condemnatory,—which to say the truth they are,—is a very satisfactory way of continuing and strengthening an abuse.

More than in any other part of the field of local authority, our prisons exhibit the deficiencies and defects of magisterial action. Within the prison walls, subject to conditions so elastic as to lend themselves to the varieties of opinion which find expression in the various boards of visiting justices, there

exists a hidden, irresponsible power, which, in its different modes of administration, produces results the most incongruous and the most contradictory, whether with reference to the physical condition, the pecuniary cost, the moralizing or demoralizing influences, of the multifarious plans adopted, as regards the prisoners themselves, and the effect of prison punishment on criminals without the prison. No one could be prepared for contrasts so striking. Yet it is believed—a most erroneous belief—that all Englishmen are subject to the same laws, that the honest should be entitled to the same protection, the dishonest exposed to the same penalties, through the length and breadth of the land. Nothing can be farther from the reality. A felony committed in Devonshire will be very differently treated from a felony of which Bedfordshire is the scene. The visiting magistrates of Somerset will have notions of right and duty altogether opposed to those of Lancashire. In the sixty prisons of Scotland there is a uniform system of administration and accountancy. In no two in England is there accordance.

Acts of Parliament in *theory* are supposed to recognise no distinctions in the administration of the law. Acts of Parliament in *practice* are partial. To some extent leniency or severity of punishment, the maximizing or minimizing legal penalties imposed by Acts of Parliament, will depend upon the personal character and particular views of the committing magistrate. It has been observed that poachers are generally treated with great bitterness by the proprietors and preservers of game; nor can it be otherwise while human beings are nearer and dearer to themselves than they can be to other people. A justice on the bench cannot doff his own special character. The family tyrant will never be the humane distributor of justice. The impetuous friend or father in his domestic relations will not be changed into a reflecting judge when he is seated on the bench; nor will a man of feeble and plastic nature become wise and strong because a Lord Lieutenant has added J.P. to his name. In the discipline of prisons, into which it may be supposed the legislature ought to give effect to a common purpose, there prevail innumerable varieties of influence and action. In some the labour of prisoners is wholly wasted; or, even worse, the labour is costly instead of being productive. Absolute idleness would be less expensive than stone-breaking, cranks, and treadmills are often found to be. In other prisons labour brings large revenue to the public account. The regulations as to dietary and dress, as to gaolers and wardens, the interior arrangements as to rewards and punishments, show how differently the duties of the visiting justices are inter-

preted in the several counties of England. The prisons of Scotland, under the government of a single board of control, present no such extraordinary anomalies.

The late Prisons' Act has undoubtedly greatly augmented the amount of suffering inflicted on criminals within the walls of our gaols; but has it diminished the amount of crime without those walls? If not, there has been a gratuitous aggravation of human misery, without a corresponding decrease of human misdoings. The operation of penal legislation is not to be studied merely in its history of convicts who fall into the hands of justice, but also in that of the unconvicted who escape from the control of the magistrate. Whatever be the causes, and as far as possible such causes should be removed, the number of offenders who are at large and who prey upon the public, is much greater than of those who are under confinement. To some extent the law wants the co-operation of public sympathy and public opinion. Very many misdemeanants escape because those whom they have wronged deem the awards of the lawgiver arbitrary and unjust, and they refuse to be instruments for the infliction of unreasonable and unjustifiable penalties. On account of the undiscerning and indiscriminating discipline of many of our gaols, humane magistrates frequently refuse to commit offenders. In truth, there exists in this country a secret, widely extended and very potent rebellion against a legislation which has not the approval of those sentiments of justice and humanity that happily pervade a civilized land.

Between the schemes which provide for the absolute isolation and non-recognition of the convict, and those where no separation is enforced, and where association is not only not interdicted but encouraged, there is a very wide field in which both separation and association may be each employed, each applied to special cases, with benefit to the criminal and to the community. If pecuniary profits were the sole or even the preponderating consideration, as they are in some prisons of the United States, the labour of the prisoners might be made available not only for their support, but so as to leave a very large surplus to the public purse. Prison discipline would allow a maximum of work to be obtained at a minimum cost. A greater number of hours might be devoted to labour within a prison, a greater amount of task-work exacted, than would be obtainable, or even be tolerated, in the wide era of competition, where the labourer is master of his own time, and is a voluntary party to the conditions on which his labour is sold to his employers. As a matter of course the free workman will dress better and feed better than the convict will be allowed to do.

From much of the expenditure of social existence, even among the humblest classes, the confined criminal is wholly excluded. He has none even of the meanest luxuries, still less of the superfluities which almost without exception are the lot of the poorest labouring man. To him a pot of beer, a cup of coffee or tea, a pipe of tobacco, a penny newspaper, are forbidden enjoyments. The very garments he wears are coarse and strong, less liable to wear and tear, and purchased at the lowest price. No neighbour can be invited to sit at his table, no relation to partake of his scanty meal; he has no time to lose in playing with children or grandchildren, no occasional holiday to reward him for his past toils, or to give him impulse and encouragement for the future. All his powers are at the mercy of his keeper to be taxed to their fullest extent. In America, where the labour of prisoners is sometimes sold to contractors, gross abuses are the result, and the discipline of prisons is found inefficient to control those abuses. The interest of the purchasers of prison labour is, of course, to obtain the greatest amount of pecuniary benefit, regardless of any consideration of individual reformation, as far as the prisoner is concerned, or of the public weal, which it is the object of prison discipline to provide for. It is found that the interest of the contractor may be more promoted by the deterioration than by the reformation of the prisoner, and in such cases it is clear that if pecuniary profit to the state be made the sole or preponderating consideration, the higher social interests, those connected with public morals and the repression of crime, will seriously suffer.

It is obvious that if associated labour be most productive in a pecuniary sense, if the gregarious element in human beings is that to which we must look for the largest amount of profit, so, on the other hand, it is equally certain that the isolation of man reduces his productive power to the lowest possible grade. Were there nothing to be weighed in the scale but the money profits of labour, and the criminal to be considered merely as a slave or an outlaw—a property of which the State had the usufruct for the purpose of paying, first, the cost of his keeping, and secondly the profits from his work, by way of recouping society for any or all the pecuniary mischief caused by the wrong-doer, such a one-sided purpose would be justifiable did not the wrong-doer belong to society itself, and were not the philanthropist bound to look beyond the prison walls, and to consider prison discipline only as an instrument for the abatement of social evil, and for the production of social good. Yet there are, indeed, some criminals hopelessly, irreclaimably bad, who are neither to be reformed

by the encouragement of rewards, nor by the dread of punishments. They occupy a category of their own, and may be dealt with accordingly. But in the vast majority of cases there is some element not altogether unteachable or unimprovable, and it is this element especially with which prison reformation has to do, and which is a property committed to the care of the magistracy for the common benefit. It is here that discipline must be made not punitory alone, but reformatory; and in so far as the reformation of the offender can be made co-operative with the pecuniary relief of society, the two objects ought constantly to be kept in view.

In truth, the undiscerning, undiscriminating disposal of offenders lies at the very root of prison mismanagement. Two words represent the whole vocabulary of the ordinary gaol administration—'Prison,' 'Punishment.' You have possession of the sinner, inflict the suffering. Now, no one would contend that the violator of the law should not pay the penalty of such violation; but has *justice* nothing else to do? Has the magistrate discharged his obligation to society when he has merely inflicted the stripes and nothing more,—till, the term of his sentence being run out, the convict is flung back, unchanged, nay, perhaps deteriorated and hardened, into the very field of his former delinquencies? Would it not be better and wiser to inquire whether there are not means by which the former violator of the law may be made the future observer of the law? Is everything evil in every man who has committed an act of violence or dishonesty? Have justices nothing better to do than to pelt sinners with penal stones, and tell them to go and sin no more? Have they never read of one who, when the fallen woman was brought to him, taken in the very act, taught his followers—what? that the harsh, inexorable law of Moses, the punishment of death, should be carried out? Nothing of the sort. Pity, tenderness, mingled in the spirit of the Divine One when guilt was brought into His presence. Would that some portion of that spirit could be infused into the minds of those who dispense penalties, but are deaf to every claim of that better element, the teachable, the improvable part of man's very nature, which in an immense multitude of cases will be discovered, if diligently sought!

The real urgency of this and many similar questions is, that they should be raised into higher regions of thought and feeling than those to which the discussion is commonly confined. It is rarely that the moral and religious bearings of penal legislation, the associated duties of the legislator and the magistrate, obtain becoming attention; and within prison

walls especially the instruction conveyed is often of a very inefficient character. It is not alone by the introduction of religious tracts, by the conversation and preaching of chaplains, or by the enforced attendance on the church services, valuable as these may be as auxiliaries; it is by the study of individual character, by a thorough examination into the antecedents of every man and woman convict, by an inquiry into what is strong and what is weak in their several natures and dispositions, by efforts devoted to the eradication of what is evil and the encouragement of what is good in every special case that reformation may be hoped for. The moral diseases are as various as their symptoms, and require for their treatment medicines as different as do the diseases of the physical frame. The tendency to deeds of violence, in the wide area of their action, is quite a distinct idiosyncracy from the disposition to defraud. One man would shrink with horror from any action to be deemed dishonest, whose impetuosity of temper might betray him into the most outrageous misdeeds; while another, while glorying in the success of some fraudful scheme, would abhor the thought of injuring the person of a victim. In the reports from the best-conducted prisons from the United States there is touching evidence of the success of attention to individual cases, and of the great and favourable results of such attention upon the general statistics of crime. The development of a topic having so many ramifications would be worthy the devoted attention of the philosopher and the Christian.

'NOTHING TO DO.'

'Well, really, these December days seem as long as midsummer ones, I declare! How on earth you manage to exist here the greater part of every year I cannot imagine, Maudie. Whatever do you do with yourself?'

'I scarcely know. The time is tedious enough I assure you. I jog along with my lessons, and riding, driving, visiting, &c., and so get through the months somehow. It will be better next winter, I hope: you know I am to come out then; and it will be better still when I am married.'

'And pray what knight is suing for my fair sister's hand?'

'No one yet, you stupid fellow! but of course he will appear in due time. Come, walk quicker, Fred; my poor feet are ready to drop off with cold!'

The two speakers were brother and sister, the only children

of a widow. They were walking in the grounds of their country home, which was situated in the outskirts of a town in Berkshire. The elder of the two, Fred, was a youth of nineteen, an Etonian, just home for the holidays; the younger, Maud, was a dark-eyed, brilliant, impulsive little damsel of seventeen.

They quickened their steps along the frozen pathways. In a few moments Maud added, 'Of course you feel it particularly dull after the excitements of school-life, Fred; but it will be better next week, when Grace Beattie and Cousin Gus arrive. We can have lots of fun and going about then. Now there is literally nothing to do, so we must just be quiet and patient till relief comes.'

'Isn't Gus awfully slow? I have a dim idea that he is a man of strict, staid notions; if so, there won't be much relief got out of him. Perhaps he may minister to our amusement by getting up an engagement with Grace Beattie!'

'Likely!' laughed Maud Cowley. 'She's engaged already; and if she were not, it is just outside the range of possibility that she would ever fall in love with Gus, for he is all you say, and a great deal more: he is staid, strict, dignified, puritanic, in short, altogether *awful*. Yet I mean to have some fun out of him. I'm going to have splendid scenes! I'm going to ruffle his dignity, shock his prejudices, upset all his notions of decorum, and give him something livelier to engage his attention than those law treatises in which he is at present immersed. Won't he make a splendid Lord-Chancellor, though, with his great head and serious face! May I live to see him in a big wig and flowing robes!'

'You have ambitious wishes for sedate old Gus,' said Fred.

'Yet why should I?' Maud immediately responded; 'I don't care a snap for him. We are divided by oceans of differences. Nevertheless we'll make him contribute to our Christmas merriment somehow.' They were now entering the house. 'Well, well!' exclaimed Maud, glancing up at the hall clock, 'we have been walking ourselves almost to exhaustion about these horrid grounds, and yet have been out only half-an-hour! Whatever shall we do with ourselves the rest of the day? Heigho! how the time drags!' and with a very unlady-like yawn Miss Maud slowly went upstairs.

She made the next few days bearable by anticipating the arrival of Christmas visitors,—some of her mamma's particular friends, besides Miss Beattie and cousin Gus. In due time they came, and Maud was in a flutter of gratification and excitement that made the days seem short enough during the week of their arrival. Soon, however, she had run through the programme which she had drawn up to serve them with

amusement for at least a month; and then the old plaint was uttered of 'Nothing to do.'

We must make some excuse for poor little Maud. A very empty, vapid, unworthy sort of life she lived; but it was in great part the fault of her training. Her father, whose vivacity and energy of character she inherited, died when she was a mere child; and all through her girlhood she had been subjected to no permanent influences beyond those of her petulant invalid mother, and her young governess, who was not one capable of exerting a high moral influence over her charge. So Maud's character was like a garden left to itself, over-run with pretty, useless weeds; there were some lovely flowers in it, too, but they required cultivating; at present they were almost entirely smothered with weeds.

Her brother's powers were better directed, and kept in constant exercise by a kind of ambition provoked by competition at school. This is a low kind of ambition, unless it be subservient to some higher end; still it is better for a youth to have that, than be without any at all; to be roused to earnest action by emulation alone, than to be driven to go through a routine of duties like a dull and goaded mule.

Fred Cowley determined to go through his College course with honour, and come off with flying colours in the end. Had you asked him, 'What then?' his reply would have been, 'Then for a life of ease and enjoyment, travel, and elegant indolence; in short, the life of a private gentleman.'

He was not blind to the fact that his sister was a useless, silly little piece of humanity. He would sometimes pay her the doubtful compliment of saying, 'You are a stupid little butterfly of a girl, Maudie, made to idle away the sunny hours of your life and be admired for your prettiness, just like all girls: confess, now, that you have no other object in life than to make yourself attractive to get admiration?' Of course all this elicited a sulky pout from Miss Maud, and a protest against the bare idea of such a thing, though she well knew that she might truthfully have confessed to it.

Maud did not practice any of her little coquettish arts on her demure cousin, Augustus Mitchell. 'It isn't worth while wasting one's sweetness on the desert air,' she said to her friend, Grace Beattie, 'so Gus must make the best of me as I am; I'm not going to do the agreeable to him, it would be labour in vain, for one gets no response from him, not even the ghost of a compliment for all one's fascinations.'

Before he had been in the house a week, Maud, having used up every possible means for killing time, took to snubbing Mr. Gus, and reproached him for not using his utmost exer-

tions to amuse her and her friend. It was on a snowy morning when they were all together in the drawing-room, with nothing to do; Fred was apparently studying, for the hundredth time, a book of engravings of Tennyson's beauties; Miss Beattie was half buried in the cushions of a lounge near the fire, reading a novel; Gus was at the window, sketching the picturesque scene without; Maud was fluttering about the room, disturbing first one and then another, humming, dancing, playing snatches on the piano, denouncing the weather, dissatisfied with herself and everybody and everything in the world. 'I wish the horrid snow would keep away, and a real frost come,' she said, 'there would be skating then, and some little chance of amusement. Really, what a dead-alive set we are! Grace, you might leave off reading, and chat a bit, I should think. And as for you, Fred, and cousin Gus, I think you ought to be ashamed of yourselves for not trying to amuse us in some way or other! Just imagine your sitting occupying yourselves in such comfortable fashion, and leaving us to do as we can! Gallant knights you are, by my faith! as our great, very great, grandmothers used to say.'

'I beg your pardon, Maud,' said Gus, quietly putting his sketching materials away, 'I thought you were occupied. I have been so absorbed in my scene, as to be unconscious of what was going on around me. Do you wish to go out, my dear?' These words coming in such patriarchal style from the young man of twenty-five, affected Maud's risibility. Her annoyance gave way to laughter, and she exclaimed, 'You queer old Paterfamilias! Don't talk to me as if I were a baby and you a grandfather! Do I wish to go out, my dear? No, I don't wish to go out in snow deep enough to bury one. I just want you to be sociable, and come and have a game of billiards, or something. Don't you see I have nothing to do, and no one to amuse poor me? It is bad enough to have to cater for one's amusement all the year round, when nobody's here; but it's worse still to be left to one's self in the very presence of visitors.' Maud concluded with her former tone of annoyance, and a petulant shrug of the shoulders.

'You are forgetting yourself, Maudie, in reproaching our friends,' said her brother, looking up from his book.

'Never mind that,' said Gus, apologetically, 'it is half in fun, I can see. Poor little coz! So you have a great trouble all the year round to amuse and interest yourself, and make your life bearable? Well, well, dearie, that is just because you have not 'found your vocation,' as the Germans would say; you live in a little narrow world of your own, which affords you no scope to exercise the high faculties with which God

has endowed you. This is no empty compliment meant to tickle your ears, Maud. God has largely endowed you, and it is a solemn thing to admit; for your responsibilities are great just in proportion to your endowments. Have you ever thought upon those Bible-words: "To whom much is given, of him shall much be required?"'

'Well, really,' interrupted Miss Beattie, raising herself on her elbow, and turning her handsome face towards the two speakers, 'You are having quite a lecture, Maudie!'

Maud's face was slightly flushed. 'Never mind her, Gus,' she said, 'Go on. I like you to talk to me so. Yet I think you are mistaken in supposing that I am endowed in any way. You know I am no genius. I could not write a poem or a novel to save my life. Of course, I should be proud and pleased to have a *vocation* of some sort—to be a Madame de Staël, a Rosa Bonheur, a Miss Herschel, or a distinguished somebody; but then it's altogether out of the question. I have no talent for *anything*.'

'You have a talent which every woman possesses, Maudie, the talent of blessing others out of the fulness of a tender and generous heart. If you would but use it, what a beautiful influence you might exert, what a useful little woman you might become! If you ladies were only in earnest to fulfil your vocation, you might use even your beauty, your powers of fascination, to do good.'

'But whatever could I do, Gus?'

'You know Tennyson's lines, Maudie,'—

> 'Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
> If time be heavy on your hands,
> Are there no beggars at your gate,
> Nor any poor about your lands?
> Oh! teach the orphan boy to read,
> Or teach the orphan girl to sew;
> Pray heaven for a human heart,
> And let the foolish yeoman go!'

'I suppose,' said Miss Beattie, 'you would have us act the part of Lady Bountifuls, Mr. Mitchell?'

He looked down gravely upon her, and replied, 'I would have you act the part of true women, Miss Beattie; and not shut up your quick sympathies, and pity, and energy,—and fritter away your lives on dress and fashion, and such trivial things, which are worthy of only a very small part of your consideration. Think what a power a woman has to do good; she can make her way where a man cannot; she can speak tender words, and perform gentle ministrations in a way that would be impossible in a man. Her heart, if she will but let it have its way, will prompt her to relieve the suffering, cheer

the sad, clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, in the most delicate and effectual manner possible. Woman is made to bless: God has so constituted her that she can work like an angel. In my opinion there is not a more deplorable sight in creation than a frivolous, selfish, heartless woman of fashion—a most *unwomanly* woman.'

Maud stood beside him listening with downcast eyes. He stroked her head gently and added, 'I don't wish to see my dear little cousin such a one. It is painful to me to hear her talking of killing time, and amusing herself, and playing billiards, when she might be training herself to become a noble and self-forgetful lady.' At this Maud raised her eyes, all full of tears, to him, and said, 'What you say is very right, Gus. You know I am that busy sort of body, that must have something to do, and engage my attention. So for lack of other things I spend hours and hours in a week doing nothing but plan this and that about my costumes, and adorn myself in one way and another. Sometimes I wish I had been born poor, so that I might be obliged to work. My leisure is a grievance to me; for I cannot lounge about for hours, and dream over silly books. I must be up and doing something.'

'How many there are who are so poor, and have to work so hard, that they have no leisure for anything!' said Gus. 'You might find out such, and give them a little of your leisure.'

'How could I?' asked Maud, wonderingly.

'Shall we make a tour of discovery in the neighbourhood, and try to find out?' said Gus.

'Oh yes, do let us,' said Maud, in delight.

'He wants to make a parish visitor of you, Maud, I can see,' exclaimed Miss Beattie. 'You will have to go about with tracts and soup-tickets, under the surveillance of the parson.'

Maud's countenance fell. 'Oh, Gus! I could not do that, indeed I could not. At least, I might force myself to perform a certain round of duties in that formal way; but I could not do it spontaneously, and with pleasure.'

'I am sure you could not just now, Maudie. You must follow no routine, nor work in any official way; but just simply and naturally take up the first case that comes under your notice, and do what your kind heart prompts you to. Some day you may come to feel that you would like to co-operate with others in some good work; but at present I am sure it is better for you to find out a path for yourself.'

'You must get a bundle of tracts ready, Maud,' laughed Miss Beattie; 'of course that is the first thing.'

'I have none,' answered Maud.

'You will not need them, Maudie,' said Mr. Gus; then turning to Miss Beattie he said gravely but kindly, 'Don't sneer at such things, Miss Beattie; it does not become you.' To Maud he added, 'You will most likely find that you will need your purse rather than tracts, at first; for the body must be attended to before the soul. If God had not meant the body to be attended to first, would He have put the soul inside, do you think? You remember how our Saviour cared for the bodies of men. When He appeared to His disciples on the sea shore after His resurrection, His first question was, "Children, have ye any meat?" Then, having provided for them, and invited them to "Come and dine," He began His homily to St. Peter, "Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep and lambs." Herein let us follow His example.'

'Can we go out at once?' said Maud, going to the window. 'The snow-storm is nearly over. A walk through the snow would not hurt us, surely?'

'Certainly not; run and get ready, and wrap up well. Will you go, too, Miss Beattie, and you Fred?'

They both agreed. 'Anything for a little diversion,' they said. The young ladies went away to get ready. 'By the manner in which you are setting the girls to work, I should think you were used to this sort of thing, Gus,' said Fred, rising and dragging himself lazily to the fire.

'It is nothing new to me to meet with cases of distress, and to seek them out, too. But generally they are rather forced upon me; for turn which way you will, there is destitution to be relieved, and there are sorrows to be sympathised with and alleviated, if possible.'

'Well, now, I never meet with such cases,' said Fred; 'and I don't take the trouble to look for them. I think, you know, that we do our duty in paying poor-rates, and subscribing to a few charities. I know mamma subscribes to several; and I always purse out when there's a collection at church, so I don't reproach myself for dereliction of duty. A fellow can't do more than he can.'

'No; but a fellow can do a great deal more than give an occasional half-sovereign at a collection, Fred. A little human sympathy is often better than gold to the needy. "Kind words are worth much and cost little," is an old saying and a true one. A little more personal intercourse between rich and poor would do wonders in removing the pernicious class-prejudices which exist at present; and that without causing the least derogation to the dignity of the higher class. A man may be rich and well-educated, refined and of perfect manners; but if he have not developed that part of his nature

which grows and strengthens from contact with the poor and ignorant and sorrowful, he is but half a man. What an ignorant, half-developed (albeit highly-educated, as the phrase goes) creature is he who has not studied with warm heart and earnest mind the various strata of human society, even to the lowest, to endeavour to discover God's purposes concerning them, and to work out those purposes so far as in him lies! Here is splendid work for philosopher and philanthropist,—work to call into exercise the highest faculties of our being, and cause us to grow unto the perfect stature of men, and as the Bible adds, of men "in Christ Jesus,' who set us the example of all that is good and strong, dignified and beautiful in human nature. We who live on the highest strata of society, and get the rain and sunshine, the flowers and grasses for our enjoyment, shall we not go down to those on the lower, and help them to get a glimpse of the world's brightness and beauty, and feel a little sunny, invigorating warmth? We will try. Here are the young ladies.'

They entered, all animation and smiles. 'I have ten shillings in my purse; do you think that will do, Gus?' asked Maud.

'O yes,' he answered, smiling.

'You must not think too hardly of me,' added Maud, 'for you know I do give money away to poor people sometimes whom I meet in my walks.'

'A wrong way to exercise charity,' said Mr. Gus, much to Maud's astonishment. 'You must never give money except in particular cases, where you find that nothing else will relieve Give *money's worth* with your own kind hands and words. Indiscriminate giving of money does more harm than good, and fosters a pauper-spirit, which you must always try to avoid doing. Now for a start.'

They set off bravely out into the snow. It had ceased falling, but it lay thick on the ground, and the scene all around was fantastic and fairy-like. Having left the grounds and come out into the public road, they set off towards the town, but on the way turned aside to speak to two children who were going up a lane leading to a few poor-looking country cottages. They were both girls, and the elder was crying dolefully. Our party soon reached them; for the poor children were walking lingeringly through the snow, as if loth to go home. 'What's the matter?' asked Maud, approaching them; and her silvery voice fell like music on their ears.

They came to a standstill and looked up at her, but did not speak. The elder drew her old hat over her dirty, tear-stained face; and the younger huddled shyly against her

sister. 'Tell me what's the matter,' persisted Maud. 'Why are you crying? Tell me, and if you are in trouble, perhaps I can help you.'

The elder girl uttered nothing but a sob; the little one, taking courage from the lady's kind words, said bravely, 'Please 'm, we has lost sixpence in the snow, as mother sent us to buy a loaf with.'

'Where do you live?' asked Maud.

'At the first o' them houses 'm, said the child.

'Very well; then I'll give you another sixpence, and you run quickly and get a loaf, and we will call and see your mother.'

Maud gave the money, and the children ran off, relieved and happy. Then Maud looked with earnest inquiry up at her cousin, and said, 'Have I done right, Gus?'

'You have done admirably, Maud,' he replied. 'I can see your heart will guide you far better than the most elaborate instructions from even a highly-experienced worker.'

'Oh, Gus!' exclaimed Maud, as if to disclaim all praise. 'Now, you must speak and act at the cottage,' she added.

'No, indeed! You must do the work, to-day.'

'Will you Grace? or you, Fred?' asked Maud entreatingly.

'I shouldn't know what to say,' replied Miss Beattie. 'Nor I,' asserted Fred.

'Just wait and see what there is to say, and you will find words, Maud,' said Mr. Gus, encouragingly. As they neared the cottage he added, 'I hope you are prepared to see a little dirt and squalor. You must not allow a trifle to terrify you from a good purpose.'

'O no,' laughed Maud,' 'I will be very brave.'

They entered a small garden, and heard a baby crying, and a woman singing in a low, soothing fashion.

Maud knocked at the door, and the singing was changed to an unceremonious 'come in!' Maud hesitated, but at a sign from Gus she lifted the latch and entered. The scene which presented itself startled Maud almost out of her self-possession, so that she was fain to draw back; but it was nothing new to Gus: he was accustomed to go into houses which far surpassed this one in dirt and wretchedness. Over a dull-burning fire of cinders cowered a good-looking woman, still young in years, but old in sorrow. She had a dirty old shawl drawn closely around her, under which she was muffling up an almost naked baby, trying to get it to sleep. The brick floor was bare of carpet or mat of any kind, and very dirty; the whitewashed walls were bare and smoke-blackened; a few articles of broken furniture were about the room, and all in a state of extreme

disorder. In one corner lay a little boy, on an apology for a bed; his face was flushed, and he was breathing heavily. Add to this that the atmosphere of the place was foul and stifling, and some excuse may be made for Maud's shrinking in the doorway.

As soon as the woman saw who her visitors were, she arose in trepidation, and seemed at a loss for words. 'Dear me!' she said at length, 'I thought it was one of my neighbours. And bless me! if it aint the young lady as goes by on horseback so often! And my place ain't fit for you to come into, Miss, and ne'er a whole chair have I got to ask you to sit down upon. You see, Miss, I can't do nothing with the baby always in my arms, and the child ill there. I'm tied hand and foot, as you may say.'

'Does the doctor come to see your sick child?' asked Maud, kindly.

'No, Miss; no one haven't been yet, and I can't get out. My husband said as he'd see what could be done for the poor thing; but he'll be sure not to: when once he gets out everybody at home's forgotten.'

She spoke in a hopeless, careless way.

'You seem to be in great trouble?' said Maud.

'Trouble, Miss? there's no end to it. You seem a kind feeling lady, though I've always thought you so high and mighty as you passed by; and I think I may speak out to you, though I can't abear to see you standing, and the other young lady too, and the gentlemen.'

'Never mind that,' said Maud; 'but I fear we ought not to keep this door open, the sick child will feel it: do come quite inside, Grace.' And as Miss Beattie made a gesture of repugnance, Maud added, 'Yes, do come in, and you, Fred; we shall stay but a minute or two.'

They came in, and Maud drew from the poor woman her painful, but alas! too common story. Her troubles were a drunken husband, and consequent brutal usage, neglect, poverty, and hopelessness. Her children and herself were bare of clothes, she was in feeble health, and in such a state of despondency through want and sorrow, that she let everything go as it liked, and had given over caring whether they lived or died; for of what value was her wretched life?

Not one of our party listened to her sad story unmoved. Fred whispered that they should there and then make a collection, and 'purse out' to the best of their ability, but Gus hurriedly objected; so, knowing that he had had most experience in such matters, they left him to plan a means of relief for the poor body.

Just then the two little girls entered with their small loaf, and a 'pen'orth o' tea, and a pen'orth o' sugar,' as the mother said, adding, 'I sent out my last sixpence, for the poor children must have something to eat to-day, if they've got to go without to-morrow.'

'They shall not go without,' said Maud; 'we will send you something by-and-by.'

'God bless you for your kindness, Miss,' said the woman, gratefully.

'You have but a poor fire for such wintry weather,' said Gus. 'Are you short of coal?'

'That bit in the basket is all I have got, sir; and I've been burning the cinders to make it last out,' said the woman.

He inquired where she bought her coal, and then promised to send her some in. After giving her some advice and instructions about ventilating her house, they took their leave.

'Now for your purse, Maud,' said Gus, when they got outside. 'I propose that you go direct to the haberdasher's shop, which I saw near the village school one day, get some flannel and other materials for warm clothing, have them sent to the schoolmistress, and ask her to cut them out for you; then have a sewing party at home for the next few evenings, and so be like the good woman of old, who "made garments for the poor."'

'Thanks for your advice, Gus, I think we cannot do better than follow it. What say you, Grace?'

'I am quite willing to turn seamstress,' answered Miss Beattie. 'It would be rather pleasant than otherwise to find one's self really busy.'

'Well, then, we will go direct to Morton, the haberdasher,' said Maud, with happy animation.

In the course of an hour they had arranged everything most satisfactorily. Their purchases were in the hands of the schoolmistress, who promised to cut out the required garments, and send them to Maud's home some time during the day.

Our party then went direct home, and Maud told her mother the story of their morning's errands. Mrs. Cowley expressed much astonishment, and enquired how it could possibly have entered Maud's head to engage in anything so novel, and so foreign to her general tastes. Maud explained, with many expressions of commendation, that it was 'good cousin Gus' who originated this new project of being useful. 'I don't know what to say about it,' responded Mrs. Cowley, 'you are exposing yourself to many dangers, child; still, it is well for young people to try to make themselves of use to

others, so I shall say nothing against your schemes at present; we will wait and see what comes of them.'

'The first thing I want you to do, please mamma, is to send some substantial relief to the hungry family, and something for the sick child; the next thing is to co-operate with Grace and me this evening in getting some work done for their comfort.'

Maud's enthusiasm affected her mother. She turned smilingly to her lady friends, and forgetting for a time all her little ailments, said gaily 'So we are to be set to work, you see! Will you lend your hands, too?'

They readily promised, and Maud thanked them, and continued chatting for some time, with great animation, on this pleasant subject.

Mrs. Cowley gave orders for certain necessaries to be packed up for the poor family, and sent off. But Maud begged that she might go with them, after luncheon, as cousin Gus thought it better that the poor woman should receive them from her hands than from a servant's. So it was arranged, and no sooner was the meal over than Maud got ready for her good errand. Miss Beattie excused herself from going, saying that the cottage was so small it could not contain them all, and then it was so dirty. 'Ah, yes,' said Gus, 'you must give the poor wife some lessons in cleanliness, when she gets a little better and more hopeful, Maud.'

'I!' laughed Maud. 'What do I know about housekeeping?'

'Not much, I'm afraid,' said Gus, with mock gravity. 'But at any rate you know the difference between dirt and cleanliness. But to get her house in order, the poor woman needs her husband's co-operation. We must see what we can make of him bye-and-bye.'

Out into the snow they went again, followed by a servant with 'a glorious basketful of things,' as Maud termed it. When they reached the cottage and witnessed the poor mother's thankfulness, Maud's heart overflowed with a new delight. Her hands were trembling visibly as she brought forth the different packets of tea, sugar, and other welcome gifts; and the murmured thanks of the sorrowful mother sounded in her ears as sweet as the music of angels. She had other thanks to offer for a supply of coal which Gus had ordered to be sent in; and for a visit from the doctor, who had prescribed medicine which he assured her would soon 'set the child all right.'

When the thanks were over, the poor woman looked wistfully at the things with which her little table was covered, and essayed to speak, but hesitated.

'What do you wish to say?' asked Maud, kindly.

'If you'll excuse me, miss, I was a-goin' to say there's my poor old mother as lives a good quarter of a mile off, and I haven't been able to go and see her these three days, 'cos I couldn't leave my Tommy here ill. Goodness knows how she's off this bitter weather, poor old soul! If you'd be willing, miss, to give her a bit o' the tea and sugar and rice, I should take it as kind, or more kinder, than as if you'd gave it all to me.'

Maud asked particularly about the locality of the cottage, and added, 'These few things will not be too much for you, Mrs. Wade; but we will go and find your mother and see what she needs. Her name is Jones, you say?'

'Yes, old Widow Jones she's called, miss.'

'Very well,' said Maud. 'And now what time could we find your husband at home? I should like to speak to him.'

'He's at home in mornings, miss, till nearly eleven, and then he goes out to look for a job o' work. But it's all the same to me whether he gets any or no, 'cos you see, miss, he spends nearly every farthing o' money afore he comes home.'

'Don't you think he could be prevailed upon to give up drinking?' said Gus.

'Oh sir, if he only would we should be right enough!' exclaimed the poor wife, but with very little hope in her voice, 'His old master 'ud take him on again, I dessay, for he pities me and the children; but then he've put up with so much from my man that I don't see how he could keep him on.'

'Who was his master?' asked Gus.

'Farmer Clare, sir, over at Bushby farm, about a mile from here, you know, sir.'

'I know, Mrs. Wade,' said Maud, 'I often ride that way.'

'He's a fair dealing man, miss, and that can't be said for all the farmers round here. When my husband kept fair to his work he got his fourteen shillin' a week as reg'lar as clockwork. Now we've got to pick up what crumbles o' food we can, day after day, jest like the birds.' At this moment who should enter but the subject of their conversation? Mr. Wade was a strongly built man of medium height, who looked capable of work, and equally capable of demoralising indulgences. His wife looked anxiously at him, and, seeing that he was sober, said, 'It's the young lady from Halie Hall, Tom; jest see what a sight o' things she've brought me.'

'Humph!' uttered Mr. Tom, dragging off his cap, and looking very awkward, 'It's very kind of her.' Then he relapsed into an uneasy silence. Gus came to his rescue, and asked him some questions about work, and his late employer. The man

was very ill at ease, and spoke evasively. After beating about the bush a little, Gus said, 'It seems to me quite a painful thing that these little daily necessaries should have to be supplied to your wife by other hands than your own, Mr. Wade, you look so strong and able to work; and then you must remember that as an Englishman you should have more independence of spirit than to remain idle and leave your family dependent on charity, while you have the power to work and support them.'

'A fellow can't work, sir, if he can't get work.'

'When he has it he won't keep it, if he isn't steady,' replied Gus. 'I know that this is the old story of want of work and food and happiness through *drink*. I meet with such cases every week of my life, in London. I also see men give up the drink, and so restore peace and prosperity to their homes. Now, will you give it up? You can work and live better without it. Your wife and family and home will be the better for your giving it up; your health will be better, and so will your soul; for to continue drowning your reason and degrading yourself day after day, is like selling your soul to the devil; that soul which God deems more precious than the riches of the world, and for which He gave His Son Jesus to die. We must be going now; but do think over what I have said, and I will call and talk to you again to-morrow. I can prove to you how well and strong a man can be without strong drink: look at me; now I never take any; but perhaps you will say I don't work; yes, I work hard, with my brain, not with my hands; but brain-work exhausts the body quite as much as bodily labour.'

'Well, really!" said the man, in a softened and interesting tone, 'so you never takes none, sir? Well, that 'mazes me, somehow; yet I know as folks *can* do without: I've met with some afore as did.'

'Of course you have, and of course you could do without yourself, if you would only try,' said Gus. 'Well, we will call to-morrow; meanwhile you can think over this subject.'

With many thanks and blessings Mrs. Wade let her good friends out. The afternoon was wearing on. 'It will soon be dark, Maud,' said her cousin. 'Would you like to defer going to Mrs. Jones?'

'Oh no, Gus,' said Maud, earnestly. 'Who knows what trouble she may be in? It might be cruel to wait till to-morrow.

'Come along then, you brave little woman!' responded Gus, drawing her hand within his arm, and starting off at a brisk pace. In a minute or two he added, 'It seemed like

taking the work out of your hands, Maud, for me to make an onset upon the poor fellow, Wade; but you must excuse me.'

'I was only too glad that you did, Gus. What could I have said to him? I know comparatively nothing of drunkenness, and still less how to deal with it.'

'I know that, Maud; it has never been brought under your notice much. You may have heard that so-and-so was a drunkard, and you may have seen drunken men in the streets; but you have never thought much about them, or tried to realise what life was to them and to their families. I am quite sure you have not; for if you had you would not have wanted words to utter to that man just now. You would not have felt unable to utter the inciting and helpful words, "Here is a path for you to tread, which will lead you to peace, and happiness, and comfort. I am walking in it, so I know that *you* can. Come, follow me." I knew you could not say that, Maudie; so I spoke in your stead for his sake.'

'Oh Gus!' exclaimed Maud, colouring; 'do you mean me to understand that I *ought* to be able so to speak?'

'Well, look here, Maud; I am hoping and believing that this day is the beginning of a new life for you, that you will henceforth try to live a more worthy life than you have ever yet done; that you will not continue this good work for a week or two, just while I am with you, and then give it up, and relapse into vapid young-ladyism. I have a pleasant belief that you will keep bravely on, endeavouring to make your life "a grand sweet song," which shall stir the hearts and bless the lives of your needy and sorrowful fellow-creatures; that you will live so that in the end it may be said of you, "she hath not lived in vain," and that you may get the commendation of the Most High, "Well done, good and faithful servant."'

'Oh Gus,' exclaimed Maud again, 'it quite pains me to hear you talk so. You are so good, so immeasurably above me, and you think my heart is like yours. You seem to forget that I have been completely wrapped up in selfishness,—so unlike you, who have been self-sacrificing and devoted for years.'

'I know you are only a beginner, Maudie; but then I believe that you intend to become an earnest worker. Am I right?'

'I do heartily intend now,' answered Maud, 'and I hope I may keep on, I am sure.'

'You must not forget to ask God's help, or you will most certainly grow weary in well doing. But to return to our subject: I do wish that you were able to speak as I did

just now to Wade, because I am sure that as you carry on the work which you have begun to-day, you will meet with many who are suffering from what has impoverished and distressed this family. There are cases of poverty arising from affliction or loss, or other causes over which men have no control; but as a rule you will find that the poverty and distress of the poorer classes arise from the curse of drink. Therefore, if you would labour successfully among them, you must take up this subject in a thoughtful, self-denying, prayerful spirit, and beware lest you should be a stumbling-block in an erring brother's way. If you were suffering from, say a spinal disease, and a doctor came to see you, you would not care for him to talk about your hands, or feet, or head. You would want some advice about the part from which you were suffering. So it seems to me that it is of no use going to a drunkard and talking about this thing and the other, and anything but that which is the uppermost thought in his mind. What he is most conscious of is that he has a craving for drink, that he is suffering from it, that he is wasting everything upon it that is worth possessing. Now if you have thought nothing upon this everywhere-prevalent form of sin and suffering, if you have not cared to study it, how can you possibly address words in season to its victims?'

'So you would make a temperance reformer of me, Gus?' said Maud.

'Why not?' returned Gus.

'And you would make what is called a teetotaller of me, too?' continued Maud, smiling.

'Why not?' repeated Gus.

'Oh Gus! it sounds to me like a term of reproach,' said Maud. 'It goes against all my notions of refinement and delicacy to take up this temperance question.'

'I would like you to analyze those notions, Maud, at your leisure, and see if they don't turn out to be a complete mixture of namby-pambyism and selfishness. You will excuse my plain speaking,' he added, smiling; 'you know I'm not going to mince matters with my little cousin. Then as to bearing the reproach of being a teetotaller, what a small thing is that when you consider it is on account of being a friend and helper to the despairing, that it is for being a truer woman and a more self-denying and earnest aspirant after the highest good (which is evidenced by lowly ministering), than those who so reproach you. I have faith in your tenderness and strength of heart, Maud, and I do not think you will be terrified by this reproach. Let me use a figure. Let me suppose you a dweller on a sea shore, and one of an immense party of daily bathers.

It is well known that it is most dangerous in this part, and that persons are being constantly carried out of their depth, and are in extreme danger of perishing. Some buffet with the waves with the strength of despair, and succeed in regaining the shore without any help but that of the Unseen; others are rescued by means of boats, which go out among the struggling to seek to pick up those ready to perish; others sink down like lead amid the waters, and are seen no more. Now observe that all admit on entering this sea that it is fraught with exceeding peril to many; it depends upon the capabilities of each individual whether these perils can be braved. Some perish almost directly; others go continually out of their depth, and yet return to shore again and again in safety. There are some on shore who with praiseworthy self-denial abstain altogether from indulging in the luxury of entering these waters, simply for the sake of example to the unwary, and to those who have not strength to keep above water if they enter. Not only so, but these abstainers actually man the boats of which I spoke, and go out to drag sinking persons from destruction.'

'Ah, that is brave and good!' quietly exclaimed Maud, as if she were hearing a true story.

'But you must know that these earnest and sympathizing cruisers—so to speak—have to encounter much scorn and reproach for their work. They are dubbed *rescuers*, and that noble word is used to signify great reproach. The swimmers call them fools for their pains, and cry out that every man is able to take care of himself, and knows what is best for himself. Sometimes after singling out a sinking one, and rowing up to him, the rescuer will meet with only revilings from the perishing person,—so infatuated are many of the swimmers. Now I put it to your heart, Maud, if you saw a friend or a neighbour far out struggling in these cruel waters, and you felt that you were capable of going to the rescue, would you desist and hold back from a cowardly fear of bearing a simple term of reproach, and not make one effort to save the perishing?'

'Indeed, I would not,' answered Maud, earnestly. 'I see what you mean, Gus.'

'Then, let me ask, Maud, what if you went out so, and met with such words as these from the perishing:—"Yes, you ask me to forsake these waters and never enter them again, and yet you enter them yourself every day. It is said that they are necessary to health, and they minister to pleasure; but you tell me to deny myself that which you enjoy." What could you reply, Maud? You might say that you were too

confident in your powers, and had too little inclination, ever to get out of your depth; but they might retort, "How do you know? I was once as confident as you are, yet here I am." But if you could say, "I can prove to you that you can be healthier and happier by refraining from coming near these waters than by entering them, for I never enter them, so come and let us bear each other company in the enjoyments of the safe and pleasant shore." '

'Ah, I see, Gus,' said Maud, giving his arm a little squeeze. 'You are a good, wise fellow, and you know how to convince me of my foolishness. I will certainly enter your bonnie boat, and deem it a duty and a privilege to be a "Rescuer." Whatever will they all say at home when I announce that you are making a convert to temperance of me!'

'You will brave all they can say quite nicely, I am sure,' answered Gus. 'Now before I drop my figure, I want to take you a step farther. We will suppose that it is to the interest of hundreds and thousands of thoughtless, selfish people to lure their fellow-creatures towards these waters, and to assist them in getting out of their depth. We will suppose that it is patent to everybody who has eyes to see that this enormity is daily practised, and that the well-known consequence is that tens of thousands of poor creatures perish every year through the efforts of these allurers. We will suppose that the Government of the place actually throws around these destroyers the mantle of its protection, and affords them facilities for carrying on their Satanic work. Not only so, but it has to spend thousands of pounds to rear and keep open buildings to receive those who get maddened in these waters, and have to be dragged out and consigned to keepers, and for those who get maddened so far as to cause them to commit violent outrages upon their fellow-creatures.'

'It would be insane of any Government,' said Maud.

'Yet that is just what our Government does,' replied Gus. 'But to continue. Suppose a band of men and women on shore protested against the Government's aiding and abetting these destroyers in their ghastly work, and urged upon it to withdraw its patronage and protection from such monstrous evil-doings, also to use its power to prevent the weak and unwary from thus gliding away to destruction, by placing needful barriers in their way,—what would you say about such a band of people? Would you call them mere fools and enthusiasts? or would you not rather say they were champions of the right—persons of common sense and right feeling?'

'The latter, most certainly,' replied Maud, who had been listening with great attention.

'Well, such a band exists in our country, Maud, and I, after much thought and deliberation, have joined it. I want you to read all about it, and think over it by-and-by, and see if you cannot intelligently become one of us.'

'So you think the law should and could put down drunkenness?' said Maud.

'I think that the law should and could foster the right, and not the wrong, as it is now doing in relation to the drink traffic. It should protect a people as much as possible from ruin, and not afford them facilities for rushing to it as quickly as possible; above all, it should not set traps to catch the feet of the young and unwary, and cause them to stumble to their irremediable hurt.'

After walking a little distance in thoughtful silence, he added, 'We will have a few more chats on this subject, Maud. I see a cottage which I think must be Widow Jones's. We must not stay there long, you know; if I keep you out much beyond dusk, your mamma will not thank me for my imprudence.'

They had no difficulty in finding the widow, and a very pleasant visit it proved to all three. The comely old body, very poor and infirm, but very neat and tidy in her person and her house, was overjoyed and astonished to be called upon by 'the young lady at the hall,' and a most providential call it proved to be; for the poor woman was reduced to great straits, and did not know where to look for food for the morrow, only to God. Maud's bountiful errand strengthened the old woman's faith. 'I am quite sure as God sent you, Miss,' she said, with tears of gratitude.

On their way home Maud's heart was lighter than she had felt it for a long time. 'It seems, Gus,' she said, 'as if you had led me into a new world to-day; and so you have, you good old thing! You have led me out of the world of self into the world of sympathy and work for others.'

'And you will remain in this new world?' said Gus.

'I hope so, and really mean to,' replied Maud.

'Don't trust to your own wisdom and strength, Maudie. Ask God's help and guidance continually.'

'I will try to,' said Maud, softly. 'Though it will seem so strange, Gus. I don't think I have ever really prayed in my life,—that is, you know, I have never deeply felt the need of anything. Now, I actually feel the need of forgiveness for being all my life so selfish, and unmindful of my duty to God and man.'

'That, and all else that you need, you may get through our Saviour,' replied Gus, with grave tenderness. 'I do hope,

dear Maud, that in the highest sense this will be the beginning of a new life to you,—a life of faith in Him; a life of good works resulting from that faith.'

Maud entered her home quiet and thoughtful. Her Mamma feared she was depressed by what she had seen, or over-tired; but Maud soon regained her cheerful demeanour, and playfully begged them to hold themselves in readiness to begin work directly after dinner. A very happy evening they spent. Even Mrs. Cowley forgot to expatiate upon her small personal afflictions, and there was gossip of no doleful sort. 'Band and gusset and seam' kept fair fingers in busy motion that hitherto had seldom, if ever, been employed on such worthy work. The gentlemen watched them with extreme interest, kept a constant supply of threaded needles for them, and took it in turns to read aloud or play for the fair workers' amusement. The time seemed to speed by on magically fleet wings. There was no room left to wish he would go faster, no yawning, no plaint of 'Nothing to do.'

'Well,' said Mrs. Cowley, as she was busy at a flannel petticoat, 'I could not have believed that I should be able to sit up at this time in the evening stitching away like a poor seamstress working for bread! Yet I do not remember feeling so easy both in mind and body for a very long time. I must thank you, Maud, for devising so good a remedy for our usual evening ailments,—mental and physical inertness.'

'There's a fellow at school,' remarked Fred, turning round on the piano-stool, after adjusting his music, 'a bit of a bore in his way, you know, who is always affirming that there's nothing like work to cure the blues, and make one forget one's self. Next time he bores me with his favourite axiom, I'll inform him that I learnt that at home in the Christmas holidays, and so put a stop to his cuckoo cry.'

Thereupon Mr. Fred turned, and filled the apartment with sounds more melodious.

To Maud's great satisfaction one or two garments were ready by the next morning to take to Mrs. Wade. Maud and her cousin had to go alone with them, as Miss Beattie and Fred wished to go out riding.

It was a bright frosty morning; yesterday's snow glittered under the morning sun like gems, and the air was clear and exhilarating. With a light heart Maud set out on her third benevolent errand. Gus enjoyed seeing her genuine enjoyment; and they laughed and chatted on their way, two as happy-hearted young folks as the sun shone upon that day.

They found Mr. Wade at home, washed and tidy, as if he had been preparing a little for visitors. He was nursing his

sick child by the fire, and the care with which he drew an old shawl around the little one's head while the door was open, evinced a fatherly care and thoughtfulness which his years of mis-doing had not wholly destroyed.

He presently confessed that he had waited in 'a purpose to have another bit o' talk with the good gentleman.' Gus was very glad of this opportunity to strengthen Wade's desire for a new and better life, and gave him what encouragement and advice he could. In conclusion Wade said: 'Well, you know, sir, I've been thinking as if *you* could do without the drink, surely *I* could, sir; and so I'm going to try. I'm very thankful as one came in my way who've set me the example: example is better than words, sir.'

'Well, Mr. Wade,' said Maud bravely, 'when this gentleman is gone, you will still occasionally see one who is following his example; for I intend to give up entirely taking the little I have been accustomed to, for the sake of being an example to those who take too much.'

'That's very good, Miss,' said Wade, while Gus smiled his thanks and warm approbation to Maud, who involuntarily turned her glowing face towards him. 'That's right, Miss,' added Wade; 'there's enough for the ladies to do as well as the gentlemen. Now, I think the ladies might speak to the women about this sometimes; but they don't seem to think as how the poor bodies needs it. 'Wever, I know one or two, not a hundred miles off, who wants speaking to about this very thing, for it's a dreadful thing to see wives and mothers giving themselves up to this drink, Miss.'

'Could I go and see the poor women you allude to?' asked Maud with great interest.

'You could one of 'em,' said Wade, 'and that is one of your old servants, Sarah Bryce, as was housemaid at the hall till she got married.'

'Sarah Bryce,' echoed Maud. 'And do you really mean to say that she drinks?'

'She does, indeed, Miss. I've heard a good deal about her, and I've seen a bit myself. I've had to pass her house twice a day for years, you know, Miss. She lives about half way to Farmer Clare's. If she could be seen to in time it 'ud be the saving o' the family from ruin, I'll venture to say.'

'We will certainly go and see her,' said Maud readily.

Before leaving the cottage Gus was quite satisfied that the man had a sincere desire to go on better, and to make an effort to conquer his drinking habits; so Gus promised to go and speak to Farmer Clare in his behalf, and see whether he could get the man re-installed in his old place. This raised the

spirits of the family wonderfully, and inspired them with happy hope.

In the afternoon our two earnest workers proposed going on horseback to Farmer Clare's. This errand of peace-making was most enjoyable to Maud. After some little pleasant altercation with the farmer, they succeeded in overruling his objections to taking Wade back, and got him to promise to 'try the troublesome customer once more.' So far that was well. On their way back to Wade's they called at Mrs. Bryce's cottage. Maud alighted, and Gus took her horse's bridle, and said he would ride about until Maud came out: he thought it best that she should go and see her old servant alone.

Maud was in the cottage a full quarter of an hour, and when she re-appeared her eyes bore traces of tears. Gus helped her to mount, and for a minute or so they rode in silence. 'It is a sad case, I fear, Maud?' Gus said at length.

'Sad, yet hopeful, if one may hope for the penitent,' replied Maud. And then she told with what gratitude the poor woman received her, and how with many tears she confessed her misery and wickedness, and her loathing of the life she was now leading,—estranged from her husband, and a terror and sorrow to her little children.

'I will go to her again and again,' said Maud in conclusion, 'and persevere in trying to allure her to become a good wife and mother. Oh, Gus! I have felt until this week that there was nothing for me to do in life, that time was long and very heavy on my hands: now I feel that there is so much to be done, that one would require fifty lifetimes to attend to different cases of sin, and want, and trouble, that one may meet with by just looking around and making a few inquiries. I feel confident that I shall evermore have my hands full of work: one case will lead to another, as I have found it do already.'

'And when you get more to do than you can possibly attend to, you must try to enlist some of your friends in your good work, and so extend the circle of your influence,' said Gus.

They took their pleasant message to Wade; and the next morning he returned in right good earnest to his old work.

The sewing-party stitched away for the next few evenings, much to their own pleasure and satisfaction, and to the benefit of those for whom they worked.

At the end of another week Mr. Gus went away, but not before he and Maud had held several pleasant confabulations about future work. Maud got abundance of good counsels and encouragements to proceed.

Miss Beattie remained behind for another fortnight. During that time she was Maud's constant companion in her benevolent errands. Maud tried to prevail upon her to take an active part on these occasions; but Miss Beattie invariably held back, and assured Maud that she really could not be spokeswoman. 'You know, Maudie, speaking is not my forte,' she said, one day, 'I confess, that during my visit here, I have been inspired with a wish to do something to help and benefit my fellow-creatures. As your cousin Gus said, it is not worthy of any woman to live wholly to herself. Well, I don't wish to live such a selfish life as I have been accustomed to live. I want to do *something;* but I must be content to work in a very humble way—at least at first. A young friend of mine near home was asking me in the autumn if I would join a sewing-class which she had established for the benefit of the aged poor of a district at the West End. I declined, of course, and laughed the idea to scorn. Go to a Dorcas meeting indeed? Not I! But now, Maudie, I have resolved to call on my friend directly I return to London, and offer her my services. That will be doing a little, and it may be the beginning of something greater.'

'I am very glad you have made such a resolve, Grace,' said Maud, with smiling enthusiasm, 'we shall both come to be very busy bodies, in the best sense of the term, by-and-by, I'm confident.'

Even the elderly Christmas visitors, the calm, easy-going, indolent old dowagers, caught the infection of Maud's zeal, and avowed their intention of looking out for something to do as soon as they found themselves back at their home in the Isle of Wight.

As the spring advanced Maud wrote her cousin Gus happy accounts of the progress she was making, of her enlarged sphere of action, and so forth. She was glad to be able to tell that Mr. Wade was going on admirably, and giving the greatest satisfaction to his old master; that Mrs. Bryce had taken the pledge two months ago, and was keeping it bravely, and that peace and comfort now prevailed in her once miserable home; that poor old widow Jones was as well as could be expected, and so forth. In conclusion she wrote, 'I am so taken up with my work that I entirely forget myself; and as for raising the doleful, and, I may say, *sinful* cry of "Nothing to do,"—that has not once escaped my lips since that memorable day when you led me to work.'

Gus replied with many words of commendation and encouragement, and in the course of his remarks said:—'You remember that fine poem of Jean Ingelow's,'—*The Star's*

Monument. I have been fancying the words which the lady uttered to the poet, as falling from your lips, Maud. After speaking of getting for her "wages and diadem" the love of those for whom she has worked, the lines run :—

> "Then when I died, I should not fall, (says she),
> Like dropping flowers that no man noticeth;
> But like a great branch of some stately tree
> Rent in a tempest, and flung down to death,
> Thick with green leafage,—so that piteously
> Each passer-by that ruin shuddereth,
> And saith,—*The gap this branch hath left is wide;*
> *The loss thereof can never be supplied.*'"

THE UNSTEADY HAND.

'THERE is a greater curse than drunkenness,' said Dr. Grantley.

'It may be so,' I answered, 'but it so happens that I am not aware of its name or existence.'

'Moderate drinking,' said the Doctor, with an emphasis of tone and manner that showed him to be very much in earnest.

Dr. Grantley was somewhat of an enthusiast on the subject of temperance; yet a clear, strong thinker. I did not expect from him any special pleading or begging of the question.

'I should like to hear you make good the assertion,' I replied.

'Nothing is easier. The fact is so plain, that I am surprised it is not seen by every one.'

'I am all attention; make it plain to me,' said I.

'You do not trust a drunkard in any responsible position,' he replied. 'You would not, if he were a lawyer, give an important cause into his hands; nor, if he were a surgeon, risk him with a delicate operation. Known drunkards are not put in command of ships, nor in charge of steam engines, nor assigned to places where life, property, or important interests are at stake. Once class a man with drunkards, and you narrow his influence, both for good and evil, to a small circle. You rule him out of the great world of action, and render him comparatively harmless. He is his own worst enemy—disgusting to all around him; but of thus much use, that he is a living expounder of the evils of intemperance, teaching by example their saddest and most humiliating lesson.

'But your respectable, virtuous, high-minded, moderate drinkers,' the Doctor, continued, 'hold to society a very different relation. They command your ships and armies;

they are your lawyers, your surgeons, your engineers, your merchants and manufacturers, with whom you risk your goods and money. You trust them with your highest and best worldly interests. And it never seems to occur to you that they who drink sometimes tarry long at the wine; and may, in some fatal moment, when a clear head or steady hand is the only guaranty of success or safety, hurt you, through a slight and temporary incapacity, beyond repair.'

I drew a long breath as the magnitude of a danger I had not thought of loomed up before me with an almost appaling distinctness.

'While we count the drunkards who are not trusted by tens,' said the Doctor, 'we may count this other class, who hold our lives and property in their hands, by thousands.'

I observed that Dr. Grantley's voice had in it a low thrill, and that he was unusually disturbed.

'You feel strongly on this subject,' I said.

'There is cause,' he answered, dropping his tones, and bending his head forward, as though a weight had fallen on it suddenly. He was silent for an unusually long time.

'I will give you,' he said at length, 'an illustration of what I mean. Are you at leisure for half an hour?'

'Entirely at your service.'

'I drink nothing stronger than tea or coffee, as you are aware. Once I took my glass of wine at dinner and in social circles. It was genteel; had in it a smack of good breeding, and familiarity with society. I cultivated the little vanities of connoisseurship, and talked in the usual self-satisfied way of brands, vintages, flavours and the like, as fluently as any one. I had, so to speak, all the wine-lingos at my finger ends, and was not a little proud of the accomplishment.

'My special work, as you know, is surgery; a work that, of all others, requires the clear head and steady hand. There are occasions when, if the knife passes by a hundredth part of an inch from the right direction, a fatal result is inevitable. We cut down into the quivering flesh, and grope about darkly amid sensitive nerves and life-blooded arteries, with death waiting eagerly for some fatal breach in the delicate organism.

'We hear frequent allusions made to steadying the nerves with wine or brandy. I was sufficiently well acquainted with the action of this class of stimulants on myself to refuse them altogether for at least twenty-four hours prior to the performance of even the slightest surgical operation. I would have regarded it as criminal to take a glass of wine just before using the scalpel, because its effect would have been to disturb

the free and rapid directions of my will to the cutting hand, hindering, confusing, and it might be rendering death certain where I was trying to save life.

'I know that it is the custom with some surgeons to steady their nerves with wine or brandy before going to the operating table; but I think it will be found in nearly all of these cases that the habitual use of these articles has substituted an artificial for a normal steadiness of nerve, and that the stimulant has become a necessity through abuse. It is said of professional gamblers that many of them rigidly abstain from drink in order to secure clear heads and steady hands for their infamous work. The surgeon, of all other men, should profit by their example.'

'Did it not occur to you,' I said, 'that in your own social use of wines you were gradually substituting this general artificial steadiness of nerve for the natural and healthy, and that, in time, your abstinence, preliminary to using the knife, might defeat the end in view? That nature might not rally her forces quickly enough after the withdrawal of substitutes?"

'Yes; this very thought that you suggest did often present itself; but I pushed it aside. It was not agreeable; and I would not look it calmly in the face. I had come to like the taste of wine, and to enjoy a social glass with my friends.

'Surgery was my first love, and I pursued its study and practice with an interest and ardour that never abated. My opportunities were good, and I made the best of them. After acting as assistant in a large hospital for two years, I went to Paris and Vienna, spending two years in the admirably conducted hospitals of those cities, under circumstances of special advantage. Returning, I entered, at the age of twenty-six, on the practice of my profession. In five years I had established a reputation as wide as the country. Many of my operations, some of them almost unheard of in the profession, were reported in our own and transferred to foreign medical journals. I had more than the fame I coveted.

'There was a period in my professional life when scarcely a day passed without some call on me for the skill that lay in my practised hand; and scarcely a week without some prolonged and difficult or dangerous operation. The strain on my nerves was very great; the amount depending very much on the character and condition of my patients, and the degree of risk involved.

'It was about this time, when reports of my brilliant operations were spoken of as a perpetual surprise, that the event occurred which I am about to relate.

'I had a friend, older by several years, with whom I had

long been intimate. He had watched my professional debut and career with an interest as deep as he could have felt in a brother; and he was very proud of my success. One day he came to my office, and after a word or two, said, a look of concern settling on his face—"I wish you would call in and examine a lump on Miriam's neck."

'He spoke of his wife.

'"What kind of a lump?" I asked.

'"It is about the size of a walnut, and is increasing in size, I think, quite rapidly."

'"It may be only the temporary swelling of a gland," I remarked, with assumed indifference. "Is it sore to the touch?"

'"Not in the least; but Miriam begins to complain of a sense of obstruction, as if there were pressure on a blood vessel. I've wished to speak to you about it for some time, but she would not consent."

'"Only about the size of a walnut?" I inquired.

'"May be a little larger, though not much."

'"I will call round this afternoon and look at it," said I. '"Tell Mrs. Baldwin to expect me about four o'clock. You will be at home?"

'"Oh, yes," he replied, and turned to go. But there were questions in his mind that he could not leave without asking. '"Doctor," he said, coming back and sitting down, "this may seem a very small matter in your eyes, but I am seriously troubled. It is no swelling of a gland, but a tumour. Of that I am satisfied."

'"What is the exact location?" I asked.

'"On a line with the ear, and just above the collar bone."

'We were both silent for a time.

'"As I said, Doctor," my friend resumed, "this thing has troubled me from the beginning. It rests like a heavy weight on my spirits. It shadows me with a strange foreboding. I am foolish, perhaps."

'"Over sensitive about anything that touches one so dear as your wife," I answered, with a smile. "It is natural. But don't give yourself needless anxiety. Tumours in the neck are usually benignant, as we say, and surgical skill ensures their safe removal."

'"Can they not be extirpated without using the knife?" he asked—"re-absorbed by a restored healthy action of the parts?"

'"In rare instances this has occurred. But there is no established treatment on which we can rely. In my own practice I have not met with a single case where a well-developed tumor was re-absorbed by a normal action of the parts."

'"At four o'clock this afternoon, Doctor." Mr. Baldwin arose.

'"At four promptly," I answered. And he went away.

'Mrs. Baldwin received me with a quiet cheerfulness of manner, saying—"My husband is apt to worry himself about little things, as you are aware."

'Her composure was only assumed; I felt that, as her hand lay in mine. My first diagnosis was not satisfactory, and I found great difficulty in concealing the doubts that troubled me. The swelling was clearly outlined, but not so sharply protuberant as I had been led to suppose by the likeness to a walnut which my friend had suggested. I feared, from its shape and presentation at the surface, and also from the fact that the patient complained of a sense of pressure on the vessels of the neck, that the tumour was deeply seated, and much larger than my friend had suspected. But I was most concerned as to its character. Being hard and perceptibly nodulated, there was in my mind an apprehension that it might prove malignant in character, and the apprehension was made stronger by the fact that my patient had a scrofulous diathesis.

'There was no congestion of the veins, nor discoloration of skin around the hard protuberance; no pulsation, elasticity, fluctuation, or soreness—only a solid lump that I recognised as the small section or lobule of a deeply seated tumour, already beginning to press upon and obstruct the blood-vessels. It might be fibrous or albuminous—benignant or malignant; which, in this, my first diagnosis, I was not able to determine. But for the constitutional habit of my patient, I should have concluded favourably.

'It was not easy to veil my concern from Mr. Baldwin, who followed down stairs after I had finished the examination, and plied me with eager questions.

'"Deal plainly with me, Doctor," said he. "I wish to know exactly what you think. Don't conceal anything."

'His blanching lips, and voice pitched to a low key that its tremor might be hidden, told plainly enough that I must conceal every apprehension that troubled me.

'"It presents all the indications of what we call a fibrous tumour," said I.

'"Are they of a malignant type?" he asked, with suspended breath.

'"No; they are entirely harmless, but for their mechanical pressure on surrounding vessels, tissues, and organs."

'He caught his breath with a deep sigh of relief; then asked—

'"Is there any danger in their removal?"

'"None," I replied.

'"Have you ever taken a tumour from the neck?" he asked.

'"More than a dozen."

'"Were you always successful?"

'"Always."

'His breath came more freely. Then, after a little pause, he said—

'"There will have to be an operation in this case?" I saw his lips grow white again.

'"I fear that it cannot be avoided."

'"There is one comfort," Mr. Baldwin remarked, his voice rallying to an almost cheerful tone, "the tumour is small, and evidently superficial in its character. The knife will not have to go very deep among the arteries, veins, and nerves, so thickly gathered about the neck."

'I did not correct his error.

'"How long will it take?" he next queried.

'"Not very long," I answered evasively.

'"Ten minutes?"

'"Yes; perhaps a little longer."

'"She will not be conscious of pain?"

'"No; no more conscious than if she were a sweetly sleeping infant."

'Mr. Baldwin walked nervously the whole length of the parlour twice; then stood still in front of me.

'"Doctor," he said solemnly, "I place her in your hands. She will consent to do anything I may conclude it best to do. We have entire confidence in your judgment and skill."

'He stopped short, and turned partly away to hide excess of feeling. Rallying after a moment, he continued, with a forced smile on his lips—

'"To your professional eyes I show unmanly weakness. But, you must bear in mind how dear she is, Doctor! It makes me shiver in every nerve to think of the knife going down into her tender flesh. You might cut me to pieces if that would save her."

'"Your fears exaggerate the reality, Mr. Baldwin," I replied. "She will go into a deep sleep, and while she dreams pleasant dreams, we will simply dissect out the tumour, with all its foreign accumulations, and leave the healthy organs to continue their action under the old laws of unobstructed life."

'"I am weak and foolish, I know," he answered, "but I can't help it. The whole thing touches too nearly home."

'"As I was leaving, he said, "Doctor, how soon ought it to be done?"

'"The sooner the better," I returned, "after the hot weather is over. Say in October. In the meantime, I will carefully watch its growth and condition."

'My next examination of the tumour, made in about a fortnight, satisfied me that it was deeply seated, and probably as large as a small orange. The protruding portion was only a small lobe of the foreign body. A substance so large, and of so hard a texture, must necessarily cause serious displacement of the blood-vessels, nerves, glands and muscles of the neck, and render an early extirpation necessary to save life. In the two weeks there had been perceptible growth.

'During the next two months I saw Mrs. Baldwin frequently, and noticed with concern increasing signs of pressure on the carotids, indicated by a slight suffusion of the face. The middle of October was set down as the time when the operation should be made. As the period approached, I felt a nervous dread about the case. I had consulted the most distinguished surgeon in the city, my senior by over fifteen years. His diagnosis agreed in every particular with my own. We were satisfied that it was a fibrous tumour, non-malignant, but so deeply cast among the great vessels, and probably so attached to their sheaths, as to render extirpation a difficult, and, without great caution, a dangerous operation.

'This was the only case, in all my practice, wherein I felt like transferring the responsibility to another. Not because of the difficulty—that would only have quickened my ardor—but because Mrs. Baldwin was the tenderly beloved wife of the oldest, warmest, and truest friend I possessed; and I knew that personal feeling would come in, and might disturb the cool equilibrium of mind so essential to skill and steadiness of hand.

'As the time approached, my concern increased. So oppressive did this become, that at last I sent for Mr. Baldwin, and seriously proposed that Dr. B——, the eminent surgeon to whom I have just referred, should be called on to perform the operation.

'"He is older, and has a larger experience,' I said. "All the profession award to him the first place in our city, if not in the country."

'"I have no doubt of his skill," replied my friend, speaking in a firm decided way, "but his skill is not supplemented with sobriety. You know that as well as I do. His habit of drinking too freely has become a thing of common notoriety, and is gradually destroying public confidence. Oh, no, Doctor! The

hand that cuts down into her dear flesh must be steadied by healthy nerves, and not by wine or brandy! I will not hear of it. The man is a drunkard—I call his habitual and excessive use of strong drink by its right name—and so I set him aside. I will not run any risk with a drunkard. He hangs out a sign on which is written, Beware! I read it, and pass over to the other side, getting out of the way of danger!"

'I felt strongly the force of all this, and said no more about Dr. B——. The day came at last. Ten o'clock was the hour at which the operation was to be performed. For two whole days I had strictly abstained from even a glass of wine, giving my nervous system that long period in which to recover the natural steadiness which might have been weakened through over-action occasioned by stimulants.

'Mr. Baldwin called on me as early as eight o'clock. He was very nervous, and oppressed by evil forebodings. The number and variety of the questions he had to ask, annoyed me; for I could not answer them truthfully, without adding to his overwrought fears. Not that I apprehended danger, for I was master of my profession, and knew the exact location of every artery, vein, nerve, gland, and muscle, among which I had to pass the scalpel. Nay, in order to make assurance doubly sure, I had spent an hour in the dissecting-room on the day before, giving to the anatomical organism of the neck a new and close examination. I had but to extirpate a tumour—badly located, it is true—and this any skilful surgeon might safely accomplish. A steady and confident hand, and favouring circumstances, were all that he required.

'I carefully concealed my annoyance under a light, almost playful exterior, and rallied him for his unmanly weakness—called the operation one of minor importance, involving little risk. I could not reassure him, however. A shadow of coming evil rested darkly on his spirit.

'At ten o'clock, accompanied by three assistants, one of them a surgeon of tried skill, I repaired to the house of my friend. The white face and scared look of the servant who admitted us, and asked us to go up to the front chamber in the second story, was nothing in my professional eyes, and did not in the least disturb the equipoise of mind essential to my work. In the hall above Mr. Baldwin's trembling hand grasped mine with a silent pressure. I smiled as I said, "Good morning!" in an unconcerned voice, and passed into the room where the operation was to be made. The table I had selected was there. Quickly and silently, acting from previous concert, we placed this table in the best relation to the light, arranged instruments, bandages, and all things

necessary to the work in hand, and then, after giving to this preparation the temporary concealment in our power, announced our readiness.

'In a moment after Mrs. Baldwin entered from the adjoining chamber. She was a beautiful woman, in the prime of life. Never had she looked more beautiful than now. Her strong will had mastered fear; and strength, courage, and resignation looked out from her clear eyes, and rested on her firm lips.

'She smiled, but did not speak. I took her by the hand and led her to the table on which she was to lie during the operation, saying, as I did so, "It will all be over in a few minutes, and you won't feel it as much as a pin scratch."

'As soon as she was in position, an assistant, according to arrangement, presented the sponge saturated with ether, and in two minutes complete anæsthesia was produced. On the instant, I made an incision, and cut quickly down to the tumour. It was a hard, fibrous substance; and a few carefully-made efforts to dissect it away from the surrounding parts, confirmed my previous opinion that it was large and deeply seated. But I understood my business, and was now so entirely interested in what I was doing, that I forgot my patient's identity, and so pursued the work in hand with a concentration of thought and purpose that gave science and skill their best result. It took full twenty-five minutes to separate the tumour from all the blood-vessels, nerves, and muscles it had involved. At the end of thirty minutes we bore our patient, still insensible, to her bed in the adjoining chamber, and laid her down gently, as one in quiet sleep—the ordeal safely over.

'I shall never forget the look of sweet thankfulness that came into her eyes, as, not long after, I told her that the operation she had so long dreaded had been safely performed.

'"And I knew nothing of it!" she whispered; then added, shutting her eyes, and speaking to herself—"It is wonderful! Thank God for this, among other manifold blessings!"

'As for my friend, he wrung my hands, and cried for excess of joy with unmanly weakness. A surgeon sees much of human nature on this side. My hands were in a tremor now, and I took a glass of wine to steady them. Two hours afterward I called on my patient, and found her sleeping; and at four o'clock I called again. At five I was engaged to dine at the house of a professional friend, and meet some gentlemen from a neighbouring city. Everything was, apparently, in a safe condition, and I went to my dinner engagement with a mind altogether at ease.

'Dr. ——, at whose house I dined that day, was what we call

a good liver, and dainty in wines. He liked to talk of his well-filled cellar, and of the brands and vintages from which it was stocked; and he usually succeeded in transferring to his guests a measure of his own weakness. Contagion works easily in this direction. There were, on this occasion, four or five different kinds of wine on the table, and our host seemed to feel that in no better way could he manifest hospitality than in pressing us often to drink. The abstinence I had practised for a couple of days, and the relief of mind felt in consequence of the successful result of an operation I had almost dreaded to perform, naturally led me to a freer use of the tempting liquors that were set before us. As bottle after bottle was opened, and the vintage announced, we filled our glasses, sipped, praised, and drank, greatly to the satisfaction of our host, who flattered himself that we were connoisseurs and full of admiration for his exquisite taste in selection.

'I was just lifting up my fifth glass, when a servant, stooping to my ear, said,—"Doctor, you are called for in haste."

'Rising, I asked to be excused for a moment, and went down stairs. One of my students was in the hall.

'"What is it, Harding?" I asked.

'"An artery in Mrs. Baldwin's neck has commenced bleeding, and they have sent for you to come as quickly as possible."

'"Have you my instrument case?" I inquired.

'"Yes, sir."

'"And the carriage?"

'"Yes, sir."

'"Ether?"

'"Everything that can be needed," he answered.

'"Thank you, Harding! Thank you! Your thoughtful promptness has saved much time." I hurried into the carriage with my student, and drove rapidly to the house of Mr. Baldwin.

'If I could have forgotten the fact of having taken so freely of wine, the stimulant of the occasion might have overridden the access, and given me the steady hand and clear mental poise so much needed now. But, so far from forgetting, the fact threw itself with a shock into my consciousness; and, with almost a shiver of alarm, I noted a mental confusion and want of physical command, that unfitted me for any use of the surgeon's knife. But the exigency was pressing. I could not tell, until I saw my patient, how copious the hæmorrhage might be, nor how immediate the danger.

'Mr. Baldwin met me on my entrance, looking greatly alarmed.

'"Oh, Doctor! I'm so glad you have come! I was afraid she might bleed to death."

'"No danger of that," I answered, with feigned unconcern. '"Some small artery, not well ligated, has given way, and will have to be tied again."

'Ah! if he could have seen the low shiver running along my own nerves, as the closing words of the sentence struck my own ears! Not that the religation of an artery under the circumstances was a very difficult or serious affair. It was my condition that made the case one of extreme peril.

'Don't think,' said the Doctor, 'that I was what is called the worse for wine Under almost any other circumstances, except those thrust upon me so unexpectedly, I should hardly have noticed a difference of sensation or condition.'

He paused, wiping the sweat from his forehead; then resumed—

'I found, on reaching my patient, that one of the largest of the small arteries I had deemed it necessary to cut in separating the tumour from the surrounding tissues, was bleeding freely. Half a dozen handkerchiefs and napkins had already been saturated with blood. The case demanded prompt treatment. I must open the wound, find the artery, and tie it again.

'Ether was promptly given, and as soon as the patient was fairly under its influence, I removed the dressings, and cut the few sutures with which I had drawn the wound together. The cavity left by the tumour was full of blood. After removing this with sponges, I could see, at the extreme lower part of the orifice, a free jet of blood, and knew just the artery that must again be taken up and tied. The surrounding parts had swollen, thus embedding the mouth of the artery, and I could not recover it without cutting deeper. To this I proceeded, but with a nervous unsteadiness of hand such as I had never experienced in all my professional life; a nervousness increased by a knowledge of the fact that the internal jugular vein was only a few lines distant from the keen-pointed edge of the bistoury, with which I was cutting down to get to the bleeding artery.

'There came a single moment in which I lost a clear perception of what I was doing. I seemed smitten suddenly with both physical and mental blindness; as if some malignant spirit, coming nearer through the disordered condition wrought by unnatural stimulation, took possession of all my powers, and in an instant wrought an evil that no human agency could repair. A sound it had never been my misfortune to hear before—and I pray God I may never hear again—startled me to an agonising sense of what my unnerved hand had done in a fatal moment of oblivion. Too

well I knew the meaning of that loud, hissing, sucking, and gurgling sound that smote my ear. I had wounded the jugular vein, and air was rushing in!

'If I had possessed full command of myself, as in the morning, imminent as the danger was, I would have been calm, and I think equal to the emergency. As it was, the new and perilous condition of the patient, that demanded prompt and intelligent action, paralysed me for several moments, and I only aroused to a full apprehension of the case and its duties by seeing my patient begin to struggle for breath as she inspired. Her face, which had been slightly flushed, became deadly pale and distressed.

'To close the wound I had made, and stop the influx of air, must be done immediately, or nothing could save her life. Already sufficient air had entered to alter the condition of the blood in the right cavities of the heart, and prevent its free transmission to the lungs through the pulmonary arteries. Life and death hung on every instant of time. I groped blindly for the wound, and when I found it, failed, in my terrible confusion, in a prompt application of pressure to the exact point.

'Too late! too late! I cannot dwell on the particulars! By the time I could close the fatal wound the destroyer's work was done. I opened, in my despair—clear-headed and firm-handed enough now—the right jugular, and passing a flexible tube into the auricle, tried by suction to empty the heart of the air and blood which had been churned up there into a spumous mass. But too much time had been lost, and my patient was beyond the reach of human skill. She sank rapidly, and in less than half an hour the last feeble pulses died.'

Dr. Grantley was strongly agitated. 'In pity for myself, I drop a veil over what followed,' he said, after sitting for a long time like one in a dream. 'Out from that agonising past I have lifted this fearful thing, that it may stand as a lesson and a warning. If I had been a drunkard, no such catastrophe could have happened in my practice; for men will not trust a drunkard in any case where the issue is life or death. But I was a respectable, trusted moderate drinker, able to take my four or five glasses of wine without betraying the fact to common observation; and so, too frequently in a state that unfitted me for the delicate and often dangerous operations I was at any moment liable to be called on to perform.

'From that day to this no stimulating draught has passed my lips. If I am fanatical, as some have said, in the matter of temperance, you have the explanation. And now, I re-

assert what I said in the beginning, that society is hurt more by moderate drinking than by drunkenness—yea, a thousand fold more. Towards the drunkard we are ever on guard; but we take the moderate drinker into our closest confidence, and entrust him with our highest and dearest interests—and all the while, through a weak self-indulgence, he is consorting with an enemy that enters when we open our doors to welcome him, and, in some unguarded and unsuspecting moment, injures us, it may be, beyond repair!'—*Arthur's Home Magazine.*

SELECTIONS.

HYGERIA LODGE.

After eight hours' travelling, we stopt before a large handsome stone building, enclosed with high walls, and entered through iron gates into a broad avenue, shaded by tall trees, rejoicing in all their summer beauty. There was a rookery near, for I distinctly heard the cawing of the young ones, as it alternated with the deep mellow notes of the thrush and linnet, poured forth from their sylvan home in the branches of the trees. Dr. Williams threw open a window, and we stopt before the front of Hygeria Lodge. The cool air afforded momentary relief to my fevered frame, and cooled my hot forehead. I caught a passing glimpse of the many sash windows, which seemed to multiply themselves each time that I looked on them; some pale white roses, with clematis and Virginian creeper, were artistically trained over them, and I could just discern the leaves of a beautiful grape vine, which shaded some latticed windows at the end of the building. A parterre of flowers, and a broad gravel walk ran round the house, the former gay with stocks, carnations, lilies, and other varieties of the season. From a cluster of trees which grew near, two women stepped forward, and hastened to the carriage, where they awaited the commands of Dr. Williams, who with the Squire had now alighted and stood by the door. 'Fox and Vawse, take this young lady into No. 4, give her a cup of tea and some dry biscuits. Keep her still till I see you.' This behest was listened to with profound respect, and I instantly felt myself in the grasp of these officials, who evinced much superfluous energy in their zeal for my removal. As I slowly and painfully tottered up the steps, my attendants remarked to each other, that I was 'a tender one, and not good for much. Decently rigged out too, Fox,' observed the younger woman, eyeing me from head to foot. 'Three months,' said the other significantly, 'kill or cure, there'll be some *perkwisits* for somebody.' 'I don't say so,' retorted the first, 'it will perhaps be a tedious case; when folks goes crazed, there's no saying, and if they're long of coming round, then friends gets tired and stops the brass.' 'Anyhow there's some good clothes amongst that luggage, or my name ai'nt Liza Vawse.' 'Just as if I should not know best who am the senior nurse, and been here three years more n'er you, and was with 'em when Hygeria Lodge was first opened, and brought master all the experienced ways of the establishment I was at afore, which was Dr. Dixie's, who, blessed gentleman as he was, telled me when he was engaging me hisself, as his missus was out, "You must be good to the patients and treat them very humanely, and if they want correcting, just put them under one of the taps, and let the water run on their heads till they come round; it won't hurt them if you don't bruise them against the lead work; and

mind you don't make any visible marks, or it may be a bit awkward for us both." Did not I follow out his *perscription*, and when the creatures turned obstinate-like give them a good ducking under water? "There's nothing like conquering them at first, Mrs. Fox," he used to observe, for he always spoke more deferential like than our doctor.' 'I wonder if the gentleman's her father,' said Vawse, without noticing the last speech of her companion. 'Perhaps he's her husband,' was the reply, 'there's no accounting for young girls' tastes now a days; come on, and hold her up whilst I unlock the door.' Saying this, she selected a key, from a bunch tied to her apron, and put it in the lock; the sound of that turning therein still grates on my ears, and sends an icy shiver to my heart when I recall it.

Prudent! matter of fact! often too eager relations; who consign to a living death for months and years, those whom God, or your sins, or even their own, have smitten sore, pause to consider, ere you deposit your cherished one in the sepulchre of a private madhouse such as Hygeria Lodge, or to the tending of heartless, ignorant, and selfish women—the very reverse of the high and beautiful ideal of St. Paul—'*Gentle, even as a nurse that cherisheth her children.*'

Weary and faint, I was at last disrobed of my travelling dress and laid upon a small bed without curtains, opposite to a window. A sense of oppression and suffocation induced me to ask for more air, and Fox went to the window and threw it open about a few inches. The air seemed scarcely to circulate through the heavy iron stanchions, which seemed to strike from my heart all sense of freedom and liberty. I shuddered when Vawse left the room for my tea, and I found myself alone with the elder nurse. After folding my clothes into a chest of drawers, and taking a general survey, first of the room, then of herself in the glass, she came to me and asked me how I felt. As I was trying to reply, she gave me a sudden shake, as suddenly jerking my head back on the pillow. 'How are you, I say? It's no use a throwing off and acting here, and so I'll assure you; no wonder your poor husband sent you here; you must have led him a dog's life, poor fellow! with your lack-a-daisical, ladyfied ways. By the-by, you had better take off your ring and give it me, the doctor will want it to put away.' Seeing I made no effort to comply with this order, she came and surveyed my hands. 'Why, how comes this? She's no ring, Liza,' she uttered, seeing that personage returning with my tea. 'Did you think she had? she looks too green for that. Maybe the gentleman's no good!' 'That's certain,' replied Fox. 'Take the other ring off, and never mind the gentleman; we need not tell the doctor, and if she don't get well, she'll never want it, and we can go halves.' 'Well, take care of it, and look sharp, for he's a-coming his rounds very soon.' Too weak for resistance, I submitted patiently to the abstraction of the ring, which was Mrs. Moreland's dying bequest, and saw it safely deposited in a piece of paper, and then consigned to a leather purse which Mrs. Fox drew from her enormous pocket.

I had scarcely taken my tea when a well-known step resounded through the corridor, and the doctor entered. He stood at the side of the bed viewing me attentively for a few seconds, and, asking for a pair of scissors, he ordered the attendants to raise me and unfasten my hair. Without any regard to the future appearance of my tresses, he cut or rather sheared it off at random, leaving only a few locks upon my aching heavy head. 'How does she appear to settle, Fox?' 'Only very bad, sir—never speaking nor saying nothing, nor giving like a pleasant word to us nurses, as are doing all we can to make her comfortable. She would not eat at tea, not even the smallest bite of biscuit.' 'She must be forced in the morning, if this obstinacy continues.' 'Certainly, sir.' 'And I will send a draught, which she must take at bedtime. One of you can sit up with her: you can order some extra porter and a chop.' 'Thank you, sir. And the young lady?' 'Needs nothing; you know I don't like our patients over-fed at first.' 'Right enough, sir; it makes them too *obstrepolous*.' Dr. W. made no reply to this judicious remark, but, taking another survey of me walked majestically out of the apartment. 'He never named the ring, Liza; it's just like him — he's a right gentleman.' 'Hold your tongue, fool—a still tongue makes a wise head." 'Who'll sit to-night?' "I will, so you can stop with her while I go and see after something for supper down in the kitchen; it's

poor if I can't find something going off there better than mutton chops—besides, I shall want a good salad, and something tasty beside. Don't give her the night-draught till I come back.' 'I guess that means getting her well soon, don't it?' 'Mind your own business, and leave the doctor to mind his." With this exhortation, Mrs. Fox left the room, slamming the door after her in a most unceremonious manner, leaving me, *pro tempore*, to the care of the junior nurse.

When morning dawns upon us in sorrow and suffering, instead of bringing with it a sense of relief, only renewed and aggravated troubles seem borne upon its wings, uttering their voices, and awakening us to listen to their story of misery. I had slept deeply, but not refreshingly: in my dreams I had been carried into strange lands, climbed high mountains, or gazed upon fearful precipices—suffered all the anguish of the traveller in the parched desert, and passed through raging fires, or wild and tumultuous waters. My first sense of consciousness commenced with the sounds of a heavy-toned bell, which aroused all the attendants, and shortly after Vawse appeared to relieve the other nurse. After clearing the tea things, she ordered me to rise and prebare for a bath, and glad to change the scene, even for a short time, I rose and suffered her to lead me to the bath room at the end of the passage. It was well fitted up, and a marble slab contained six or more basins, with taps and plugs to run off the water. A lady accosted me as I entered, with the manner that bespeaks high and refined breeding, and courtously wished me 'Good morning.' She was just returning from her morning ablutions, habited in an elegant wrapper. I recollect her mild blue eyes, and the compassionate look she cast on me. 'Poor young thing,' she began, in gentle tones, 'you seem very ill and weak; let me assist you.' As she said this, her eye rested on the crimson scar left by the recent blister, which continued in a state of fearful irritation. 'Ah! and they've been tormenting you, I see, with their horrible remedies, which are always worse than the disease.' Look, my dear, at my head; but the doctor cannot alter that. Saying this, she flung back some glossy curls of beautiful golden hair, and I saw a large protuberance which, she told me, was a tumour, and one cause of her present illness. I tried to utter a few words of condolence, but she stopt me, and began to tell me that her husband was coming to see her in the course of the day, and that she ordered him to bring her a *clothes basket* full of oranges, in the carriage with him; and then she assured me I should have some, as they would cool me, and prove very beneficial. After enquiring my name, she turned to the nurse, and said coaxingly, 'Now, Vawse, you must be very tender over Miss Etchell, for she is very fragile, and needs all consideration.' 'I wish you would not interfere with my business, Mrs. Renshaw, you are always so officious; its a poor thing if I can't *bath* a patient without your putting in *of* your word.' The lady thus rebuked, walked off, and after I had undergone an ordeal of splashing, scrubbing, and friction,* such as house maids usually bestow upon a mahogany table, I was dragged back to my room, and placed in bed to await my breakfast, and the further orders of the doctor. This first meal was brought by a young and pretty dark-eyed girl, called Ada, who spoke kindly, and, seeing how exhausted I was after my recent exertion, held the cup in her hand, whilst I drank the contents. Seeing I refused to eat, she broke off a morsel of bread and butter, and said, 'Do try to take a little bit; only a little, or I shall be obliged to report you as refusing food, and then you'll be forced.' I strove to yield to her request, but I was too weak to take solid food, and felt as if I was choked. 'It is a pity,' she observed with much concern, 'You must have something got that you can fancy, or you'll be starved. Perhaps, Mrs. Vawse'—'I'll thank you to keep your advice to yourself, and that's plenty for you,' interupted that personage, turning hastily from the window, where with arms a kimbo she had been gazing out for some time. 'I don't know whether

* I must not forget to notice here, a most reprehensible practice, common alike to public and private asylums. I refer to the use of a whale-bone brush, for the purpose of cleansing the hair of the patient whilst in the bath. As this process is usually performed by no light hand, its effects upon one of nervous temperament and sensitive skin, may be easily imagined. For forty-eight hours after its use, I have been in a terrible state, and experienced the same sensations as would result from a blister, or very strong mustard plaster. Can such an irritant be used, unless with a view of increasing the worst symptoms of the malady? I leave the reader to judge from his own common sense.

you're *softest* or *greenest*, Miss Turner.' The young girl looked pitifully at me, and seeing Vawse leave the room, whispered coaxingly, 'Never mind her, you'll be better soon, and then you will be removed to the front dormitory, and will only have the doctor's lady to look in occasionally; not often, I assure you, for she does not like trouble, and has besides a large family.' Half-past ten brought Dr. Williams and three satellites, in the form of consulting physicians, who whispered mysteriously together, after they had looked at me, and I heard one of them say, that 'it was a bad case.' I soon after lost all consciousness, and the next time that I was able to notice any thing I found myself in a little room, nearly darkened. A faint glimmer of light from a crevice in the window shutter made the furniture of the apartment just visible; an iron bedstead, a chair and small table; there was no carpet on the floor, and the heavy door was closed and fast. Not a sound reached my ear through the thick walls, still my first emotion was not unpleasing, for I was alone, and for a time at least freed from the officious offices of my tormentors. All my joints and limbs ached, and my hands and wrists were black with bruises, given, as I inferred, in some unconscious struggle between myself and the nurses. My aching head felt like a ball of fire, and intolerable thirst made me eagerly swallow some medicine placed in a glass at my side. I had no idea of the hour of the day; it might be morning, noon or evening; I knew not, but I longed intensely to be let alone, and left to die quietly. But it was decreed otherwise, and I was permitted after ten long years of misery, mingled with some bright rainbows of mercy, to come forth 'clothed and in my right mind,' to testify, from personal experience and daily observation, to a necessity of a thorough reform in the whole system of the treatment of lunatics, and primarily to the fearful abuses existing in many of our private asylums, for which the insufficient palliations usually urged are utterly worthless.

In many of these institutions the whole machinery is defective, if not altogether wrong. True the doctor of the private asylum depends mainly on his success for his good repute, and hence from him may have originated many improvements made of late years in the treatment of the insane. Yet he is to a great extent in the hands of his dependents, and I do not hesitate to say, that until moral excellence and intellectual perceptions are made indispensable qualifications for those who desire those onerous and responsible posts, no great reformation can be expected. The advantages of the hospital system of nursing, when performed by ladies of education and refinement, has been clearly proved, and the name of Florence Nightingale is associated in our imaginations with all that is self-sacrificing, high, and noble, as we read of her true and womanly discharge of her self-imposed mission of mercy. Perhaps future years will bring nurses properly trained and initiated in those higher mysteries of their profession—love, gentleness, and forbearance—to supersede the present race, who are too often cruel, cunning, and selfish, irritating and exciting their charges till they are driven hopelessly mad for the residue of their lives, and most of this mischief achieved, unknown, and undetected. For what is the testimony of the poor, bruised, beaten, insane creature worth, who will be visited next day with three-fold vengeance, if pain has urged her to speak of her treatment to higher authorities, taken against the assurance of the delinquent, who with a pleasant smile assures the doctor that '*the lady did it herself*,' if he chances to ask what is the meaning of the black mark, too palpable on the face, neck, or arms.

But to return to my narrative. A creaking of the key turning in the lock warned me of a visitor, who soon appeared in the person of Vawse. I suppose some cause of altercation had arisen between her and Fox, for as she opened the door I heard her pouring forth a charge of invectives against her, and declaring one of them should leave the place. Ascertaining that I was awake, she gave me some beef tea, and then arranged my toilette, telling me to keep my hands under the bed-clothes, and on no account to let the doctor see them, or it might be worse for me. That functionary soon appeared, with a small phial in his hand and a stethescope, which, after applying to my chest and side for a minute or two, seemed to induce his subsequent observations. "No actual disease of the chest or lungs, but great weakness in those organs, and considerable gastric derangement. Let me see, nurse, how long has she been in this room?' 'Three days, sir, at six

o'clock.' 'Very good, it only wants a quarter now; remove her back to No. 4, and give her some barley water frequently.' Accordingly, I was assisted by the two nurses to my own room, and once more saw the bright light of the sun, and felt the air of heaven!—*Ten Years in a Lunatic Asylum: by Mabel Etchell.*

THE COLD BATH IN THE ASYLUM

The doctor of Hygeria Lodge was essentially deficient in moral qualities, suffering a cool intellectual head to usurp the place of a warm sensitive heart; consequently he failed in the enforcement of his authority, and unlimited as it was, it carried with it none of that weight which ensures prompt and willing obedience to the good and revered Master. Nurses fulfilled his commands because they knew they must, and added to their delegated power as much superfluous tyranny as they thought fit. By way of illustration I record the following details:—One morning, Mrs. Renshaw had displeased Fox, by declining to do a little piece of embroidery for that personage; some altercation ensued, and the nurse bestowed many angry epithets upon her patient, threatening to be even with her before the day was out. The lady, who was amusing herself by filling a handsome china jar with scent, persisted in her refusal; so Fox, regardless of a fundamental principle, which formed a frequently broken rule at this asylum, began to irritate Mrs. Renshaw, and finally tried to get the jar from her. A struggle ensued, and in a few seconds, the porcelain was shivered to pieces on the floor. The enraged attendant struck her victim a heavy blow upon the head, which was speedily returned, and a fight ensued. Just then the doctor's foot was heard, and in her haste to calm the tumult she had raised, Fox struck against the door, and a stream of blood flowed from her nose. Dr. W., who had now entered, sternly enquired the cause of the scene before him; the cowardly nurse, who had managed to produce a few tears, and appeared to be writhing with pain, immediately stated that Mrs. Renshaw had fallen foul upon her and struck her. The brave woman stood by, with a flushed countenance, and proudly disdained an explanation. Her innate quickness told her that truth was not respected by either master or servant. The doctor looked round, as if to ask 'Who were the witnesses of this scene.' The two who could have spoken were absent, and I ventured to say, 'It was Fox who struck the first blow.' Never shall I forget that woman's face, as I turned a fearless eye upon her, and thus confronted her falsehood. But she stifled the rising storm with great presence of mind, and simply remarked, in that cool, insulting strain, which is more difficult to bear than open injury, 'Miss Etchell is not so well to-day, sir; has been much excited, and had a great many delusions.' 'Let her have a shower bath at bedtime, and give Mrs. Renshaw a cold bath at the same time.' There was a cold, satirical smile upon his lips, and his never-to-be-forgotten eye rested on mine for a moment as he completed his order. 'Cold-blooded wretch,' said Ellen Raymond, when on her return I recounted my temerity and its punishment, 'I wish I had been in the room, I would have *made* him hear the truth; but never mind, Mabel dear, as the poet says—

> "The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small."

There's a fearful reckoning day for him looming in the distant horizon.'

Perhaps some who peruse these pages may say, 'A little cold water is not such a great thing after all,' and the doctor could only know what he was told, nor is it wonderful that the testimony of a nurse is taken before that of a patient. Let all who entertain these notions follow me through my description of the mode in which these punishments are administered; and bear in mind, that the great principles of justice and truth were sacrificed by those who were entrusted with power; and a sense of cruel wrong burnt upon the hearts of both of us, who were certainly, if so far responsible as to bear punishment, at least to be heard and considered in evidence of any passing event. From a child I have been so accustomed to cold water, that from the

time when Rebekah duly immersed me morning and evening in my nursery bath, to the time I entered Hygeria Lodge, and underwent the first scrubbing process, I had ever felt a pleasurable sensation in frequent use of the inexpensive luxury; but I had found this treatment, simple as it was in itself, made into a frightful instrument of terror and torture to the patients. Our bath-room was situated at the end of the passage, and as eight o'clock drew near, Fox, with a malevolent grin on her face, whispered to the other nurse, and then told Mrs. Renshaw to prepare for her bath. 'You may come too, Miss Etchell, seeing's believing, I heard you say this morning.' We all four left the room, and Fox set the bath on with the cold water tap. Mrs. Renshaw fastened her beautiful hair tightly with a band, and undressed for the bath. After the first shock she appeared to enjoy the position and I was thinking it was not very dreadful after all when at a signal from Fox, the other woman approached, and seizing the small white arms in their Titan gripe, they held her under the water for a minute or two. At first she struggled, and Fox ordered me to fill a ewer with water and pour it over her head every time it came to the surface. My blood boiled, fierce passion lent me resolution and energy. 'I will not,' I said, 'the doctor is a cruel wretch, and I will inform against him.' Trembling with rage, she reiterated her command, but I stood motionless. Again she shrieked forth her brutal order, but this time a fearful oath accompanied it. She filled the ewer and dashed it upon the head of her victim, repeating it many times; till horror-stricken and fearful, and with the remembrance of the poor blind creature, whose sight the wretch had taken in a similar way, vividly imprinted on my mental vision, I cried out, 'You will kill her. For God's sake leave off.' Another dash, and then I said, 'Put another drop on, and I will tell Miss Atherton when I go that you blinded Mrs. ——. I heard you say so yourself; you are a cruel woman; chaining, whipping, and torturing are no worse than this.' My sentence remained unfinished, for she desisted from her infernal occupation, and dashed the contents of the pitcher over my head and face, and when I recovered I saw Mrs. Renshaw pale, and almost breathless, trembling before me. A sheet was thrown over her, and she was conducted to her bedroom, whilst I stood uncertain as to what would be inflicted on me. Shortly, the women returned with Tilly, who, folding a towel small enough for ligature, tied my arms together, whilst the other two held me; then my ancles in the same manner, and raising me from the floor, where they had thrown me, plunged me heavily into the bath, striking my head violently against the sides of it. How long I remained under the water I cannot tell, for I lost consciousness, and was first made sensible by being dragged down the passage, at the other end of which was the shower bath. Smarting and bruised, I was placed under it and locked in, the water pouring over me, till I was again quite exhausted; for I was in a very delicate state of health at the time, and my nerves were completely shattered. I took a violent cold, which terminated in a fever, and when I was again able to leave my bed, I learned that Mrs. Renshaw was no more; never probably having recovered from the shock given her on the night the bath was administered, though she lived some weeks afterwards. Her body was removed by her own family, who had no suspicion of the tragic scene which had been enacted. Our readers will doubtless inquire, should such a mighty agency for good or evil be entrusted to the caprices of vindictive, ignorant women, who make it an opportunity for venting their ill-humour and spleen upon helpless nervous victims? Undoubtedly not! Yet this was the principle acted upon in the management of the insane in a private asylum in England in the nineteenth century.—*Ten Years in a Lunatic Asylum: by Mabel Etchell.*

THE PADDED ROOM.

When I recovered, I found myself in a room padded round, and quite dark, excepting as it was partially lighted from the top by a kind of aperture; glazed indeed, but not of sufficient consequence to be called a window. It felt very hot and close, though the only furniture in it was a mattress upon the floor, and the bed clothes. I could hear sounds from the nearest corridor, and the garden bell ringing, with the voice of the presiding nurse, 'Ladies all in!' I had taken nothing but the glass of wine since morning, and was hungry and exhausted for want of nutriment. The clock tolled out the hour of six, and I heard steps in the passage. I heard the door unlocked, and two women entered, whose faces were strange to me. The taller, a large woman, with great eyes and a powerful frame, had in her hands a kind of night dress made of strong ticking, and a leather strap. Advancing towards me, she bade me undress, and finding that I was too stupified and frightened to render prompt obedience, she seized me, and having divested me of my clothes, put on the ticking, which she laced tightly on me, proceeding to fasten my hands with the strap. She then pushed me into bed, motioning to her companion for the medicine glass in her hand. 'Hold her down tight, Fanny, whilst I give her it.' The girl obeyed, kneeling on my body with one knee, and so compressed was my chest, that I found it impossible to swallow, which the women perceived, and began to rub my throat till I gurgled, and was almost suffocated. A slice of bread and some tea was next administered, and then they left me for a little season. At seven Dr. Williams came, accompanied by a stout man, with enormous head and bloated face; a flannel coat, and white apron. I am sure the doctor must have seen the look of horror and disgust with which I eyed him, as he gave his barbarous orders, in his own peculiar manner. That he was in collusion with Mr. Moreland I knew well, nor could I misinterpret the low yet clever cunning that characterised the discharge of his professional duties. 'Mr. Jones, you can proceed to business, this lady has had a severe attack on the brain; shave her head as quickly as possible, and I will go and prepare a blister.' As he closed the door, I heard him tell my new attendant, whom he called Mrs. Basfield, to make mustard plaisters for my feet, and to keep them on twenty minutes.

Words are powerless to depict the horrors of that night; all my former troubles seemed lost in one unutterable sea of misery. Intolerable pain from the large blister which covered my head, and the stinging sensation of the mustard at my feet, were but part of my sufferings. Visions of the old confessors and martyrs of the rack, tortured by inquisitorial judges, seemed more tolerable than my present condition; for they endured for a speedy and certain recompense, and for the joy set before them, 'despised the shame' of their heavy cross, whilst I had lost my compass, and was foundering on the breakers, with the roar of a tumultuous, unfathomed ocean in my ears. My cup seemed to overflow with sorrows, but it was not yet full. A wine glass full of white liquid was forced down my throat; then my frenzy began. In my wild and awful delirium, I knew nothing, but that I was intensely miserable, the weight of the world seemed fallen upon my devoted head; a burning fever shot like lightning through my veins, and for three months, I alternated between paroxysms of a conscious madness, and the reaction therefrom, producing prostrations of the body, which left me weak as a new-born infant.—*Ten Years in a Lunatic Asylum: by Mabel Etchell.*

THE EVE OF ST. MARK.

In the north of England there is a great deal of superstition attached to this night, and many devoutly believe that the ghosts of all who have died in the previous year walk in solemn procession at the midnight hour, and that afterwards their coffins pass the church porch. This eve falls on the 24th of April. It so chanced, to the parish church of the village in which

Mary lived were two roads, one the public road, the other a bye-path across some fields. Mary and her good man had not lived on the best of terms, and it seems that each, without knowing the intention of the other, resolved to go to church to see if the ghost of either would appear. After tea the husband went out of the house for the ostensible purpose of foddering the cattle. Mary, as soon as his back was turned, put on her shawl and bonnet and went out on a pretended visit to a neighbour. It was a moonlight night, but the moon was obscured by the passing clouds. As soon as John had finished tending the cattle, half ashamed of his errand, he made his way across the fields to the churchyard. Mary arrived at the church-yard gate just as her husband reached the stile to it from the fields. Silently and quietly they both, unknown to the other, went into the porch. They reached it, and just then the moon shone out for a few minutes clear and full into the faces of both. They gazed at each other a long steady look, and then the moon's light was hidden beneath a cloud. When it again shone out the porch was empty. Both silently returned home, thinking they had seen one another's ghost. Now, as Mary confessed to me, she and her good man quarrelled so that scarcely a meal ever passed by without a squabble about some unimportant trifle. Each had the same likings, and each resolved to gratify them at the expense of the other. Their lives became grievous and burdensome, both to themselves and all connected with them, and they had positively grown to dislike each other heartily. When John got back to his cottage Mary was by the bright fire sewing. Some roasted potatoes and grilled ham, his favourite supper, were in readiness for him. Both sat down and ate in silence, John all the time wondering at the unwonted attention paid to him. After each had been fairly helped, one slice of ham remained on the dish, which to Mary's astonishment, John quietly laid upon her plate without a word. As quietly she removed it back to his, whilst the servant looked on, astonished at the unusual courtesy manifested by both parties. Again and again the same thing was enacted, each attempting to force it upon the other. The same feeling actuated both; each thought the other doomed ere long to death, and felt for the short time they had left to be together they could afford to be kind to each other. 'Ah! well,' thought John, as he crept up the little staircase that night to bed, 'I wonder when she will go; how soon or late in the year. Won't the house be quiet without her? Well, I'll be kind to her, and bear with her for the short time she has to live, so that my conscience won't reproach me when she's gone.' Mary's thoughts were much the same. And so week after week, and month after month, passed over, each giving a little and taking a little, bearing and forbearing with each other, till St. Mark's eve again came very near. One wild stormy March night, as both were seated over the fire, Mary spinning and John smoking, his thoughts went wandering over the past year, and again to the future. And as he sat and smoked, he felt sad, 'For after all,' thought he, 'she has been a good wife to me the last ten months. No doubt death has cast his softening shadow over her, and she feels changed by it.' Still it puzzled him, for she sat there looking so well and healthy. 'It will be sudden; ought not I to tell her what I know, and warn her to prepare for it? I will.' He got ready to speak. 'John,' said Mary, suddenly, 'I should miss you very much if you were to leave me.' He started, and jumped off his chair, for had he not the very same thoughts of her? 'Dear me, Mary, how you startled me. I was just thinking the same of you.' 'Were you?' rejoined Mary. 'Ah! well, I shall be sorry when you go.' 'I go, Mary! it's your turn first my lass, I am after thinking.' 'I do not think so,' she replied, 'I know you've to go soon, so I thought I'd tell you.' 'Why do you think so?' 'Because I saw your ghost walk on St. Mark's Eve,' said Mary. 'And I saw thine,' answered John. 'Humph! You were there then, John?' 'I was, Mary; and it seems thou too!' They were both silent a short time; and Mary sat spinning, and John smoked and thought. 'Dang it all, Mary,' said John, 'We've been uncommon happy this past year, why should it not be so to the last, eh? Thou'lt gie a little; and we'll try and hand on so for the future.' And to the end they tried to do so, and a happier life was the result. So, after seven years of married experience, the last five being mutual help and assistance, both were prosperous and satisfied.—*Ten Years in a Lunatic Asylum: by Mabel Etchell.*

A HINT FOR IDLE LADIES.

Miss Boucherett, residing in Lincolnshire, happening to meet with Mrs. Archer's pamphlet, obtained permission to try the plan from the guardians of her own union, some of whom had long been dissatisfied with the results of workhouse training for girls. We quote the following account of her experiment, addressed to the Editor of the *Englishwoman's Review*. 'In reply to your inquiries respecting my orphans, I beg to say that it is just three years and a half since I took out the two first. They were already fourteen and twelve years of age, so I had but a bad chance of doing them much good. Their habits and persons were extremely dirty; yet I do not believe our workhouse to be worse than the average. These two girls have now been earning their bread as servants; the eldest for two years and a half, the younger one for nearly two years; both, so far, are well conducted, though the youngest is a foolish, thoughtless creature.

'I have, in these three years and a half, taken out altogether eleven girls and one boy; the four eldest are doing well in service. A fifth proved totally unmanageable, committed a theft, and has been sent to a school reformatory, under sentence for five years. I hear she is doing exceedingly well, and is likely to be a reformed character. She was as complete a savage, when first taken out of the workhouse, as an African from Lake N'yanza. The rest are still children, living with their foster-parents.

'The elder ones have not, in all cases, made such friends with their foster-parents as will enable them to return to them if out of place; but I think it will prove different with the younger ones. I now take them out under ten years of age, and should prefer them at a much earlier age; but it would be very difficult to find homes for them under eight or nine. It does not answer to place orphans with a low-class of persons, even if kindly disposed and humane. To make good servants, they must be under the *very best* class of poor.

'I have seen the physically low type of these children much commented on, and described as if they were hereditarily inferior, and a distinct class from other poor. I have had such a case of disease among my girls. The appearances were entirely removed in about eighteen months, by an unlimited allowance of bacon, milk, cheese, and bread and butter, with some beer, and two shillings worth a week of butcher's meat. The old woman, who acted as foster-mother to the child, said she ate as much bacon as a grown man, besides the butcher's meat. I am quite convinced that it is the miserable gruel, the ill-cooked food, and the long fasts between meals, which fill these wretched children with disease.

'My girls are all fat and rosy now, and I hope that almost all will turn out respectable. It will perhaps be thought that for one of the five first taken to turn out ill is a large proportion of failure; but the year before I began to take the girls, *three* out of five returned disgraced to the workhouse after their first year of service. I consider, however, that in the present state of the law respecting the morals of the poor, it is *certain* that a considerable percentage even of the best brought up girls will turn out ill. Women of the middle classes live under different laws; and are protected by the law, which servant girls are not. Still, good training and principles will save many, who left in the workhouse must surely fall.

'When I send a child into a parish which is beyond my own supervision, the wife of the clergyman looks after it, sees that the child goes to school three or four days a week in the afternoon, and lets me know if it is ill or wants anything. The children do not go to school in the morning. They have got plenty of book-learning in the workhouse; and what they want to learn is household work, which is done by helping their foster-mother in her domestic affairs; but, by going to school in the afternoons, they keep up their book knowledge, and improve in needlework.

'The allowance given by the guardians to the foster-mother is two shillings and ninepence a week, the same that it would cost to keep the child in the workhouse. Thirty-five shillings is given for an outfit when they come to me,—nothing when they leave. I try to fit them for service at thirteen years of age,—not sooner, even if fit to go,

as it would not be fair on the woman who had trained them to take them away the moment they become of real use. If I did so I could not find homes so easily. This is no injustice to the ratepayers, as they would often remain in the workhouse till fourteen or fifteen, and return afterwards.

'Last Summer the guardians resolved, "That out-door relief should be always given, when possible, to women and children." This resolution is my greatest triumph, because it shows the conviction of the guardians that the workhouse is necessarily a place of corruption, which is the truth.

'When I sent the first girls out to service, I gave them plenty of good clothes. There cannot be greater folly. They should have only bare necessaries; and should feel that they must work to get more. The foster-mothers ought to to be very kind people, but it does not answer to get a very kind *first mistress*, or the girls are lazy. Firm, strict mistresses are the best at first; but they must be watched to see that no real cruelty or dreadful over-work is inflicted.

'This is the most delightful and least costly* mode of doing good. With care and attention I believe success to be certain; and the change in the poor little things' looks, and manners, and ways, is really pleasant. They are so happy and pleased, so healthy and rosy; and their letters afterwards say much for the health of their hearts and minds. Nothing makes me so happy as riding about to visit my children. It is a complete recipe for happiness.

'You will perhaps like to see a letter from one of the orphans to her foster-mother.

'Yours faithfully,
'L. B.'

'*November*, 1866.'

The letter referred to we give *verbatim*. The writer is a girl of seventeen, who has been two years in service.

'My dear Friend,—

'I received your kind and welcome letter on Wednesday morning all safe. I was very much pleased to hear from you. I thought perhaps you had lost my address, and I did not know but what you knew I was at Mr. S.'s. It did not enter my head you had forgotten me. I should very much like to have seen C—— and M—— when they were at home, but it was not to be this time; but I hope we shall all meet again at May-day next.

'You said in your letter that Miss B. had been kind enough to inquire what wages I had. I have £5 a year. When you see Miss B. thank her kindly for the kindness she has done for me; but for the benevolence of such a lady I should have been in workhouse yet.

'I am very sorry to hear your little girl is so ill, but I hope she will be better the next time you write. Give my love to all inquiring friends.

'I remain,
'Your affectionate daughter,
'M. G.'

'P.S.—Excuse me for using such an expression as daughter, but I think I was brought up as your own child. Excuse my mistakes as I am in great hurry. I have got to be nursemaid now.'*

Miss Boucherett, like Mrs. Archer, is impressed with the importance of obtaining the co-operation and sympathy of the honest poor for these forlorn little creatures; and, partly from this motive, partly to benefit by their practical experience, she often seeks their advice in making her arrangements. She one day applied to a woman, who was busy at her wash-tub, for counsel respecting the outfit suitable for the orphans when going to service. She gave very sensible advice, but without stopping a moment in her operations, and with so little courtesy of manner that her interlocutor felt tempted to curtail her questioning. She remained, however, until she had obtained the information she wanted; then, as she turned to depart, the woman paused in her work, and said, with her hands clasped in the suds, 'The Lord prosper you, and bless the poor lasses!'

Miss Boucherett has adopted the following mode, in applying for orphans to the guardians. Having selected a child, and found for it a home, she informs the relieving officer of its name, and gives the name of the woman with

* 'The cost of clothing each girl is about £1 5s. a year to me. Perhaps with journeys and other extras, six girls cost me £10 a year altogether. The two pounds of butcher's meat a week for the diseased child, I paid for myself. It is the only instance in which I have given anything for extra food.'

* *The Englishwoman's Review*. January, 1867. London: 23, Great Marlborough Street.

whom it is to board, and of the parish in which she lives—stating, also, that the woman is known to be respectable, to the guardian for that parish. She requests the relieving officer to state these facts at the next Board meeting, and her desire to be allowed to remove the child from the workhouse; and, leave being granted, she takes the foster-mother there to fetch the child. Before communicating with the relieving officer she sees or writes to the guardian in whose parish the child will be placed, informing him of her arrangement, and asking him to attend the board and support her application. Annually, she sends to the board a report on each child under her care.

Twenty-five children have been thus taken out of the workhouse by Miss Boucherett since she began her benevolent work; and it is satisfactory to know that as the operation of the plan becomes better understood, the number of suitable applicants for the care of the young people increases.—*Children of the State, by Florence Hill.*

SQUALORS' MARKET.

Exactly opposite each other stand a church and a gin-palace. The former is dedicated to St. Luke, the latter to his head merely, and stands sentinel at the corner of Squalors' Market. Just as it was growing dusk, and the potman pertaining to the palace was kindling the gorgeous outside lamps, I passed under his tall ladder and into the narrow and sinuous thoroughfare.

The business of the evening was yet young. The naptha man's white horse, harnessed in the evil-smelling cart, was still in the highway, and the naptha man, carrying his big can and clinking his measures, had still a goodish many stall-keepers to serve; the secondhand shoeseller was busily arranging along the kerb, and in single file, his dissipated regiment of 'wellingtons' and 'bluchers,' administering a little more blacking to this one to make its patches seem less patchy, and solicitously patting and caressing that whose constitution was so fatally undermined that, for all its blooming appearance, it would succumb before a day's wear, and part body and sole; the Hebrew who sold cloth caps and slippers was idly chatting with the Hebrew who, having nicely arranged his brummagem jewellery, had nothing else (but customers) to do; the 'unfortunate miner' was, with his afflicted wife, partaking of a final whet of rum at the 'Black Boy' before taking their stand, their five sleekly-combed but starving children for the present larking in the gutter, while from out the horrible courts and alleys — head-quarters of fever and pestilence — came pouring great stores of cabbages and turnips, and fruit and shell-fish—the latter looking none the more refreshed for their night's repose beneath the truckle bedstead, and the former yet tearful from their long soaking in grimy tubs in the cellar. Besides these, there likewise streamed out from the courts and alleys 'trotters' and hot penny puddings, and 'ham sandwiches,' for the delight of the most dainty of the thousand, who would presently crowd every inch of road and footway.

Of the two hundred and twenty houses of which Squalors' Market is composed, *one in every thirteen* is devoted to the sale of intoxicating liquors, and it must be borne in mind that in this calculation are not included several public houses that, skulking in crooked chinks and under dark archways, although deprived of the manifest advantages enjoyed by their seventeen brethren in the open highway, yet by means of a beckoning claw in shape of a signboard, affixed at the mouth of the court or alley, 'To the George and Dragon,' 'Back way to the Chip in Porridge,' &c., manage to trap many drinkers of the sly and sneaking sort.

That bread even is less in demand in Squalors' Market than gin and beer is demonstrated by the fact that but ten bakers' shops can there find support. The catsmeat interest is liberally represented, no less than five establishments of that character flourishing in the market. How is this? Do the squalid court and alley dwellers, with their proverbial extravagance, each keep a cat? or——. No; the supposition is too dreadful. Besides, it should be fairly

stated that the five horse-flesh dealers vend sheep's heads, split and baked, and the livers of bullocks, and other offal.

The butchers of Squalors' Market number two less than the gin and beer sellers, and are, dear reader, by no means quiet, well-behaved creatures, such as you are acquainted with. *Your* butcher wears a hat, generally a genteel hat, and a blue coat, and a respectable apron; perhaps, even snowy sleeves and shiny boots, and a nice bit of linen collar above his neckerchief. You give your orders and he receives them decorously, and wishes you good morning as you quit his neatly-arranged and sawdusted shop. Contrasted with him the butcher of Squalors' Market is a madman—a raving lunatic. He unscrews the burners of his gaspipes, and creates great spouts of flame that roar and waver in the wind in front of his shamble-like premises, endangering the hats of short pedestrians and the whiskers of tall ones; far out from his shop, and attached to roasting jacks, revolve monstrous pigs' heads and big joints of yellow veal, spiked all over like a porcupine with figure-bearing tickets, that announce the few pence per pound for which the meat may be bought. He wears on his head a cap made of the hairy hide of the bison or some other savage beast; his red arms are bare to the elbows, and he roars continuously, 'Hi-hi! weigh away—weigh away! the rosy meat at three-and-half! Hi-hi!'—clashing his broad knife against his steel to keep time. How is it that my butcher is charging me 9d. per lb. for leg of mutton, while Mr. Blolam, here, is charging only 4½d.? Is my butcher a rogue, or is Mr. Blolam going headlong to the debtors' prison at the end of his street? I know my butcher to be an honest fellow, and to judge from appearances, Mr. B. is not the man to bring his sleek, redhanded wife and his glossy children to grief, either by reckless trading or excessive charity. This being the case, let the court and alley dwellers thereabout, rather than regret, rejoice and thank their lucky stars that they have no money wherewith to trade with Mr. Blolam.

The business of the market grows with the night. First come the decent folk—men and their wives, with the chief olive-branch to carry the big basket. Shrewd people are these early birds with an eye to plump worms. It is not, however, till it has grown quite dark, and the gas is lit, and great tongues of naptha flame start from crazy lamps, and scorch and lap up the living air greedily, that the buyers come shoaling in. Then the fruit and vegetable mongers give tongue, and roar the quality and price of their various wares with a bullying air; and the brummagem Hebrew jabbers of his rings and brooches; and the secondhand shoeman, having beguiled a gentleman to take off his boot and 'try something on,' keeps him standing on one leg in the mud (and so he will be kept till he consents to buy a pair of shoes); and the miner and his family, ranged in a row, chant their necessities.

Strolling through the market out of market hours the dearth of fishmongers at once struck you. True, there are fishshops, five or six of them, but the dealings of the proprietors are almost entirely confined to vending the article in a dried or fried state, one or two of them dabbling in shrimps and periwinkles. Where, however, is the fresh fish—the plaice, the soles, the cod—of which, according to Billingsgate statistics, at least one half of all that comes to market is consumed by the very poorest of the London population? Now, however, when the business of the market is in full blast, the question no longer exists. Here is the fresh fish, in broad flat wicker baskets, slung round the neck, in solitary 'pads,' standing in the mud, on little boards or trestles, lit up by a feeble candle, and on great boards, eight or ten feet long and six broad, standing on substantial legs, and lit by a great flaring naptha lamp. The owners of these broad boards are no mean fish-pedlars, standing dumbly behind their wares till a customer happens to call. They are wholesale dealers, fish auctioneers. As many people stand round the board as would fill the largest fishmonger's shop in the metropolis. Yet, excepting a heap of copper money—half a peck of it, probably—the board is quite clear. Surrounding the auctioneer, however (who is dressed in corduroy trousers and blue guernsey shirt, the sleeves of which are rolled above the elbows of his great hairy arms), is a large number of 'pads' of plaice, and, just behind him, is a big tub full of water. One of his attendants (he generally has two) presently plunges his arms into one of the 'pads,' brings out a couple of fish, souses them

into the water-tub, and then hands them to his master. Without paying the least attention to the lookers-on the man coolly proceeds to disembowel the fish, to chop through the backbone, to make them handy for the frying-pan, and to thread them on a willow twig. All this while, and unsolicited, the people round are bidding 'Threeha'pence!' 'tuppence!' 'two-un-arf!' 'Yours, mum,' observes the laconic fisherman, handing the fish to the 'two-un-arf,' and proceeding to disembowel and thread two more. It was curious to observe the various countenances of the bidders and buyers; the eagerness with which these women scrambled over the heads and shoulders of their neighbours to get at their bargains, and with a look that plainly said 'the price of these will astonish my Jack, I'll be bound;' while others parted with their halfpence regretfully, and as though conscious of having been a *little* too hasty in their bidding. Worst of all, however, were the gaunt women with their mites of shawls and ample aprons, and with husband out of work and any number of children, looking out of their anxious eyes as they watch the cutting up of the fish, and whether it be thick or thin. That seems a likely lot! Shall they bid? Better not, perhaps; wait and see the next lot. So they wait till ashamed to wait any longer, and take the 'next lot' and chance it.

It is, however, a great consolation to know that these poor mothers may at the worst depend on ample value for their precious halfpence. Soles and plaice were the fish chiefly dealt in by the auctioneers, and the prices they realised were absolutely ridiculous. Soles, for a pair of which Mr. Greves would charge half-a-crown, were disposed of, after a by no means spirited bidding, for threepence-halfpenny. Touching the cheapness of plaice, I can't do better than quote an instance to which I was an eyewitness. A monstrous fellow, broad and thick as a turbot, was fished out of a 'pad,' cleaned, gutted, and made ready for the pan, and, after all, the price it brought was *fourpence*. 'If you aint got him at 'apenny a pound it's funny to me,' observed the auctioneer, and a friendly potato salesman's stall adjoining his, he put the fish in his scales. The potato-man had no weights of less than a pound, but the fourpenny plaice asserted its superiority to the seven-pound weight, and only consented to a balance when a large potato was added and brought to bear against him.

It is a curious fact—and one more proof of the extravagance of poverty—that in nine cases out of ten the fish purchased was intended for the frying-pan, and not for the pot. It was easy to ascertain this, as whenever a bidder wanted a fish to boil, she signified the same at the time she made her bid, 'Thrippence—for bilin!' some one would exclaim; whereon the auctioneer would arrest the descent of his big-chopping knife, and deliver the fish entire. Among the squalid poor the same prejudice exists as regards mutton. Fish fried, and mutton baked or roast, if you please; but as to boiling either, except when ordered by the doctor, the practice is regarded as 'namby-pamby,' and French.

This universal fish-frying is the key to another mystery common to the neighbourhood. In every 'general shop,' in every rag and bone shop, in the high street, and in the hundred courts and filthy alleys that worm in and out of it, may be seen solid slabs of a tallowy-looking substance, and marked with a figure 6, 7, or 8, denoting that for as many pence a pound weight of the suspicious-looking slab may be obtained. It is bought in considerable quantities by the fish-eaters for frying purposes, and is by them supposed to be simply and purely the fat dripping of roast and baked meats, supplied to these shops by cooks, whose perquisite it is. This, however is a delusion. The villainous compound is *manufactured*. There is a 'dripping-maker' near Seabright-street, Bethnal-green, and another in Backchurch-lane, Whitechapel, both flourishing men, and the owners of many carts and sleek cattle. Mutton suet and boiled rice are the chief ingredients used in the manufacture of the slabs, the gravy of bullocks' kidneys being stirred into the mess when it is half cold, giving to the whole a mottled and natural appearance.—*Unsentimental Journeys, by James Greenwood.*

DIFFICULTIES OF IDENTIFICATION.

A large proportion of ordinary persons, it may be even a majority, but certainly a very large proportion, are very untrustworthy witnesses to identify when dependent on appearance alone. They are either from nature or habit incapable of appreciating form, and form alone is the unerring proof of personal identity. The difficulties in the way of identification, more especially of the dead, are to them insuperable. In the first place, people are much more similar than we always remember. Without accepting or disputing the extraordinary idea which exists in so many countries, and is the basis of so many fables, that every man has his 'double' somewhere, an individual absolutely identical in appearance with himself, it is quite certain that the most extraordinary likenesses do exist among persons wholly disconnected in blood, that there are faces and forms in the world which are rather types than individualities — people so like one another that only the most intimate friends and connections can detect the difference. The likeness of Madame Lamotte to Marie Antoinette is a well known historic instance, and there are few persons who have not in their own experience met with something of the same kind. The writer has twice. In one case, he was on board a ship in which were two passengers, who neither were, nor by possibility could be, connected by birth or any other circumstance whatever, except, indeed, caste. Oddly enough, they were unaware of a likeness which was the talk of the ship, dressed in the same style, but from some inexplicable repulsion—we are stating mere facts—disliked and avoided one another. The writer, in a six weeks' voyage and with a tolerably intimate acquaintance with one of the two, never succeeded in distinguishing them by sight; and of the remaining passengers, certainly one-half, say thirty educated persons, were in the same predicament. In the second instance the evidence is far less perfect, but sufficient for the argument we are now advocating. The writer stopped short in Bond-street utterly puzzled by the apparition of one of his closest connections not two yards off. Clearly it was he, yet he could from circumstances by no possibility be there. Still it was he, and the writer advanced to address him, when a momentary smile broke the spell, leaving, however, this impression, 'I would have sworn to Blank in any Court of Justice. His double must be walking about Bond-street.' The likeness was really astounding, quite sufficient to have deceived any number of policemen unacquainted previously with either man. The writer has a faculty for likeness or a stupidity about identities? That is a plausible though an erroneous explanation, and it brings up just the point we want to make. Is it not just possible — it is rather a serious supposition, when our criminal procedure is considered—but is it not just possible that something like colour blindness affects this matter of identification? that there is a large number of persons whose evidence upon any question of identity, though perfectly honest, is worthy of very little trust? that men upon this, as upon most other matters, are guilty of an unconscious carelessness, like that which makes testimony about figured statements so often valueless.? We are all apt to think that we observe faces very carefully, but it is quite certain, more certain than almost any assertion of the same kind, that we do not so observe them. We are also apt to believe that the difference in faces is very great, is radical, and not dependent upon accidental features, yet it is almost certain that no such difference exists, that men are in reality as nearly alike as animals appear to be. Take, for instance, in evidence of both these propositions—of the carelessness of our usual glance, and of the similarity among men—a fact which a number of our readers can test for themselves. No man on landing at an Indian or Chinese port for the first time can for a few days tell one man from another. The natives are more decisively unlike than so many Englishmen, because in addition to every other distinction their complexions cover a wider range of colour; but being similarly dressed, they seem for a few days as much alike as so many sheep, who are all alike to a Londoner, but among whom a shepherd or a dog makes no mistake. Now, if men were much unlike, more unlike than the sheep are, no such curious haziness would be possible, nor

would it be if the observer were unconsciously in the habit of studying the form and character of each face. He has, as a rule, no such habit, but, unless an artist or a policeman, relies unconsciously on accidental circumstances, colour, hair on lip or chin, gait, expression, or peculiarity of some one feature, and should that by any accident disappear he is utterly puzzled. One-tenth, at least, of Western mankind is consciously or unconsciously short-sighted, and never *sees*, in any true sense of seeing, any face whatever, never quite catches its *nuances* of expression, never is quite sure about its minor features, never quite ceases to idealize according to a preconceived theory of character. Even of those who do see perfectly, a large proportion are not artists, never catch the speciality of the face they are looking at enough to caricature it,—some faces won't submit to caricature, Lord Derby's, for instance, and Mr. Gladstone's, in both of which the caricaturist invariably intensifies the whole expression — and really recollect it mainly by its accident of colour or the like, accidents which may disappear in life, and which do disappear in death. It is not easy to recognise the photographs of men whose appearance depends on colour, and death does its work in destroying colour even more perfectly than the sun. Fatness and thinness, too, are great aids to recognition; yet they are temporary, dependent sometimes on mere accidents of health. We have all of us met friends whom we have not seen, say, for three years, who have grown wider, if not wiser, in the interval, and whom we should not without speech have recognised. Death, as a rule, while it leaves much unchanged, absolutely destroys every distinction based either upon colour or upon fatness, and modifies thinness in the most unexpected way, revealing unsuspected depths about brow and mouth, while leaving the cheek untouched. No child is recognisable in death by mere acquaintance, because in children's faces the prominent points are colour and contour. An actor cannot change his real face, but only the accidents of the face; yet Mr. Webster, for example, has once or twice deceived his audience for some minutes, and could, we suspect, deceive them, if that were his object, altogether. Think, again, of the excessive difficulty with which the memory retains a face. Portrait painters of half a century's standing will tell you that they hardly retain the impression of a sitter five minutes, though they have been studying him keenly: that their own first touches from him as he sits are invaluable helps; that they would all, if it were convenient for art reasons, like to keep a photograph in full view for their work when the original is away. We think we remember, but in five minutes we forget, the half of a friend's face nearly as perfectly as we forget the whole of our own. Clearly if identification were as easy as we are apt to believe, we should not so forget faces. And their expression? Doubtless expression being, so to speak, an intellectual rather than a physical fact, stirring and rousing the intellect of the observer, his secret and almost instinctive likes and dislikes, remains longer fixed in the mind than mere feature. The witness who arrested Judge Jeffries might have forgotten his face, did forget it, in fact, for Jeffries when seized had only changed his wig, but he could not forget the ferocious glare of those insufferable eyes. But expression changes quickly, may change permanently. We all say every now and then, 'His face quite changed,' while nothing is changed except, perhaps, the expression and the colour. Madness, extreme anger, drink, will all change a well-known face till it is almost irrecognisable, and though, no doubt, it requires a combination of circumstances to deceive a wife as to her husband's identity, still there is one expression which in a case like that of Hackney Wick she has never seen, and that is death, of all influences the one which may most modify expression, both by altering the set of the features, and changing the emotional medium through which we regard them. No doubt there are faces so marked and so individual, so completely isolated from any type, and so independent of accident, that it is almost impossible they should ever be forgotten or mistaken. It would have been nearly impossible for Sir Thomas More to disguise himself, and we question if Dr. Newman or Mr. Tennyson could abolish the expression of eye and brow sufficiently to baffle recognition; and there are artists, and as the public believes detectives, who would recognise any face under any disguise. But the majority of men trying under changed circumstances to recognise ordinary faces from their memories of feature alone are liable, we

feel convinced, to self-deceptions as extraordinary and yet as natural as that we may charitably attribute to this Mrs. Banks, or that which prompted the evidence against the marine so nearly hung for his share in the recent Manchester *émeute*—*The Spectator*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Children of the State. The Training of Juvenile Paupers. By Florence Hill. Pp. 275. London; Macmillan and Co.

THE education of pauper children has been hitherto for the most part a great mistake. Instead of being trained so as to be fit to be taken up into the ranks of industrial life, and become independent of public aid, they have been held apart, in wholly unnatural conditions. The unspeakably precious discipline of family life has been entirely withheld from them. All possibility of developing the young affections healthily has been denied. Routine, with its benumbing hands, has wrapped them round; and not having had to meet the unlooked for emergencies of life, there has been no development of power to deal with them. Hence, of all beings, the workhouse child is the most helpless; and when he goes out into the world is least fitted to withstand its temptations, or to exercise wise self-guidance in any of its difficulties. The young girl, polluted in mind by association with abandoned women, goes out of the workhouse for the first time to seek her fortune, and comes back, by an almost certain and irresistible law, with a bastard in her arms, and to the workhouse as her necessary and rightful refuge. The young lad is bound apprentice, but having learnt nothing of the value of property he has never been allowed to possess, nor of self-remunerative labour he has never been permitted to exercise, he proves worthless to his master, and naturally betakes himself, if enterprising, to crime, which leads him to the jail; and, if unenterprising, to the workhouse, in which a maintenance is always at his command. And so, instead of becoming re-absorbed into the industrial ranks they had been precipitated from by the vice or misfortune of their parents, these 'children of the state' are tied hand and foot to the wheel of a pauper destiny, and with it, from childhood till death, they helplessly revolve.

A just and powerful protest against this dreadful mismanagement of young people in workhouses is made by Miss Florence Hill in the book before us. She adduces statistics, instances, cases, and supplies arguments which irresistibly prove the need of a thorough change in the current method of dealing with pauper children. From a hundred sources of information, native and foreign, she shows what commonly is and ought not to be, and what might be and ought to be and in some instances actually is. Her facts are startling, her arguments convincing, her conclusions irresistible.

After reviewing all the other varieties of treatment of the children of the state, in workhouse schools, in factory apprentice schools, in separate schools, as at Limehouse, in district schools, in the Norwich homes, and in private industrial training houses (as at Brockham), Miss Hill adverts to the boarding-out system, which exists in several countries, and is, she considers, deserving of general adoption. She says:—

'It has been pursued long enough, and under sufficiently varied circumstances to reveal its excellencies, and for us to estimate how far the defects disclosed are capable of removal or amendment. In Ireland, as a purely voluntary enterprise, it has attained marked success and won general approval; while in Scotland it has been widely adopted, and entirely administered by the parochial authorities. Of their satisfaction with it, under both a moral and pecuniary aspect, we are informed; and we have seen that it has obtained also the qualified approbation of disinterested but peculiarly competent observers, who are of opinion that an admixture of voluntary agency, including some additional supervision by ladies, would render it still more efficient.

'In the United States we learn that it has been for many years adopted by

voluntary workers, and by semi-official labourers in reformatory schools and cognate institutions. In France we observe it to be largely practised by a department of the State; and where successfully pursued—under the administration, namely, of the Bureau Ste. Apolline—we learn that voluntary aid is invoked in the form of sympathy and friendly supervision from persons of social eminence residing in the neighbourhood of the children's homes.

'In Germany we find distinguished men, whose opinions founded on official knowledge carry just weight, approving the plan,—particularly with reference to girls; and there also we see independent philanthropists, who have made the salvation of destitute children their special mission, elevating the influence of domestic life above every other agency that can be brought to bear for their reclamation.

'We learn that the same system is pursued in Russia in the disposal of orphans; and, as regards *them*, it would appear successfully. The neglect of their own offspring by the foster-mothers is a result too shocking to be compensated by any advantage to the alien child; but by regulating the payment so that it shall afford no temptation to cupidity, this evil, as we have seen by the experience of other countries, and markedly of Germany and Ireland, is avoided. That the foster-parents should not be out of pocket by their acceptance of an orphan is, we are persuaded, all that should be aimed at in apportioning their remuneration. Food, clothing, and shelter, may be paid for by the State; but the love, watchfulness, and sympathy which are equally essential to a child's welfare should be the far more precious contribution of the foster-parent; and in this, truly, the giver and the receiver are equally blessed. Such feelings may reveal themselves in care for the daily comfort and little pleasures of their object, as well as in providing for its moral and spiritual advantage. We have rarely witnessed a more touching scene than presented itself in the modest home of one of the little orphans we have already referred to as placed to board in an English cottage—the abode of two old maids. They doat upon the child, and she has become to them the very light of their house. The joyous pride is not to be described with which they displayed her neatly-arranged clothing, the patchwork they taught her to make, the mittens she had knitted for them and herself, the umbrella they had persuaded her to save her pence to buy, and which was to protect the pretty little hat into which a well-worn bonnet of their own had been converted,—a little history of kindness attaching to almost every garment; for though all substantial requirements are provided by the Guardians, there is still ample scope for affection to employ itself in making up the material invitingly, and adding the various *et ceteras* which mark the difference between the little pauper in its dull uniform, and the well-cared for cottage child. The orphan in question peculiarly illustrates the beneficial working of the boarding-out system. An illegitimate child, she was about at her mother's death to be consigned to the workhouse, when a lady in the neighbourhood obtained permission to place her in a cottage, the Board of Guardians allowing her out-door relief. An aunt in service at a distance had come to attend the mother's funeral, and the child's patroness appealed to her to contribute to its maintenance. Thankful that the little creature should be saved from the workhouse, she gladly agreed to give a shilling a week,—a large sum for her, and has transmitted this money ever since, not only cheerfully, but with expressions of the warmest gratitude to the benevolent suggestor of the plan. The woman is deeply interested in her niece's welfare, with whom a natural and wholesome connexion is maintained; whereas, if the little thing had gone into the workhouse, her relative would probably have felt ashamed of, or even forgotten, her. We make a great mistake, as the child's patroness remarked to us, in assuming that pauper orphans are isolated beings without relatives in the world. They are rarely thus destitute; and frequently have connexions able, if not to support them entirely, at least to help in their maintenance. But they reside perhaps at a distance from the place where the parents die, and unless there is some one sufficiently interested in the child to appeal to their better feelings in its behalf, they remain neglectful, or perhaps even ignorant of its bereavement; it drifts into the workhouse, becoming a heavy burden on the rate-payers during its childhood, and too often a disgrace to its family and its country for the rest of its life.

'When the time arrives for the little maiden, whose history we have sketched, to go to service, her patroness trusts the aunt will seek for her a place and keep her under her eye; but should this not come to pass, we can hardly doubt that she will have the friendship and protection, as long as they live, of the two women to whom she is now as a beloved child.

'We could not, however, conscientiously advocate the boarding-out system unless it be accompanied with constant and active supervision. This the authorities assure us is amply exercised by officials in those districts where the plan has originated with Boards of Guardians. But, zealous and kind-hearted as the officers appointed to this important duty may be, it must be performed by them to a greater or less degree as a matter of routine; the time of their visits of inspection may generally be calculated, and these cannot be sufficiently frequent to prevent, at any rate, the *possibility* of ill-usage. Moreover, a man, however thoughtful for the children's welfare, does not possess the knowledge of their wants and difficulties which comes to a woman almost intuitively; and to supplement, therefore, official authority by the friendly watchfulness which a woman of superior social position, residing within easy reach of the orphan's home, can exercise, appears to us the keystone of the system, ensuring to it public confidence and permanent success.'

'Treating the same subject Miss Carpenter remarks, "The girl is especially adapted by nature for a home. . . . The affections have large sway over her whole being. Nature has given her varied scope for them in the true home. She is the object of the tender love of the parents, and of her brothers and sisters, and love is constantly awakened and called out by her position in the family. She has the babies to fondle and nurse like a little mother herself; she has a thousand households cares to attend to, and learns cooking practically while she helps to get her father's dinner; and, if the eldest girl, feels herself a very important help in the house. After going regularly to a good day-school, and learning needlework, and enough of reading, writing, and arithmetic for all common purposes, she is prepared at fourteen to take her humble position in life as a little servant, or her mother's helper and right hand, and to fill it with credit. A real good home is infinitely better than any school for the education of girls,—even a second-rate or a third-rate one is preferable. There her true nature is developed, and, unless she is thus prepared to fill its duties well in after life, all other teaching is comparatively useless."* The passage just cited speaks only of young persons dwelling with their parents, but they are equally applicable to foster-children; and if, thus accustomed to the duties, hardships and pleasures of ordinary life, these could have the additional boon of one or two years' training at an Industrial Home, in the branches of domestic work it must be able to perform in a gentleman's house, it appears to us that a future career of usefulness and respectability would be, in the present lack of servants, almost absolutely ensured to it. The Industrial Home would thus take the place of a "finishing school;" and we would complete the analogy by permitting the pupil, where practicable, to return for occasional short holidays to its cottage home, that the family bond, on which we count so much for it future guidance and protection, might not be severed.

'The want of skilled servants is daily making itself more and more felt. The demand increases while the supply, from various causes, as markedly diminishes. "The greatest step taken will be," says a writer, discussing this fact in the *Edinburgh Review*, "when we can raise the lowest social class into the late position of that which is escaping from our command,—when we can replenish domestic service from schools which will have rescued paupers and ragged children from pauperism and raggedness."† The 12,000 pauper orphans, thrown annually on our care, may be regarded at once as the *élite* and the most manageable of that class; and they afford a stock of raw material from which we may hope, by due training and the development of their moral nature, to replace the capable and attached servants who are finding their way into other paths of life.

'An objection to the Boarding-out system to which we have already referred, namely the insufficiency of good cottage homes, is, we ourselves believe, from inquiry and observation, ill

* *Social Science Transactions*, 1862.
† *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1862.

grounded; and the experience of those benevolent persons who have introduced the plan in various parts of England strengthens that conviction. All who are intimately acquainted with our humbler brethren (whose generosity in giving far exceeds that of the wealthy classes) are aware it is no unusual circumstance for a child who loses its parents to be spontaneously received into another family. Again, it must be remembered that where Mrs. Archer's scheme is adopted the very presence of the orphan will tend to improve the cottage in which it is placed, by laying it open to the inspection of a person whose good opinion the cottager will be anxious to preserve; while the orphan will in some respects enjoy even an advantage over the offspring of the cottager, namely in its regular attendance at school, and still more in the fact that it is an object of interest to a neighbour of superior position who is responsible for its welfare, and able to remove it if the circumstances of its home are unfavourable.

'But, if, on a general adoption of the system, good homes should not be found in sufficient abundance, they might be supplemented by a plan which suggested itself many years ago to the Dean of Bristol, and which is recommended also by Canon Moseley, whose long experience as a School Inspector renders his sanction invaluable. Canon Moseley, we may add, entirely approves Mrs. Archer's scheme for boarding children in cottages, which has been in satisfactory operation in his own parish for two years, under the supervision of his wife and daughters. "It struck me," the Dean informs us, "when brought in contact with sundry country schools, that it might be possible to graft on them a boarding-system, the boarders to be children who would otherwise be in poorhouses. I assume that there might easily be found among the country schools, a very considerable number of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who were quite capable of undertaking the care of boarders. I felt that it would be a very great advantage to the pauper children to be thus dispersed in country homes,—not the least being that they would by natural process be absorbed into the labour market. I thought also that the guardians might be induced to grant such allowance with the children as would enable many a school to struggle out of present difficulty, and as might perhaps be conducive to bring others into existence. Superintendence would have to be provided, but that is already given in most agricultural schools by the clergy and other friends."'

We cannot here complete the quotation so as to show how Miss Hill meets objections and provides for the residuum of inapplicable cases. The following is her own summary of the principles her book appears fully to establish:—

'1st. Our Poor-law implies a right to aid from the State in all incapable of supporting themselves.

'2nd. The State in granting such aid obtains a correlative control over the recipients.

'3rd. The vast power she thus takes to herself furnishes her with means for the reduction of pauperism which her own interests, apart from higher motives, render it imperative on her to employ.

'4th. These means lie, as regards the young, in so training them as to impart the desire and the capacity for self-support.

'5th. One condition essential to this end is their complete separation from adults of their own class,—such separation being impossible where the school forms part of the same building with the workhouse.

'6th. That must be the best method of training children which is appointed by Nature,—namely under family influences; and when artificial methods are employed, they should be made to approach the model as closely as possible.

'7th. The method practised in our Pauper Schools is contrary to that established by Nature; and fails signally in producing good results.

'8th. The "family system," as pursued in Industrial Homes, and as still more precisely followed in "boarding-out," while it secures separation from adult paupers, conforms, as nearly as practical obstacles permit, to the course prescribed by Nature herself.

'9th. Its success has been proved by long and varied experience.'

Report upon the Educational and other Conditions of a District at Gaythorn, and Knott Mill, Manchester, visited in 1868, *with Observations suggested by the Visitation.* By Thomas Read Wilkinson.

We have been favoured with an early proof of this valuable paper, which was

read on the 8th of April, before the Manchester Statistical Society, and is printed in the new number of that Society's Transactions. To add to the already large but somewhat disputed amount of reliable statistics shewing the educational condition of Manchester, Mr. Wilkinson undertook during last winter, at the cost of the president of the Society, Mr. Langton, to have a house-to-house visitation made of a district previously uncanvassed, which should give as far as possible a fair sample of a few hundred families of the weekly-wage earning class. Although situated very near to three of the best primary schools in Manchester, as well as to several other day-schools, yet, of 733 children in the district, over three and under fourteen years of age, only 339 or 46.2 per cent. were reported at school; whilst 87, or 11.9 per cent. were said to be at work, and 307, or 41.9 per cent. professed to be neither at school nor at work. Again, 35 per cent. of the children between those ages had never been to a day-school. Mr. Wilkinson proves that the number of children attending Sunday schools, in proportion to the population, shows a steady retrograde movement during the last thirty years; and whilst the increase in the number of children at day-schools in Manchester and Salford, between the years 1834 and 1864, has been 54 per cent., that of the population has been more than 80 per cent. In his paper, Mr. Wilkinson adduces many other statistical comparisons and results, all tending to show that voluntary effort has been quite inadequate to effect the great work of education in Manchester; that, in his own words, 'there are lower and lower strata of our social world which are too feebly touched by the impulsive benevolence of individuals or charitable organisations, which can only be raised from their dark conditions by the strong and all-reaching arm of wise legislation.' He advocates local rating and local management, with governmental inspection. Payment for results he would continue as at present out of the Consolidated Fund; but he would apply local taxation to the establishment and maintenance of schools under county and municipal boards, instead of voluntary contributions and school pence. He would not disturb the management of religious denominational schools, so long as the secular instruction given in them is efficient; and in the new schools to be founded out of the rates, he would conform to the present requirements of the Committee of Council, as to daily Scripture reading. All public day schools he would make free; then, and then only with justice, might clauses be enacted, compulsory on employers of labour and on neglectful parents. We can only thus briefly indicate, at this late hour, the nature of Mr. Wilkinson's paper, which supplies much ground both for painful consideration, and for prompt action.

The Story of a Blind Inventor; Being Some Account of the Life and Labours of Dr. James Gale, M.A., F.G.S., F.C.S., Inventor of the Non-explosive Gunpowder Process, etc., etc., and Founder of the South Devon and Cornwall Institution for the Instruction and Employment of the Blind. By John Plummer. Pp. 209. London: William Tweedie, 337, Strand.

Mr. Plummer—himself a remarkable man—is here the biographer of one still more remarkable. It is not often that we have the '*memoirs pour servir*' of distinguished men recorded in their lifetime; nor would it be well that the plan should be commonly followed; yet, on the whole, we are not sorry that custom in the present instance has been departed from, for there is much that may be really very cheering and helpful to blind persons in the history of Dr. James Gale, and why should they wait to be put in possession of it until the perhaps far distant day when Dr. Gale shall have gone to that happier land where his sight will be restored? Mr. Plummer informs us that the compilation of this memoir has been considerably facilitated by the kind assistance which the author has received from sundry friends of Dr. James Gale's. His intention has been to bring forward everything of public interest relating to an inventor whose history not only offers a bright and encouraging example of the power and value of self-help, but also tends to afford considerable encouragement to those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, by showing how perseverance and energy can vanquish the most formidable obstacles, converting impediments into so many stepping-stones to success. On the whole, he has fulfilled this intention very satisfactorily. We do not mean to imply that it would not have been possible to have brought all that is essential to the

purpose of the memoir into a somewhat narrower compass. There is certainly an air of book-making about some of the chapters. The total amount of topographic matter, of remarks on blindness in the abstract, and of reflections on things in general, might have been reduced with advantage to the fulfilment of the proposed object of the volume. Notwithstanding the necessity of making this deduction, the book is well worthy of a place in the library. It sets before us the outward lineaments, the mental characteristics, the brave struggles, and the useful inventions, of a man who has met misfortune, not only patiently, but with a cheerful manly courage worthy of all imitation, and entitling him to the warm regard of all who are able to appreciate it. It shows how a youth may be smitten with blindness yet not crushed into inefficiency; deprived of a thousand aids to improvement, yet resolutely bent on advancing his education at all points; made irresistibly dependant on others to some extent, yet scorning to yield one hair's-breadth to misfortune where it was possible to resist, and going about with a still augmenting fund of self-helpfulness which should act as a wholesome tonic to all who, suffering from 'the stings and arrows of outrageous fortune,' are inclined weakly to succumb.

Ten Years in a Lunatic Asylum. By Mabel Etchell. Pp. 368. London: Simkin, Marshall, and Co., Stationers' Hall Court.

'The social condition of our lunatic asylums,' the author says very properly, 'should not be shrouded in uncertainty or mystery. To produce a faithful picture of the inner life there presented, is the first object of this little volume.' Although, therefore, her book is cast in a mould of fiction, and we may not regard 'Mabel Etchell' throughout all her story as a person upon whom identification can be thrust, yet there is no doubt we have here descriptions from actual experience of incidents occurring in asylum-life, and that the book before us is one to which those may apply who desire to know what there is in the management of ordinary asylums for the insane that may require reconsideration and amendment. It is an artless, affecting story that the author tells. As the result of insanity induced by illness, consequent on the machinations of an unconscientious guardian, Mabel is removed to a private asylum in the first instance, and, after a while, into one of the county institutions for the insane. In these places she undergoes much needless and even wantonly-inflicted suffering, partly through the apathetic and inconsiderate management of the authorities, resulting in arrangements that tell severely on the delicately nurtured and sensitive patient, and partly through the ignorant coarse-mindedness and greed of the attendants. Several scenes illustrative of these defects we have placed amongst our 'Selections.' The book is written so as to be at once interesting as a tale, and to supply much matter for thought and many hints for the amelioration of asylum life, to all who are in any way concerned in the management of the insane.

A Glimpse at the Social Condition of the Working Classes, during the early part of the Present Century. Trade Strikes, and their Consequences to the People who may be immediately connected with them. With Reflections upon Trades Unions and their Management. By the Author of 'The Auto-Biography of a Beggar Boy.' Pp. 156. London: Heywood & Co., 335, Strand.

The 'Beggar Boy,' whose autobiography was published some years ago, now seeks in his old age to put on record his recollections of the state of the people of this country as they were early in the century, and his various reflections on their now existing condition. He effects his purpose in five chapters. In the first he describes the difficulties the people had to struggle with when he was young. In the second he treats of trades' unions and friendly societies. In the third, he discourses of the price of labour and its sustentation. He returns to trade societies and their arrangement in the fourth; and, winds up with an account of, and comments on, the American trade convention of 1867. In regard to strikes, he has endeavoured to show that great and serious errors have been committed in the management of them,—that turn-outs, as a rule, have been failures for want of common prudence in calculating the circumstances, and that the men engaged in strikes have not only commonly suffered defeat, but have lowered themselves in the estimation of the public, and, as a necessary consequence, have had the credit of being wrong when they were morally right. In depicting the

difficulties the people had to struggle with in the early part of the present century, the author puts some interesting scenes before us. Whilst sympathising strongly with trades unions, and taking a working man's view of the labour question, he is well aware, and does not fail to point out, that no combination of men can keep up the value of labour beyond its power to remunerate the capitalist; and he does not forget that a higher standard of wages becomes in itself a tax upon the people, by forcing up the price of the necessaries and the common luxuries of life. He maintains that something must shortly be done to legalise trades' unions; that it will not do to allow these institutions, with their great and powerful social machinery, to remain beyond the pale of the civil law; that what is good in them should be fostered and protected, whilst what is mischievous should be made amenable to authority. On the whole, the 'Glimpse' and the 'Reflections' he supplies, well deserve looking at and considering, by those who desire to understand the present condition of this country.

Unsentimental Journeys; or, Bye Ways of Modern Babylon. By James Greenwood. Author of 'A Night in a Workhouse.' 'The True History of a Little Ragamuffin,' &c., &c. Pp. 232. London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, Warwick House, Paternoster Row.

Mr. Greenwood has a singular ability in observing low life, and in remembering what he observes; and as he has also no little descriptive power, he produces pictures almost equal to photographs in faithful minuteness. Instead of taking us, as Legh Hunt took us, into the highways and byeways of London to point out the half-effaced footsteps of departed genius or talent, or to produce rubbings from the quaint monuments of former times, Mr. Greenwood sees nothing in London but the current human life of to day, and of that, by preference, the lowest and meanest portion, though by no means the least important if the future destiny of our country be kept in view. He stands at the hospital gate, and paints the much misery and the modicum of happiness also, which are there. He takes us round 'Squalor's Market,' as our readers will have seen in the passage reproduced amongst our 'Selections.' He shows us over Newgate Market; insists on our going with him to a dog show of the most vulgar sort; sketches the night coffee-booth and its customers; discourses to us concerning muffins; accompanies us to the horse repository and the horse market, Mr. Dodd's dust yard, the county court, the leather market, the young bird market, the Houndsditch jewellery market, and the dancing saloon; and treats of the bones of London, the boat of all work, Christmas Eve in Brick Lane, the highway pastor, watercresses and their supply, the gleanings of the Thames bank, the half-penny barber, Epsom races, the coster's carnival, and the navvy; in short, nothing is too low to attract his regard, or to engage his pencil; and if one half the world would acquire the proverbially impossible knowledge of how the other half lives, Mr. Greenwood is the man to point the way to the acquisition.

Memorials of the Rev. Wm. J. Shrewsbury. By his Son, John V. B. Shrewsbury. Pp. 528. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Paternoster Row.

In the bad old days of West India Slavery, William Shrewsbury played a part which gave him a very extensive notoriety. He was in 1823 a Methodist missionary in Barbados, and had the great honour of being mortally hated by the planters and their white agents on the island. One effect of his ministry was that the coloured women refused to continue in concubinage with white men; and this greatly enraged the licentious. 'There was a force and pungency about his reproof of sin that bad men could not endure.' As an earnest minister of Christ, prudent to a proper extent, but not inclined, as easy-going rectors and others were, to hide every honest conviction of his heart in deference to the iniquitous men who were in power, he became odious to the class, who actually invented, as an atrocious charge against him, the story that he had once said that 'as nothing was too hard for God, God could easily make the slaves free,' and who pulled down his chapel, endangered his life, and finally drove him from the island. The same class of mind in England that now admires Mr. Ex-Governor Eyre, and that a few years ago let itself be easily hoodwinked and misled by the *Times* in its American Confederate proclivities, took the part of the planters, and set the brand of its infamy, which

was really a mark of honour, on the missionary Shrewsbury, whose name was long under a cloud in consequence. To vindicate his father's honourable fame in this matter, as well as to set forth his life-long experience, joys, labours, and sacrifices as an active minister of the Methodist body, his son has produced this interesting volume. The first edition having been sold in less than two months, a second is now out, with the addition of a portrait and a table of contents.

Graham's Temperance Reciter and Public Reader; containing an interesting Chapter on Reading and Reciting, with instructions for the Management of the Voice and Body, Practice Pieces, Readings, Recitations, Dialogues, &c. Vol. I. Maidstone: Graham Brothers, 8, Kingsley Road. London: F. Pitman, 20, Paternoster Row.

We do not believe in the oratory that is learnt—that is acquired by rules undertaking to guide tones of the voice and postures and gestures of the body. We have too often seen the result of that sort of training on the platform, to be disposed to greet it with anything more hopeful than a derisive smile. But for those who have faith in it, this Reciter of the Messrs. Graham will supply all the assistance that they can require. The rules are governed by good sense and taste, in accord with the manner in which all really good public speakers guide themselves—though they do it by instinct, not by rule. A large number of generally excellent readings and recitations fill the greater part of the volume.

John Wesley; or, the Theology of Conscience. By the Author of 'The Philosophy of Evangelicism.' Second Edition. Pp. 96. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Author of this treatise has in it designed to prove 'that there is no necessary antagonism between thorough-going evangelical orthodoxy, and the favourite rationalistic dogma that a religion, to be suitable for the world, must have its intuitive root in the world's conscience.' 'The whole question,' he says, 'turns upon whether the conception of an objective sacrifice for sin has, or has not its origin in the moral instincts. If it have, the evangelical hypothesis admits of being evolved out of this primary truth with perfect scientific consistency.' He maintains stoutly that it has; and does so with an ingenuity that entitles him to a prominent place amongst those who seek to reconcile evangelicism with reason.

The Opinions and Practice of Medical Men, with regard to Intoxicating Drinks as a Medicine viewed from the Non-Scientific, but Common-Sense stand point of Practical Experience. By George Ward, United Kingdom Alliance District Agent for Yorkshire. Leeds: John Kershaw and Son.

A pamphlet in which Mr. Ward states some very interesting facts coming under his own observation. These tend to aid at once both temperance and longevity by strengthening the resistance of patients to the alcoholic quackery of medical men who, whilst very properly scorning to direct their patients to apply to the patent medicine vendor for physic, have no scruple in sending them for it to the alehouse or dram-shop.

On Remunerative Prison Labour, as an Instrument for Promoting the Reformation and Diminishing the cost of Offenders. By Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S., J.P., and Deputy Lieutenant of Devon. Exeter: Wm. Clifford. London: W. Kent & Co.

The proposition that remunerative labour gives the strongest incentive to the reformation of the guilty, and has been practically found a potent instrument for the diminution and suppression of crime; and that consequently, subject to the needful requirements of prison discipline, the labour of prisoners should be made as profitable as possible, is very ably maintained in this pamphlet, with the help of a powerful array of evidence from British and Continental sources.

The Dietetic use of Alcoholic Beverages. By Dr. James Edmunds. London: Heywood & Co., 335, Strand.

A corrected report of a very instructive lecture given at Cambridge Hall, Newman-street, London, on the 6th of February last. We are glad to have it in so cheap and available a form; but still more pleased by the announcement we find in it, that the author, who has long promised to put together a series of lectures on the chief points of the alcohol question, now expects very shortly to be enabled to redeem the promise.

Savage Island: A Brief Account of the Island of Niué, and of the Work of the Gospel among its people. By Rev. Thomas Powell, F.G.S., twenty-three years Missionary of the London Missionary Society to the South Seas. With Introductory Preface, by Rev. R. Ferguson, LL.D. London: John Snow and Co., 2, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

A PLEASING description of Savage Island, of its inhabitants, and of the great work of religious civilisation done amongst them by missionary enterprise.

The Dawn of Light: A Story of the Zenana Mission. By Mary E. Leslie, Calcutta. With an introduction by Rev. E. Storrow. London: John Snow and Co., 2, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

A STORY of East Indian life, and of the dawning of Christian light on the minds of certain natives, of whom a charming tale is told by the writer.

The Ginshop. Illustrated by George Cruikshank. London: S. W. Partridge.

THESE clever compositions appeared originally in 'The Band of Hope Review,' and are now republished in two forms on a sheet, and in a book.

A Sketch of the History of French Railways: with Suggestions in favour of thorough Railway Reform at Home. By Samuel Haughton, Dublin, R. D. Webb and Son.

Graham's Popular Temperance Harmonist. Edited by the Rev. John Compston. Arranged for Four Voices and the Pianoforte. Maidstone: Graham Brothers. London: F. Pitman.

PART I. contains sixty popular pieces, words and music complete.

The Church of England Temperance Magazine. A Monthly Journal of Intelligence. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday; and S. W. Partridge.

The Scattered Nation. A Monthly Magazine. Edited by C. Schwartz, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Hive. A Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday-school Teachers. Monthly. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

An Address on Temperance to the Churches of the Evangelical Union. T. D. Morrison, 8, Bath-street, Glasgow.

Old Jonathan, the District and Parish Helper. London: W. H. Collingridge, Aldersgate-street.

The Church. A monthly penny magazine. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Substitute for Capital Punishment. London: W. Tallack, 5, Bishopgate-street, without.

The Prisons of London and Middlesex. Issued by the Howard Association.

Meliora.

SUNDAY DRINK-SELLING, AND THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF 1868.

Special Report of the Select Committee on the Sunday Sale of Liquors Bill, with the Proceedings of the Select Committee, and Draft Reports proposed by Mr. John Abel Smith, M.P., and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P. Also the Minutes of Evidence. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. London, 1868.

DID our subject call for an exordium, we might descant on the uses and abuses to which the Parliamentary select committee system may be put. The practice of referring to a small body of gentlemen a question requiring careful examination, by the light of evidence from various quarters, is not only void of objection, but seems eminently desirable; and actual usage shows that it is often attended with sterling and striking advantage. An example of this was afforded last session in connection with the Electric Telegraphs Bill, whose passage through both Houses was facilitated by—and, indeed, was dependent upon—such a reference. But factious men well understand how to turn excellent forms to ill account, and not seldom has the artifice of opposition devised a select committee as a pit in which some measure of public utility might be snugly consigned to obscurity and inevitable defeat. It has often been remarked that few votes are ever known to be changed by the most brilliant debate; and the inquiries of select committees, whatever their other results, are almost as much distinguished for their lack of influence, except in confirming the convictions and prepossessions of those by whom they have been conducted. The recent inquiry into the Malt Tax, carried on through a part of two sessions, terminated—as it began—in seven members retaining one set of opinions and six members another set. Still, where the composition of a select committee is tolerably fair, the subject is sure of a thorough ventilation, and the public get the benefit, if not of

a more impartial report, at least of a more valuable body of evidence germane to the questions reviewed. Sometimes select committees have been so much divided in sentiment as to be able to agree on nothing else than to report the evidence without comments or recommendations of their own. Probably the most glaring specimen on record of onesidedness in the composition and conduct of a select committee was offered in the one appointed in 1855, on the motion of Mr. Berkeley, nearly all the members upon which were of one mind to begin with, and which devoted itself with great assiduity to the selection of evidence favouring the one object for which it had been named. Times change, but some people do not change with them, and when, on the suggestion of Mr. Hibbert, the bill of Mr. John Abel Smith for restricting the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday was referred to a select committee, the tactics of 1855 were recurred to with an adroitness and a pertinacity not to be mistaken. Still, had not the Government acted the part of a wet-nurse, no skill on the part of private members would have sufficed to crown these tactics with a fleeting success. Mr. Smith's bill was marked by two features—a suppression of all sale of liquors for consumption on the premises (except along with meals in the Metropolitan district), and a restriction of hours of sale for consumption off the premises in all parts of England and Wales. When this bill was read a second time—which virtually affirmed the principle of some further restriction of the Sunday drink traffic—the nomination of a select committee was left to three parties—to Mr. Smith, as the author of the bill; to Mr. Locke, as the chief spokesman in opposition; and to the Government, which professed to hold an attitude of impartial observation. Mr. Smith nominated five members—himself, and Messrs. Bright, Baines, Hibbert, and Horsfall—not seeking for allies who even accorded with him as to the desirableness of a distinction between selling for consumption on and off the premises. Mr. Locke nominated himself and Messrs. Berkeley, Roebuck, Knatchbull-Hugessen, and Evans. The Government, with professions of the strictest fairness, nominated Sir J. Fergusson, Colonel Fane, Captain Stanley, Mr. Malcolm, and Mr. Yorke. But it was not long in appearing that the moral weight of the Government five would be cast, from the first, against the purpose of the bill. The rejection, contrary to general usage, of Mr. Smith as chairman, in favour of Sir J. Fergusson, was an indication not to be misread; and as Mr. Bright seldom attended the meetings of the committee, the tendency of the nomination was not so much betrayed as palpably disclosed, in the attempt to exag-

gerate every form of objection and depreciate every statement of fact making in favour of restrictive legislation. The tone of the questions proposed by Messrs. Roebuck, Locke, and Knatchbull-Hugessen, even more than the phraseology, displayed an assumption of numerical superiority and a confidence in the final trial of strength on a division. The chairman must be acquitted of any gross exhibition of party feeling, but his interrogatories were generally of a kind to weaken the case in the bill's behalf, and to his inspiration, as will be seen, is owing one of the most indefensible passages of the special report. Against this hostile current Messrs. Smith and Baines ably contended, occasionally assisted by Messrs. Horsfall and Hibbert, and slightly by Mr. Bright; and so searching was their examination of the witnesses brought by the opponents of the bill, that it speedily became manifest that the witnesses were inflicting more damage on their own cause than on the bill. The Select Committee met to take evidence on eighteen days; for the first time on April 22nd, and for the last on June 25th. The witnesses examined were 59, to whom 8,488 questions were addressed. Of these witnesses 38 were in favour of increased restrictions on the Sunday sale of drink, and many of them cordially supported the stoppage of all sale of liquor on that day. Of the 21 other witnesses four were persons officially connected with licensed victuallers' associations, and one was Mr. Berkeley himself. Such was the weight of the evidence in favour of further restrictions, that it must have deeply impressed the committee had it been composed of persons coming to the question with unbiassed minds. But there were members of the committee beyond the reach of evidence, however cogent and conclusive. Having ears they heard not, having minds they apprehended not; and nothing could more signally demonstrate the almost resistless stress of the testimony actually adduced than the fact that, when the committee deliberated on June 25th, a motion submitted by Mr. Roebuck, alleging that 'further legislation of a restrictive character is not required,' was carried by a majority of one only, in opposition to an amendment by Mr. Hibbert, affirming that 'an earlier closing of public-houses on Sunday evenings will be attended with public advantage;' nor would this slender majority have been obtained had not Mr. Bright, the only member absent, not arrived at the House until after this decision was taken. Subsequently a report drawn up by Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen was adopted, with some alterations; in preference to one proposed by Mr. John Abel Smith for which the votes of Messrs. Baines, Hibbert, and Horsfall were tendered in addition to

his own. Having touched upon these reports, we shall briefly sketch the purport of the evidence contributed by each of the witnesses examined.

The report of the majority, as finally adopted, consists of eight paragraphs, and occupies less than two pages printed in the largest type. While cautiously moderate in tone, it avoids all close dealing with the opposite case, and leaves the reader to wade through the 'evidence' as best he may, if his patience and perseverance do not desert him in the effort.

The first paragraph admits the existence of 'a considerable feeling in favour of further restriction upon the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sundays' in 'certain parts of the country, and especially in some of the large towns in the north of England,' as proved by 'the evidence of witnesses conversant with the state of opinion in those communities and claiming specially to represent the working classes, by the reports of public meetings held upon the subject, and by the returns of many canvasses made in large towns with the view of ascertaining the sentiments of the inhabitants upon this question;' but, in paragraph two, the committee 'observe that great caution must be exercised in affixing a value to the results of any such canvass. Although no imputations of dishonesty rest upon the canvassers, it has been proved to your committee that in many instances the canvass has been of a partial nature, and does not adequately convey the real sense of the community whose opinions it professes to represent.' The epithet 'partial' here constitutes this sentence one of those ambiguous phrases which Archbishop Whately has marked as the favourite weapons of sophistry. It may mean 'partial' in the sense of 'selected for a purpose,' or 'partial' as distinguished from universal. A canvass to which the first sense could be affixed would be justly discredited, but no such discredit could attach to a canvass which was simply 'partial' in the second sense. But it was never found, or even insinuated, except in regard to a few London workshops, that any canvass had been 'partial' in the evil sense; and if—as was abundantly shown—the canvasses made were complete in themselves, and of a really representative character, their value as evidence was of the very highest order capable of being adduced. The committee add: 'Moreover, it is evident that a canvass conducted by persons whose object is to obtain a particular expression of opinion is not one of a character to command such implicit confidence as one conducted by more impartial persons.' But impartial persons sufficiently interested to bear the trouble and expense of such canvasses are rarely to be found, and the opponents of Sunday closing have never

exhibited any desire to contribute a moiety of the charges incident to such investigations. The committee dismiss the canvasses by not recognising them as proof of such 'a general demand' in favour of restriction 'as should induce Parliament to disregard those other considerations which lead to a different conclusion.' These 'other considerations' are touched upon in the five subsequent paragraphs. First of all comes the charge of 'serious inconvenience' to 'a very large number of persons against whom no complaint whatever is alleged,' and while 'great discontent' would prevail among such persons, 'it by no means follows that a commensurate benefit would result with regard to the class against whom such restrictions would be especially directed.' It is alleged that 'those who drink to excess form a very small percentage of the whole number of persons who make use of public-houses upon a Sunday, and it is probable that many of these persons, if deprived of their present facilities for obtaining liquor, would have recourse to drinking in private houses and to various methods of evading the law.' It is observable that this style of objection might have been just as pertinently plied in opposition to the proposal of the existing restrictions now in force; and that this was perceived, though dimly, by the author of this report, appears from what he subjoins: 'For, however beneficial may be the results of restriction within certain limits, its enforcement to such an extent as to cause any violent interference with the habits of the people has a tendency to create a discontent which is sure to be followed by evasion, the law is brought into disrepute, and effects are not unfrequently produced the very reverse and opposite of those intended by the Legislature.' So might it have been said, and probably was said, by those who regarded the Sunday morning closing with aversion. It is worthy of some notice that the draft report, as it first stood, ascribed these prospective evils to legislation 'in the direction' of Mr. Smith's bill; but this was amended, against the votes of its five stoutest opponents—Messrs. Roebuck, Locke, Berkeley, Knatchbull-Hugessen, and Yorke—by substituting the words 'to the extent contemplated by the bill,' and so far relieving the report from such an objection as applicable to any further restrictions. Paragraph four expresses the opinion that there would be 'great difficulty' in enforcing the restrictions proposed in the bill, but no special reference is made, except to the clause which suggested a relaxation in London of the prohibition against all drinking on the premises by allowing liquor to be consumed along with a *bonâ fide* meal. If Mr. Smith admits the force of the objection, he will

remove this exception from the next edition of his bill. In paragraph five the committee allude to the apparent improbability of any settlement of the question upon the basis of Mr. Smith's bill. 'Most of the advocates of the measure openly avow that they would accept it only as an instalment, and many of them declare their desire to put a stop to the whole retail trade in excisable liquors.' Hence the committee, pitying the people embarked in 'a recognised and legitimate trade,' think it unjust that they should be embarrassed 'and their property depreciated in value by constant attempts to impose upon them restrictions which do not appear to be demanded by any urgent public necessity.' This is a very pretty objection of the class that assume as proved the thing requiring proof; nor is it easy to perceive how the committee propose to prevent that depreciation in the value of drinking-house property which proceeds, they tell us, from these constant 'attempts' at further restrictions. Are these 'attempts' to be prohibited? If not, the depreciation must clearly go on. Either the reasoning or language of the report is here a little unsteady. The committee suggest, as 'a question worthy of consideration,' whether liquor dealers should not be allowed to take out licences for six days at a reduced rate. Paragraph eight is the one added to the original draft report on the motion of the chairman, and is in these terms: 'The beneficial working of the Public-house (Scotland) Acts, 1854-62, which has been declared by a royal commission, and of which evidence has been given before your committee, does not in their opinion establish any proof that a law similar or approaching to it in strictness would be either acceptable or expedient in England. For even those witnesses who spoke to the success of the Scotch law admitted that there was so remarkable a difference between the habits of the English and those of the Scotch people in their use of public-houses, that your committee are of opinion that no trustworthy inference could be drawn from the fact of that success.' In assenting to the introduction of this additional paragraph, the opponents of Mr. Smith's bill charmingly outwitted themselves; for they have deliberately assured the country that the Forbes-Mackenzie Act of 1853 (not 1854) and the Amendment Act of 1862 have been a success, and that therefore, as respects Scotland, not the shadow of a reason exists for any attempt to repeal or modify those enactments! Messrs. Roebuck, Locke, and Berkeley have given their express imprimatur to an entire Sunday closing act for Scotland, and their effort to set up such a difference between England and Scotland as to prevent the success of that act from being quoted in advocacy

of a similar one for England, is too much of a tweedledum assumption to stand a moment's scrutiny. There is no such 'remarkable difference' between English and Scotch as has any intrinsic bearing on legislation against Sunday tippling, still less is the alleged difference a substantial reason against proposals, such as those of Mr. Smith, which evade the dinner and supper beer difficulty—peculiar to England—in conceding all the facilities required. The seventh paragraph admits that drunkenness is to be found to a considerable extent both on Sundays and other days, 'yet the admission appears to be general that the present law is working well, and that under its operation a great diminution of drunkenness has taken place. From this fact it has been argued that further restrictions would lead to further diminution; but, having regard to the experience of the past, and to the agitation consequent upon the passing of a less stringent measure than the present in 1854, which measure was repealed in the following year, your committee are inclined to believe that the safe limit of restrictive legislation has been reached, and that further measures in the same direction would be unwise and injudicious.' It was proposed to omit the words after 'believe,' and substitute for them 'restrictive legislation to the extent proposed by this bill.' This amendment, moved by Mr. Evans, was supported by five other members and opposed by six, and there being a 'tie,' the chairman declared himself in favour of retaining the original words; so that, in fact, the opinion of the committee in opposition to all further restrictions has been declared by a majority of one only. The reference to the bill of 1854 is both disingenuous and misleading; for the agitation against that measure was solely a publican's movement, and though it was technically repealed, several hours of the additional restrictions imposed by it were re-included in the repealing act. The committee add: 'The praiseworthy exertions of the advocates of temperance must not be undervalued. These have, no doubt, materially contributed to the diminution of drunkenness, and simultaneously with these exertions, and the salutary influence exercised by the ministers of religion, the opening in several of our large towns of parks and other places wherein fresh air and innocent recreation may be obtained by the working classes upon Sunday, has drawn many of them from public-house associations, and induced them to spend their only leisure day in a manner more advantageous to themselves and to their families. Other causes have likewise contributed to this desirable result.' So that, this committee being witness, it is a desirable thing for the working classes to be found absent from public-houses; yet

these places, whose existence is absolutely dependent on a legal privilege, are not to be circumscribed in the evil associations which they cast around hundreds of thousands on the only leisure day they possess! The seventh paragraph adverts to the signs of social progress; and as the upper and middle classes are more temperate than formerly, the committee hope 'as the working classes also advance in self-improvement, and are actuated by that self-respect which is engendered by improved education, the vice of drunkenness will gradually disappear without the necessity of further coercive measures on the part of the Legislature.' The hope that a hundred and fifty thousand places of public resort, whose associations are confessedly dangerous and injurious, will cease to exert the influence which has appertained to them from time immemorial, may be amiable, but is certainly one of the vainest to which any body of legislators could have given expression; and it is a singular oversight on the part of the committee that they should have failed to perceive that to lessen the power of the drinking-shop for evil, is one of those methods by which the object they desiderate may be most efficiently attained. What would they have said of an argument, constructed on their own model, in favour of legalising or permitting bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and a hundred other kinds of debasing amusement, this argument finishing up with the hope that the spirit of self-respect and improvement would preserve the people generally from contamination? It is the standing device of all obstructionists to reform to plead that we are going on very nicely already, and that sudden changes will lead to disturbance and incur the hazard of reaction. The trick has now been played out in its relation to political reform, but social reformers will still have to meet and drive it back while advancing step by step in their triumphal course.

Turning from the Report of the majority to that which was proposed by Mr. Abel Smith, we find ourselves in an atmosphere at once bracing and transparent. This report, extending over nearly twelve pages, is not only ten times longer than the other, but presents an analysis of the evidence, classified under the four branches of the committee's inquiry—1st, the influence of legislation already restricting the period for selling intoxicating liquors, especially on Sunday; 2nd, the extent to which intemperance and social demoralisation are still induced by the Sunday traffic in strong drink, and their probable reduction by legislative action; 3rd, the measure of acquiescence and support on the one hand, or of disapproval and opposition on the other, which additional limitations on the

Sunday traffic in strong drinks would receive from the public generally and the working classes in particular; 4th, the nature and force of the objections entertained by those who oppose further restrictions. These points are carefully and even elaborately discussed, and rays of light are directed, sometimes in a perfect flood, upon every ramification of the cardinal question at issue. After showing, under the first head, that restrictive measures have already operated with great advantage, even where they have embraced complete Sunday prohibition, it is justly remarked that the facts adduced 'are a complete answer to simply abstract arguments against a restrictive policy (such as the right of a person to do what he pleases, unless in so doing he directly produces some perceptible mischief); arguments which are usually so advanced without a perception on the part of those who use them, that they are as available against the degrees of restriction already in force, and confessedly of great value, as they are against other degrees of restriction which may be desired on the ground of the general weal.' Under the second head, it is conclusively proved that to test Sunday drunkenness by the number of police charges is delusive and absurd, and that immense mischief is effected by public-house customs and company, even where the frequenters are not classed among incapable or disorderly drunkards. Taking 30s. as the average profits of the Sunday trade of every public-house, and adding a fifth for every beerhouse, an annual profit of £6,260,000 is arrived at; 'and it is impossible to suppose that this enormous sum [to say nothing of the more enormous amount expended and not counted as profit] can be obtainable, so much of it from the working class, without serious detriment to the domestic comfort of their wives and children.' The bad effect of Sunday drinking on week-day industry is also illustrated, and the Report observes—'The inference suggested by evidence of the character above cited—that further restrictive legislation is admissible and desirable—was strongly advanced by many of the witnesses themselves. The opposite sentiment was, indeed, expressed by several magistrates and the chief constable of Wolverhampton, but no satisfactory reason was assigned for an opinion which resembles rather a foregone conclusion than a deduction from a body of well-established facts. Nothing was elicited in examination to prove that the limits of judicious legislation had been reached, or that a power operating for good up to the existing boundary would cease to act, or act in a reverse direction, if that boundary should become in any degree extended.' On the third head—the probable popularity or otherwise of further restrictions—

a mass of evidence is marshalled, including the testimony of witnesses, the results of canvasses, and the aggregate collection of public petitions; and it is then pertinently remarked, 'Imputations cast upon the petitions, such as having been signed by children, or as bearing fictitious signatures, have in no single instance been established. It may be sufficient to remark of petitions on the other side, that they have invariably been projected and circulated by persons pecuniarily interested in this inquiry, and do not afford any evidence of a deep or wide-spread public sentiment against the curtailment of the Sunday liquor-traffic.' Under the fourth head, a whole bevy of objections against fresh Sunday legislation are introduced, one by one, only to be dismissed, after examination, as mere pretenders to a worthiness they cannot reasonably claim. This portion of the report will be found specially useful where the objections enumerated are frequently quoted as if they were possessed of unanswerable force. It is edifying to see the ass dragged out from under the lion's skin; and it may be hoped that the exhibition will dissipate the error of those who have mistaken the donkey's bray for the lion's roar. This work of detection and exposure completed, three conclusions are announced as suggested by a careful review of the evidence laid before the committee. '1. That extended restrictions on the Sunday sale of alcoholic liquors would result in sensible public benefits, including a diminution of drunkenness and crime, and an improved condition of the homes of the people more directly affected by them. 2. That to realise these benefits no corresponding drawbacks would be incurred, and no serious inconveniences occasioned to the sober and respectable of all classes. 3. That the restrictions required to obtain these results would be in accordance with public sentiment, and, therefore, that nothing in the way of popular reaction may reasonably be feared.' The whole report concludes with a recommendation 'that in the coming session of Parliament a Bill should be introduced, with a view to legislation of the character here approved.' Discretion, we think, was shown by Mr. Abel Smith in confining this recommendation to some change of the law without indicating its particular complexion; and it is an omen of some significance that the *Times*, in commenting on both Reports, confesses its sympathy with the object advocated in the minority Report, and admits that in its pages several of the strong positions of the majority of the committee have been successfully controverted and overturned. To those of our readers who may not have access to the bulky blue book containing the full Minutes of the evidence presented to the Select Committee, it

may be useful to have tersely stated the tenor of the testimony adduced by each of the witnesses as they successively appeared. On April 22nd, Sir Richard Mayne and Sir Thomas Henry were examined. Sir Richard Mayne, as chief commissioner of the Metropolitan Police (whose duties extend to about sixteen miles round Charing Cross, and embrace a population of 3,452,246*), explained the changes of the law in regard to Sunday drink-selling, and produced statistical tables of the apprehensions for drunkenness from 1830-40 and from 1858-67 inclusive. In respect to the Public-house Closing Act (from one to four a.m.), he said he did not remember any exception being called for in favour of trades requiring night work—'I was told, in fact, that it was not necessary,'—a notable commentary on the outcry at first raised of the sufferings which night workmen would undergo if access to the public-house were denied them between one and four in the morning. He could not say whether the greater number of drunken cases originated in public-houses or beershops. He believed the police honestly discharged their duty in the execution of the present Closing Acts. He did not think that closing at ten o'clock on Sunday would inconvenience excursionists, as they could be served at the railway stations as travellers. His general objection to restrictions on the sale of drink was their application so partially to the different classes of the community. He believed the Wilson-Patten Act was repealed owing to complaints preferred by licensed victuallers, principally and prominently, but he could not give any specific instances of complaints from other classes. One evil effect of restriction, he said, had been the opening of 'Tom-and-Jerry shops,' which he seemed to regard as unlicensed houses, though the term is popularly applied to low beershops. Having ascribed an increase of unlicensed drinking to Wilson-Patten's Act, he was asked why he had stated an opposite opinion before Mr. Berkeley's committee of 1855? and to this inquiry he could only answer, 'If I said so, I thought so at the time, but I do not remember it now.' But, in 1855, his testimony was explicit enough (Question 1027),—'I am not aware that drink is sold in greater quantities in coffee-houses than formerly. The opinion of the superintendents is that there is not more drinking in unlicensed houses

* Within the same area there are 6,549 public-houses and 4,421 beershops, an aggregate of 10,970—with a shop frontage of at least thirty-three miles—probably forty or fifty miles. With such a licensed machinery in daily and nightly operation, tending to impoverish, corrupt, and criminalise the people of London, why should we wonder at its regiments of criminals, its army of paupers, and its hosts of neglected children?

than there was formerly.' In reference to the effect of drunkenness, Sir Richard Mayne gives this opinion:—'I am sure that it produces a great deal of crime, both directly and indirectly. It leads directly to crime, disorders, assaults, and violence, and it also leads to the commission of offences against property immediately and indirectly by poverty, and it leads to a reckless, dissolute state of morals.' On the paucity of apprehensions for drunkenness as compared with the population, a cardinal objection to further restriction, Sir Richard confessed that 'drunkenness is a very vague word in police understanding,' so vague, indeed, as to make it ridiculous to measure its extent by the number of dead-drunk and disorderly-drunk persons who are consigned to the police cell for want of a better lodging. Sir Thomas Henry, chief magistrate of Bow-street, expressed himself as opposed to all restrictive measures, past and present, except the week-day early closing Act; as his theory was that drunkenness was a midnight vice. He did not believe that opening public-houses on Sunday morning would increase drunkenness; and as the result of a visit paid to public-houses, when he was first appointed a magistrate, he gave it as his opinion that a majority of the landlords discouraged drunkenness; and he had always observed, in the cases that had come before him, that the landlords were in the habit of saying, 'Now, my man, you have had enough.' Self-denying landlords! how wonderful that, with so large a staff of temperance guardians, there should be any public-house intemperance at all! On April 24th, Messrs. Burcham, Woolrych, and Ellison, police magistrates of Southwark, Lambeth, and Worship-street were examined. Mr. Burcham believed drunkenness was decreasing, but had no returns to adduce in confirmation. He believed certain restrictions on the sale of liquor to be reasonable, but was opposed to further restrictions; and when asked why? could only answer, 'Because I do not think they would be of any service.' Restrictions were not injurious 'unless carried too far,' but what the limit was he 'really could not say.' Mr. Woolrych was opposed to additional restrictions, and believed Sunday drunkenness had diminished, but could give no returns, and he allowed that further limitations on the sale would probably cause a diminution of drunkenness in spite of 'private drinking, drinking by associated bodies, and so on.' Being pressed on this point by Mr. Locke, he said, 'I think they would get drink somehow, but not to the same extent that they can now get it.' Mr. Ellison was more cautious than his fellow-magistrates in venturing any opinion as to the effect of further restrictions; he appeared in doubt

on most of the points presented, except as to the serious fact of very nearly one-half the cases of drunkenness brought before him being cases of drunken women; to which he added, 'I should rather think that drunkenness is increasing among women.' On April 29th, Major Greig, Captain Palin, and Mr. Jackson, chief constables of Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield, were examined. Major Greig gave strong and forcible evidence in favour of the bill. He believed that it would diminish intemperance, and be supported by public opinion. Inconvenience would be felt by some, but the general good should be paramount. He considered drunkenness in Liverpool was on the increase, and especially among women, and that rather more than three-fourths of the criminal acts of the country were attributable to that vice. The extent of that evil was not to be estimated by the number of apprehensions. He thought the women would be very much in favor of greater restriction—'it would make a very great difference to their own homes.' A very considerable amount of the working-class earnings is spent in public-houses on Saturday night and Sunday, 'and is diverted from the clothing and education of the family.' Captain Palin, chief of the Manchester police, had no doubt that Sunday drinking to excess prevailed to a large extent in Manchester. He could not say whether a limitation of Sunday drink-selling would be popular or not, but he did 'not think it would be a very serious inconvenience.' Even the decent people who resort to public-houses would be 'reconciled to it in a short time, and would not care for it.' Further restriction 'might diminish drunkenness, and probably would.' Mr. Jackson, chief constable of Sheffield, had previously been chief constable of Oldham for nearly ten years, and had found the Wilson-Patten Act 'diminish drunkenness very considerably' in that town. Drunkenness had decreased in Sheffield, but not among women. Those who would object to a shortening of the hours on Sunday would, in Sheffield, 'be not only a minority, but the minority would be small.' On May 1st, the witnesses examined were Mr. Glossop, chief constable of Birmingham, Thos. Avery, Esq., mayor of Birmingham, Arthur Bigge, Esq., stipendiary magistrate of Brighton, and the Rev. Dr. Garrett, of Manchester. Mr. Glossop stated that at a very large meeting, held in the Town Hall for the advocacy of the Permissive Bill, 'there was an immense number of working men in the body of the hall, and they all voted for the Permissive Bill,' and the feeling of those working men was, he thought, a fair picture of the better class of working men in Birmingham. The women of Birmingham were very much in favour of further

restrictions, and in illustration of the view that even the publicans would generally be willing to close if all were compelled, he stated that 1,600 other shopkeepers had been keeping open, but that a vigorous effort to compel them to close had been completely successful, the result being 'very beneficial to the town—it looks like another place, it is so respectable and orderly.' Restriction of Sunday drink-selling would not cause the same discontent now as it once did, and would be 'advantageous.' The discontent would be limited 'to a few people'—'those who are always thirsty'—'they would have to go to the pump.' Question by Mr. Locke: 'Do you think that that would do as well?' Mr. Glossop: 'It would keep them sober, at any rate; it would keep them out of our hands.' Thos. Avery, Esq., believed that the terms of the bill would form 'a moderate and reasonable restriction.' He had presided at a very large meeting, called by the United Kingdom Alliance, and the working men, who constituted a large proportion of those present, were unanimously in favour of a Permissive Bill. From careful observation, he believed that 'public opinion is advancing in the direction of additional restrictions upon the liquor trade. As we all know, it is purely a question of degree, and all statistics are in favour of the opinion that restriction upon the facilities diminishes drunkenness.' Arthur Bigge, Esq., was strongly in favour of the bill. He explained much public-house drunkenness by the remark: 'People go there and meet their friends, and then the end of it is they get drunk, because the door happens to be open. People who go to clubs go there for totally different reasons. They go to the public-house perhaps with a good intention in the first instance, and then gradually slope into drunkenness.' 'Further restrictions would prevent drunkenness, and it is a thing to be desired.' The respectable working class in Brighton were, he thought, in favour of further restrictions. He did not think the bill would produce the least disorder or confusion in Brighton—'not the least in the world.' The Rev. Dr. Garrett gave evidence drawn from his experience as a clergyman in different parts of England, as a chaplain, and as having made himself acquainted with public opinion on this particular question. When vicar of St. Paul, Cornwall, it was found, by strict examination of the parish books, that for the previous twenty years, eight out of every ten cases of pauperism and crime were traceable to drink; and it was further calculated that if drinking could have been stopped, nine-tenths of the expense of pauperism and crime to which the parish was at that time put, and would be put for the next ten years, would have been prevented. The influence of Sunday drinking on

female virtue and on Sunday schools was exceedingly pernicious. He believed that 'a very large majority of the working classes are anxious for the entire closing of public-houses on Sunday,' and this was the expression of sentiment on the part of deputations appointed to wait upon Mr. Gladstone and Earl Derby. Dr. Garrett's subsequent statement, that Mr. Smith's bill had a much larger body of supporters than the entire Sunday closing movement, is not, in our opinion, in accordance with credible evidence. The results of the canvasses, wherever a comparison has been instituted, and a glance at the 903,987 signatures for Mr. Somes's bill in 1863 (which was more than a Sunday bill), as compared with the 340,000 signatures for Mr. Smith's bill in 1868, are suggestive of anything but a numerical superiority of those who wish for partial Sunday closing over those who would prefer the total stoppage of all Sunday traffic in intoxicants. On May 4th, the witnesses examined were Archbishop Manning, the Rev. Newman Hall, and the Rev. Cyril Page. Archbishop Manning furnished very useful evidence of the good effects of the ecclesiastical Sunday closing rule put in force by two Irish Roman Catholic prelates—the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Ferns. He prefaced this evidence by his personal conviction that the Legislature 'has multiplied the facilities and the temptations to drunkenness,' and that both working men and their wives would be glad of a law that would at least limit these temptations. He would not be afraid of such a law 'even in London,' nor did he think that the enforcement of a measure like the Forbes-Mackenzie Act would occasion great difficulty in England. When asked by Mr. Locke whether it was not important first to improve the dwellings of the working classes and afford them more recreation on Sunday, the Archbishop replied, 'No, I think not; I think that in order of time this is the more urgent, and I think in the order of moral mischief it is the more vital.' Further asked, whether it would not add to the inconvenience of the miserably-housed to pass a bill like Mr. Smith's, he answered, 'I do not think that the word inconvenience is the one which I used; I said, I think, that the bright fire and the comparative cleanliness of a drinking-house is a temptation to a man to desert his home and his family. I do not think that that deprivation ought to be a subject of complaint by a father, or husband, or any man. . . It appears to me that a house which is sufficient for a man's wife and children, he ought not to judge as insufficient for himself.' The Rev. Newman Hall, in referring to the state of London south of the Thames on Sunday evenings, observed, 'I consider that public-houses

being open on Sunday night, when the masses of the population are turning out, to be most incalculably injurious morally, and that there can be no wonder at the prevalence of licentiousness when we have those places open for drinking at such times.' In pointing out how the drinking habits of men invade the religious liberties of their wives, he said, 'The greatest impediment to the progress of religion among us is the influence of the public-house;' and having detailed the religious and secular agencies in connection with Surrey Chapel 'to serve as a counter attraction to the public-house,' he added, 'but we find that the facilities afforded to the population for drinking are such that they interfere with every effort we put forth to elevate the people around.' The Rev. Cyril Page, incumbent of Christ Church, Westminster, wished the public-houses to be closed during the hours of the evening service. On May 6th, Duncan M'Laren, Esq., M.P. for Edinburgh, the Rev. V. M. White, LL.D., of Liverpool, and Robertson Gladstone, Esq., J.P., of Liverpool, were examined. Mr. M'Laren's evidence had respect to the operation of the Forbes-Mackenzie Act, which he showed to have been, in an anti-criminal point of view, a legislative success seldom witnessed, and he asserted his belief (contrary to the letter and spirit of the paragraph in the committee's report afterwards suggested by Sir J. Fergusson) that similar benefits might be expected from a similar law if applied to England. The Rev. Dr. White's evidence was conclusive as to the willingness of the people of Liverpool to welcome legislation much more extensive than that proposed by Mr. Abel Smith; and in this he was corroborated by Mr. Robertson Gladstone. The witnesses examined on May 11th were D. Lupton, Esq., J.P., the Rev. Edward Jackson, and Mr. George Walker, all of Leeds. Mr. Lupton proved that in Leeds the intelligent operatives were in favour of Sunday closing, and that both to workmen and masters the sale of drink on Sunday was an unmitigated curse. The Rev. E. Jackson, as a district clergyman, strengthened the case presented by Mr. Lupton; and Mr. Walker, as a quondam journeyman bootmaker, and now employer in that trade, made some trenchant remarks, of which one must suffice as a specimen of many: 'All the means that I have seen tried for thirty years hitherto have been inadequate; new drunkards are continually being manufactured from our boys and our girls, and to make a man a drunkard is to make him one of the most expensive creatures that there is almost in the kingdom.' Mr. Joseph Hume would have bristled up at this presentation of the drunkard under an 'expensive' aspect. On May 13th Mr. S. G. Jowett

and the Rev. S. A. Steinthal were under examination. Mr. Jowett, as superintendent of the Bradford Town Mission, spoke with authority on some of the most important points of the inquiry, and Mr. Steinthal, besides giving excellent information at first hand, and laying before the committee the returns of extensive canvasses, was drawn into a colloquy with Mr. Locke on the superior value of abstainers' lives in insurance offices. The hon. member for Southwark made a ludicrous display of his unacquaintance with this subject by inquiring, 'Are not the immoderate drinkers and total abstainers both objectionable lives in an insurance office?' though he naïvely confessed in the next question that in the office of which he is a director he had never heard of 'anybody of that sort' (abstainers) having been insured! On May 18th, Mr. J. S. Eldridge, clerk to the Southampton magistrates, Jas. Barlow, Esq., mayor of Bolton, Mr. Alderman Mackie, of Manchester, and Mr. J. T. Enright, ex-chief of the Southampton police, appeared as witnesses, and all in favour of restrictions on the present hours of Sunday sale of liquors. Mr. Barlow's evidence, concerning the popular feeling in Bolton, and as a large employer of labour, was exceedingly pertinent, and not less so was Mr. Alderman Mackie's demonstration that even a large wholesale and retail drink-seller could be an earnest supporter of entire Sunday closing. May 20th offered a strong reinforcement of favourable witnesses in the Rev. J. Flather, of Sheffield, C. Bushell, Esq., a Cheshire magistrate, John Howard, Esq., the great agricultural implement maker of Bedford, Mr. G. Freshwater, a workman in his employ, and the Rev. T. de Vine, of Newcastle-under-Lyme. Mr. Flather asserted that the predominant feeling in Sheffield was in favour of the bill; Mr. Bushell acutely replied to various objections; Mr. Howard gave important evidence as mayor and master; Mr. Freshwater spoke with a workingman's knowledge of things as they are; and Mr. de Vine reported the result of a canvass in the town he represented. On May 25th, Mr. George Potter, of Trades Union celebrity, R. S. Newall, Esq., mayor of Gateshead, Mr. S. Eliott, of Plymouth, and the Rev. G. M. Murphy, of London, were examined. Mr. Potter's declaration that the cream of the working men of London and the country were in favour of greater restrictions made an impression on *Punch*, who re-stated the fact next week for the information of his 'beloved bungs.' Mr. Newall spoke for the people of Gateshead; Mr. Eliott witnessed to the state of sentiment in Plymouth and Cornwall; and Mr. Murphy covered in his evidence a wide surface of interesting facts. At the next sitting of the committee, May 28th, Mr. T.

Smith, secretary of the Licensed Victuallers' Protection Society, of London, contradicted a statement of Mr. Murphy, that he had admitted the complicity of his friends with the Hyde Park riots; and then evidence for the bill was given by Mr. Joseph Leicester, of London, Mr. W. Cockburn, foreman of Messrs. Pease's mines, in Yorkshire, the Rev. E. Mathews, of Bristol, and the Rev. G. W. M'Cree, of London. Mr. Leicester spoke of the evils inflicted on the most skilled workmen in his trade, the glassblowers, by public-house associations; and Mr. Locke and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, overleaping the limits of the committee's inquiry, entered into a sort of disputation with the witness, out of which the Parliamentary interlocutors came second-best, as any one may see who reads this portion of the Minutes. Mr. Leicester aptly baffled the tactics of his questioners when attempting to draw him into contradictions. When asked if he was in favour of the Permissive Bill, he said, 'Decidedly I am.' He replied to another question, that the localities were the proper tribunals to judge of all such cases; and being then pressed, 'If that is your opinion, how do you advocate a bill by which the central Legislature imposes a restriction upon the opinion of localities?' he answered, 'Because it is simply a reflex of public opinion even then'—thus neatly exposing the sophism that lurked under the assumption that a general Sunday measure would be hostile to local sentiment. Mr. Cockburn dealt in facts that could not be gainsayed as to the results of Sunday drinking; the Rev. E. Mathews offered the statistics gathered from a canvass of Bristol; and Mr. M'Cree brought to bear on the inquiry a fulness and exactness of knowledge concerning the state of matters in London among the poor of all classes that instructed, if it did not gratify, a majority of the committee.

On the 8th of June was commenced the examination of witnesses avowedly hostile to the bill of Mr. Smith, the witnesses for that day being Mr. R. M. Morrell and Mr. T. Winterbotham. Mr. Morrell, who occasionally figures in newspapers as the secretary of the Sunday League, was careful to state that he did not appear before the committee in any official character, and little more was to be extracted from his evidence besides the points that he had read the bill—which he afterwards explained to mean that he hadn't read it, but knew what it was—that he knew working men were greatly opposed to restrictive measures, that the bill would be an inconvenience to the people who listened to the Sunday bands and to excursionists, and that the canvass returns were huge shams. In illustrating this last proposition he instanced a canvass of St. Pancras in 1863, all his statements about which

were subsequently proved in a letter to the committee to be the reverse of true. Mr. Winterbotham, as a licensed victualler for thirty-six years and an ex-governor of the Incorporated Society of Licensed Victuallers, testified to the disfavour with which 'the trade' entertained all proposals of restrictive legislation, and endeavoured to show that certain returns put in by Mr. Murphy were incorrect. On June 11th, a short explanation was given by Mr. Berkeley, M.P., respecting the address he had received from 1,580 electors to support Mr. Smith's bill, amongst whom, he admitted, 'were some of the most respectable gentlemen in Bristol'—which had been followed by another address, with 4,000 signatures, asking him to exercise his own judgment on the subject. The examination of Mr. Winterbotham was then resumed, in the course of which he endeavoured to show that the publican's interest was diametrically opposed to drunkenness. 'Experience teaches me that a drunkard is not employed one-third of his time upon the average. Assuming, then, that we receive from him the whole amount of his wages, he is really, as a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, not so serviceable a customer to us as a man who legitimately and regularly supplies his family with the articles in which we deal.' So that, in Mr. Winterbotham's 'essentially practical' view, sober working men spend more than one-third of their earnings on the publican's liquors, and are justified in so doing. We know what the reference to the 'family' means; but we can only hope to measure the horseleech rapacity of the baser traffickers when we hear one of the superior dealers coolly give vent to such a statement, and consider it, withal, as a vindication of his 'trade.' Mr. Alderman Fisher, of Sheffield, chairman of Mr. Roebuck's last election committee, declared the feeling of that town to be against further restriction, but had heard nothing of the workshop canvass lately made, and 'believed that if any one with good address asked a working man to sign a petition he would sign it, though thinking there was a strong feeling against it.' The Rev. G. M. Murphy then gave evidence in support of the genuineness of the returns he had previously put in, and was followed by Mr. Jabez West, one of the canvassers employed. Mr. Roebuck had intimated his intention of carrying this case up to the bar of the House of Commons, but, after hearing Messrs. Murphy and West, his tumid resolutions dissolved into air, leaving not a rack behind. On June 15th, Mr. J. T. Rowland, the publicans' canvasser, was examined, who simply proved that a discrepancy existed between two canvasses—the Sunday closing one carried out with printed forms, the publicans' by

vice over inquiries. Mr. R. Waygood, a London engineer, strongly disapproved of restriction in the Sunday sale of liquors, which he denounced in toto, even to its present extent; but some eccentric statements of this witness as to the extent of Sunday morning intoxication on Glasgow Green, and the discovery that he considered the Victorian era to be a disgrace to English history, made it expedient for the hon. members who were opposing the bill to let their client retire with the least possible delay. Mr. J. T. Staton, on the staff of a Bolton newspaper, unnecessarily endeavoured to disparage the evidence of the mayor, J. Barlow, Esq., and made a variety of misstatements as to the attitude of the Bolton press on the Sunday drink question and the candidature of Mr. Pope, that proved his utter unfitness to appear before the Select Committee. On June 15th, Mr. M'Laren, M.P., explained a point in his former evidence; Captain Segrave, chief of the Wolverhampton police, gave testimony with a tendency against the bill; Mr. Wybergh, clerk of the Liverpool magistrates, opposed all Sunday restriction, but admitted that the people of Liverpool did not share his views; and Mr. M. Beal and Mr. J. Wilson, of Sheffield, testified to what they thought to be the popular aversion in that town to the proposed measure. On June 22nd, Mr. Joseph Wadhams, of Birmingham, president of the United Towns' Association and National Licensed Victuallers' Defence League, embracing about 6,000 publicans residing in twenty-two towns, was examined, and, of course, disapproved of Mr. Smith's bill, but recommended a special class of police-officers to be employed to watch public-houses during the prohibited hours, as the ordinary constables were too often bribed to wink at violations of the law. After this admission he ought not to have trusted to the credulity of the committee by stating, 'I do not think that any licensed victuallers would look at the amount of business they do so much as to the inconvenience to their neighbours' by further Sunday restriction! In reference to the somewhat famous interview between Mr. Bright and the Birmingham publicans, he said, 'He gave us some very excellent advice, which we find we cannot possibly carry out.' Mr. W. Aitken, a schoolmaster of Ashton-under-Lyne—from whom it was extracted that he had been asked when sitting in a public-house to appear before the committee, the chief inviter being a publican—was exceedingly dogmatic till a succession of questions bearing on some antecedent events in his career brought his examination to a sudden close. Mr. W. Rea, of Stockport, deposed to the inconvenience Mr. Smith's bill would occasion the collectors of burial societies in that town. Mr. J. Henshall,

of West Gorton, near Manchester, professed to speak against the bill as a Unitarian Sunday-school teacher, but was compelled to admit that the annual assembly of the Unitarian churches in Lancashire and Cheshire had just petitioned in favour of it. On June 25th, Mr. George Candelet, secretary of the Manchester and Salford Licensed Victuallers' Association, and secretary of the Provincial Licensed Victuallers' Defence League, composed of 5,430 publicans, residing in about thirty towns, was examined at considerable length, but nothing new and true was elicited by the 250 questions asked, except the admission that the friendly societies might satisfactorily arrange their affairs if public-houses were not open as at present on the Sunday.* The last witness was A. J. Johnes, Esq., a man of note and influence in Wales, and a County-court judge of great experience, who furnished the committee with valuable statistical evidence as to the wishes of the people, and offered important statements as to the benefits resulting from the prohibitory policy of certain landlords in North Wales. Mr. Johnes having been dismissed—and the majority of hon. members present did not care to protract his examination—the committee decided, as we have before remarked, by a majority of one, Mr. Bright being absent, to report against further restriction. Subsequently, they have so reported; but whether their decision is tested by the number and character of the witnesses, or by the texture and quality of their testimony, it is impossible to regard it as founded on the evidence submitted; and as a body they come fairly within the canon of Publius Syrus—made famous by its adoption as the motto of the *Edinburgh Review*—*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*—the judge himself is found guilty when the culprit is set free. The *nocens* in this particular case, appropriately represented by the Sunday drink

* Mr. Candelet succeeded, however, in insulting Mr. J. A. Smith by remarks which were expunged from the official minutes, after drawing upon himself the rebuke of the chairman. He also allowed it to be understood, in answer to Mr. Berkeley's question, that the Alliance was spending its funds on behalf of the Sunday closing movement, till a more correct, but still inaccurate, version of the facts was extorted from him by Mr. Smith. Mr. Berkeley addressed him as 'an old friend;' and remembering the remarkable genius displayed in 1855 by that hon. member for putting forth as facts the most preposterous arithmetical fables, it is not surprising that his 'old friend,' in making use of a paper purporting to show certain apprehensions for Sunday drunkenness, should have referred to the first column only, showing 606 cases of drunkenness alone, omitting the second column, showing 1,309 cases of drunkenness *with disorder*. Mr. Candelet, when pressed on the point, said the omission was not intentional, but on a subject of so much moment such an omission should have been scrupulously avoided; and to the last he refused to admit that the second column was more important than the first in showing the connection of the sale of intoxicating liquors with Sunday abuses.

traffic, though released by a biassed tribunal, can enjoy only a temporary respite. In a court of Parliamentary inquiry, one verdict of 'not guilty' is not a final discharge; and when the cause recently closed is re-opened, as it must be before long, another and truer finding will be delivered, vindicatory of those public interests that have been too long sacrificed to the shameful terror with which the liquor dealers have hitherto inspired the professed representatives of the British nation.

THE PRESERVATION OF COMMONS AND OPEN SPACES.

IT is painful to reflect upon the private greed which in so many cases has been permitted to obliterate public rights in our own country. Especially have the rights of common over open spaces suffered; and inclosure after inclosure is still being perpetrated in disregard, or in defiance, of them. The apathy of the public upon most matters affecting their social condition is largely to blame in this matter. Had our forefathers carefully watched the slight encroachments made on their rights of common, and taken measures to prevent their repetition, much of the mist that hangs about this portion of our legal code would never have arisen. The mist, however, is by no means so dense as some people wish to make it appear, and it is gradually clearing off. Still, much misapprehension exists on the part of the public as to the relative rights of lords and commoners to the waste lands of manors; we will, therefore, endeavour to explain some circumstances connected with their history.

During the rule of the Anglo-Saxon kings, there was felt to be a want of cohesion of interests between the monarch and his subjects. The latter certainly owed and gave allegiance to his royal power, but that was all. There was none or little of that unanimity of sentiment and action which constitutes the power and strength of a nation, and without which a monarch is such only in name. To remedy this unwholesome state of things, and at the same time to reconcile the petty differences that were continually taking place, certain plots of land were parcelled out and granted to the most influential supporters of the throne; the grant, nevertheless, was not unconditional, as the lord of the manor (for such he was thenceforth to be called) was compelled to under-

take certain duties in return for the favour shown to him. He was the military head of his district, as well as the dispenser of justice. His duties in the latter capacity were rather onerous, comprising the holding of three distinct courts. The Court Leet took cognizance of criminal offences, and with the exception of a few privileged persons, all residents were obliged to attend it. The holding of this court was no doubt a severe tax on the time of the lord of the manor, and it is highly probable that he felt greatly relieved when the incubus was taken from him and transferred to the justices of the peace. The second court was the Court Baron, and related only to freeholders and their rights. The third, called the Customary Court, was exclusively connected with copyholders and actions that might arise affecting their interests. It will appear, therefore, that the duties of a lord of the manor were not of such a shadowy nature as many people have considered; on the contrary, they involved a considerable amount of time and attention, scarcely adequate, though, we should think, to the value of the property with which the lord was endowed.

But apart from what may be regarded as the freehold of the manor, and yet attached to it, were certain waste or common lands which, though often originally of great extent, were considered as almost valueless, because of their being wild and uncultivated. The property in the soil of these wastes was vested in the lord of the manor, subject to certain rights of his tenants. These rights varied somewhat in different manors, but generally consisted of common of pasture, which is 'a right of taking a produce of land by the mouths of the cattle;' common of estovers, or the right of cutting wood for fuel, for making fences, and for the repair of the house and implements of husbandry; common of turbary, or the right of cutting turf for fuel; and common of piscary, or the right of fishing. While the rights of common exercised by the freeholders exist by virtue of a direct grant made by the lord of the manor at the time when they first entered into possession of their estates, the rights of the copyholders are proved by prescription, the supposition, however, being that originally grants were made in their favour. But whether such be the case or not, the existence of such rights would be taken as proved if it could be shown that they had been exercised from time immemorial, which, in law, means from the accession of Richard I. Even this it is thought would not be necessary, as, coming under the operation of the Prescription Act, a proof of their uninterrupted use for thirty years would constitute a sound legal claim.

There are some customs which from their very unreason-

lords are such as to place the lowest possible value on claims advanced by commoners, and yet, should they desire to inclose, or, as it is technically called, 'approve' any waste land as against copyholders, it is necessary for them to establish, first, the existence of a custom authorising the Customary Court to pass a resolution in favour of an inclosure; and secondly, that every copyholder has given his unqualified consent to such resolution, else it is not valid; and this will be to lords of manors an insuperable difficulty, as in most manors some copyholders will be found that are not desirous of such a proceeding; and then, again, should any of them be minors, their consent would not be admissible. It will be clear, therefore, that when such a custom exists it is almost impossible to effect an inclosure, as a diversity of opinion is sure to be found among those interested. Granting, however, that perfect and absolute unity and unanimity were found, and that the resolution were duly passed by the court, another difficulty would arise, viz., that such resolution would empower the lord to 'approve' only as against copyholders, and would leave the rights of freeholders to common as perfect and as uncontrolled as ever. Finding in times gone by that the freeholders were always standing between them and their long-wished-for Eldorado, they applied to Parliament in the reign of Henry III., complaining that they could not make a profit of the residue of their manors, as of wastes, woods, and pastures, although there was more pasturage than was necessary for the freeholders' use, and asking for the enactment of a measure which would place them in a more independent position as regarded their power of approving. As the result of this petition, a statute was passed which is generally known as the Statute of Merton, because of its having been enacted at that place, empowering lords of manors to approve against freeholders so far as concerns common of pasture, provided a surplus be left sufficient for their use. The rights of freeholders are thus recognised in a manner that must, we think, carry conviction to the mind of every thinking person. The proof of sufficiency of pasture being left for the use of the freeholders rests with the lord of the manor, and we are prone to believe that the establishment of that proof would be no easy task. Assuming, then, that the lord was not successful in obtaining the consent of those whose consent was absolutely necessary before he could legally inclose, there was but one other resource open to him, that of applying to Parliament for an Inclosure Act; and the great expense attending such proceedings, with the consequent uncertainty of success, may probably account for the comparatively small number of in-

stances in which such Acts were applied for. This is borne out by the following quotation from one of the Reports issued by the Board of Agriculture, which is appended to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons which sat in 1795, under the presidency of Sir John Sinclair:—

'It is a well known fact that no common-field land, or commonable land, can be inclosed without an express Act of Parliament, unless, indeed, by the consent of all persons interested; but from the nature and disposition of mankind, such a consent is difficult to be obtained, and particularly where some of the parties are minors, abroad, or labour under any legal disqualification. It is, indeed, almost impossible to procure such consent. With interests so clashing, and difficulties so various, Parliament becomes the only resource; but what with the expense in carrying the Bills through both Houses of Parliament (and which, for aught we know, may be extremely proper), together with the much greater expense of bringing the parties to London, there to wait the unavoidable delays occasioned by other more important concerns of Parliament, until decision shall take place upon the subject, operate in many cases as a powerful discouragement to undertakings of this nature, and not unfrequently to an entire exclusion from the attempt.'

About the termination of the last century there was a great scarcity of corn in the country, and with the view of remedying this deficiency and simplifying and harmonising the mode of procedure adopted for the attainment of inclosures, the Legislature passed a general Inclosure Act, and thus diminished the numerous and heavy expenses attendant on the passing of private bills. The policy of inclosure, however, was adopted in the interests of the public, and not for the personal aggrandisement of lords of manors. This is an important feature, and one upon which great stress was laid by Sir John Sinclair's Committee in 1795, as will be seen by the following extracts from their report:—

'In general, those who make any observations on the improvement of land, reckon alone on the advantages which the landlord reaps from an increased income; whereas, in a national point of view, it is not the addition to the rent, but to the produce of the country, that is to be taken into consideration. * * * * * * * * Before concluding this address, it is necessary to take notice of one important circumstance. For some years past this kingdom has been under the necessity of importing grain from other countries; and the importation seeming to increase, rather than otherwise, it was seriously apprehended that this country could not furnish grain sufficient for the use of its inhabitants. * * * * * * * * * When it is considered the high price which grain and other articles of provision bear at present, and the consequences which might arise were these articles to become still scarcer and more expensive, it surely cannot require any additional arguments to prove the necessity of not losing an instant in taking such measures as may be thought most advisable, for the purpose of acquiring from extensive tracts, situated in the very bosom of our country, the certain means of national subsistence and prosperity.'

Despite this emphatic declaration that the policy of inclosure was adopted more for public than private reasons, some of the most recent writers on the subject have urged a contrary view, evidently because it would scarcely suit their purpose to grant that the public, as such, were recognised by our early legislators.

This is undoubtedly an inconvenient fact, as it places them on the horns of a dilemma, compelling them either to repudiate and deny *in toto* the statements of a Parliamentary Committee made after careful consideration and due inquiry, or to concede that the interests of the public were considered even more than the desires of the lords of manors. Finding themselves in such an awkward situation, they have chosen to deny the truth of the assertion made by Sir J. Sinclair's Committee, although it is strongly supported by the opinion of Mr. Justice Ashurst.

Again, they maintain that copyholders' rights had not sprung into existence at the time when the Statute of Merton was passed; and yet, strangely enough, they contend that such rights were controlled by that statute. One writer, after labouring hard to prove that such rights are of a modern date, says:—

'It does not, however, follow that copyholders' rights, as afterwards established, would interfere with the operation of the statute, nor am I aware of any authority for the proposition.'

This language, besides being ambiguous, is calculated to lead to much misconception. The writer intends, we suppose, to say that the modern right, although fully recognised as such by the law, would be and is utterly useless as against a statute passed probably scores of years before the right was established, and certainly before its existence could have been contemplated; or, in other words, to say that a copyholder's legal right is no right at all. To a non-legal mind this is an anomalous state of things not in the least calculated to increase respect for the law. The Statute of Merton was passed to give lords of manors power to approve (inclose) against freeholders only, and as there were then no copyholders' rights, power to approve against them could not have been intended. Some time after the passing of that Act the rights of copyholders began to be recognised, and as these rights interfered somewhat with the wholesale inclosures of lords of manors, our friends desire to assert that they also were in part curtailed by the Act. But to curtail a right which is said to have had no existence, would indeed be strange. If, then, these copyholders' rights date from a period subsequent to the passing of the Statute of Merton, and are legally recognised as rights; and if no measure has since been enacted restricting their exercise, they must, one would think, be perfectly valid and uncontrolled. At least, such is the common-sense view of the matter, supported also by the opinions of many eminent lawyers.

Assuming, as we may fairly do, that the inclosure policy

was dictated by the necessities of the times, and principally for the public good; and that such necessities do not now exist, but that on the other hand the exigencies of the times tend to preservation rather than inclosure, it will be apparent that there is no glaring inconsistency in the House of Commons pursuing a policy similar to that which has recently characterised their proceedings in connection with this subject. The modern advocates of inclosure do not ask that the system may be pursued so as to facilitate the increase of the production of corn, nor do they for one moment contemplate that if they were to succeed in their project, the waste lands would be put to any such purpose; on the contrary, their only object appears to be to destroy these natural parks in order to erect numberless dwellings, and thus put into the coffers of lords of manors and speculative builders enormous sums of money. The continual growth of the metropolis and our large towns and cities renders it imperatively necessary that some provision should be made to secure for the use of the public the large open spaces which invariably surround our populous towns, where the pent-up resident of the city can refresh and invigorate his wearied frame.

Recognising the importance of this, a committee of the House of Commons sat in the early part of 1865, under the presidency of Mr. John Locke, Q.C., and, after a lengthened deliberation as to 'the best means of preserving for the use of the public the forests, commons, and open spaces near the metropolis,' they made two reports which have since furnished the basis of a bill introduced by the Right Hon. W. Cowper on behalf of the late Government. This bill had a comparatively difficult transit through the two Houses, but ultimately, with a few modifications, received the Royal assent. The leading features of this Act are, that the Inclosure Commissioners are not in future to entertain any application for the inclosure of the whole or a part of any common or other open space within the Metropolitan Police district; and that the lord of the manor, the commoners, or other local authority, may present a memorial for the preservation of the open spaces in their immediate vicinity; such memorial to embody a draft scheme which shall make due provision for the draining, sewering, and otherwise ornamenting of these natural parks, the expenses connected with which are to be defrayed by a local rate levied for the purpose. After the presentation of this memorial to the Inclosure Commissioners, an assistant commissioner will be appointed by them to visit the locality, take evidence respecting it, call a meeting of those interested (if necessary), and obtain as far as possible a correct estimate

of the views of the residents in the neighbourhood. The Inclosure Commissioners will then, if they deem it advisable, prepare a scheme and submit it to those most immediately connected with it—after which it will be laid before Parliament for approval and adoption. Should it happen, however, that there are any hostile petitions, it will be referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons, who will investigate the matter and report.

The Act just alluded to applies only to commons and open spaces situated within fifteen miles of Charing Cross; and commons outside that boundary can be legally inclosed only by the consent of all parties interested, or by an application to the Inclosure Commissioners. The general Inclosure Act has been modified and altered from time to time, one of the conditions now existing being that a certain portion of the common intended to be inclosed shall be set apart as a kind of village green for recreation purposes. When the inclosure at Chigwell, in Essex, was suggested, eight or ten acres only were intended to be set apart for the use of the public, but the Legislature refused to give its sanction to the undertaking unless fifty acres were reserved as a recreation ground for the people. This seems tantamount to asserting that where the public have, by the acquiescence of both the lord and commoners of a manor, used a common as a place of enjoyment and recreation for a long period, they have, by virtue of such use, obtained an easement over the common, and a dedication to the public will then be inferred.

The legal rights of common, if duly exercised, will tend in a great measure to retain the advantages to the public resulting from such spaces being kept open and uninclosed; still, there can be no doubt that more legislative action on the subject is urgently needed, so that the desirability of having the common lands preserved, particularly when situated near large towns, may be realised by the actual fact. The theory now most current is, that while villages have an undoubted right to greens and recreation grounds, cities and large towns are devoid of any such right. This seems absurd on the face of it, and we hope will not long retain possession of the public mind. The larger the town, the greater the necessity for such open spaces; and we, therefore, hail with satisfaction the Metropolitan Commons Act, which forbids the Inclosure Commissioners from inclosing any common lands within fifteen miles of London, and also provides the machinery for the preservation of these open spaces, when the inhabitants residing near them are public-spirited enough to set the Act in motion. This legislation is in the right direction, and we anticipate that the success

attending its operation will be such as to warrant the extension of the Act to the whole country. The temptations to inclose are now greater than at any previous time, in consequence of the increased value of land: hence the necessity for further action on the part of the public.

PAWNBROKING.

EITHER the real necessities of many people have unduly increased with the growing prosperity of the nation, or their improvidence has allowed their wants to run ahead of their means. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, the habit of pawning personal property of late years has become quite common among classes of persons who some time ago would have been ashamed to have had recourse to such a method of raising money.

Sixty years ago public opinion was anything but favourable either to pawnbrokers or to the class who made use of them. At that time, in many places with which the writer was acquainted, it would have been a serious cause of reproach to any person laying claim to respectability to have been known to have pledged any personal property. Some of the people engaged in the business were then so much under the influence of public opinion that they were actually ashamed to hoist the insignia of their trade; or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that they felt that the sign of the 'Balls' would have had a tendency to keep away the needy members of society. In the early part of the present century, it was quite a common thing in many of our provincial towns for this business to be carried on *sub rosa*. Things have wonderfully changed since then. The great body of the people seem to have been relieved of all such delicacy. The gilded symbols of the trade are seen in nearly all the public thoroughfares of every town and not a few of the villages in the kingdom, and these signs are now common.

It would seem that wherever trade and commerce take root, pawnbrokers' establishments, like nettles near a human habitation, are sure to spring into existence, and with the gin palaces, come in for a large share of the produce of the people's labour. It may be observed that both these places of business flourish to the greatest advantage in districts occupied by the labouring classes. The constant dribbling of

the poor people's pence is more than equivalent to the shillings of the middle classes.

It may be of some little interest to the uninitiated members of society to know who are the parties who keep the machinery of the pawnbrokers' establishments lubricated, so that the friction does not overcome the motive power. There are four distinct classes of people who have dealings with the 'uncle' to the unfortunate and improvident members of society. These may be classified. First come persons in business who occasionally are unable to meet the demands of their creditors, or who run short of money to pay wages to their workpeople. One division of this class have no friends to aid them in their difficulties, and the other are too independent to place themselves under obligations either to friends or relations, so they leave their deposits under the three balls with the comfortable impression that whatever they have left will have increased in value at the rate of twenty per cent. when they may call for it. The second class are more numerous than the above, and have more just demand on our sympathy. The members of this class belong to that struggling order of humanity who have been overtaken by some one or other of those misfortunes or calamities which are continually sporting with human happiness in an artificial state of society. As a general rule, the great bulk of the property pledged by the members of this class is never redeemed, for the simple reason that a large number of them fall down to the bottom of the social system —or into the grave. The pawnbrokers are aware that the people who form this class are not likely to be able to redeem their pledges, however valuable they may be either intrinsically or otherwise, and the amount lent upon them is regulated by a knowledge of this circumstance. We have known many a hard battle between the lingering pride of respectability and the pangs of hunger fought by people who were falling from positions of social comfort into the black gulph of abject poverty, before they could avail themselves of the relief to be obtained in one of these establishments. There is a much greater number in this class than is generally supposed. Those of whom it is formed seldom parade their miseries before the vulgar gaze. In the large towns of Great Britain there are thousands of people who are continually gravitating from one platform to another in the social system, and many of them are virtually down at the bottom before they are aware of the full measure of their misfortunes.

The third class of pledgers is made up of two sorts of people; the first division comprises mechanics, artisans, and gentlemen's servants who are unemployed; and the second consists of

a number of lounging, lazy, dissipated men, who have a sincere hatred of work and an inordinate love for drink.

The fourth class is more numerous than all the others put together. This, too, may be said to consist of two distinct divisions. The first is composed of slatternly, careless, and improvident married women, many of whom have good incomes, but, in consequence of their mismanagement and general thriftlessness, they are continually living from hand to mouth. We know many women of this kind who make a habit of pawning the Sunday suits of their husbands and sons as regularly as the Monday comes round; all they care about is to raise the money, and if it ever strikes them that they are paying the brokers fifty-two months' interest instead of twelve months', and four shillings and fourpence for tickets instead of one penny in the year, it gives them no trouble. It is quite a common thing for women of this class to involve their husbands in both debt and disgrace by getting from 'Tally-men' articles of clothing, either such as they do not need, or as are unsuitable for their social position. Many of the articles thus obtained are sent out upon interest, and goods of this class are seldom redeemed. The second division of the fourth class of pledgers is almost wholly constituted of women of dissipated habits. As a general rule the members of this worthless body are full of deceit and mean selfishness, they are wanting in shame and all feelings of self-respect, and many of them will stoop to anything, however degrading, in order to gratify their morbid love of stimulants. This class of women are continually breaking down both the moral and physical energies of numbers of industrious, sober, and well-conducted men, and covering their homes with the black pall of desolation. If the hellish scenes which are constantly being enacted by these alcoholic furies in the homes of working men could only be exposed to the public gaze in all their hideousness, the well-conducted members of society would be appalled at the sight. Unless some restraint can be put upon the actions of the class of women who have become confirmed drunkards, they soon swallow the contents of any working man's house. We have known many instances in which well-furnished houses have been dissolved into alcohol, through the aid of pawnbrokers, in a very short time. If a working man is cursed with a wife of this description and a family of young children, what can he do to relieve himself? He cannot afford to send the wife to an asylum; and if he leaves her, what is to become of his family? It may be, too, that the man clings to the hope that his poor wife may yet reform, and, though she has outraged all the best feelings of his nature, he cannot

forget that she was once the idol of his heart. There are thousands of industrious, well-conducted men, who would hail a period, even though it should be a short one, of sobriety on the part of their wives as a time of the sunshine of domestic happiness. Many of these men never cease hoping; and bear their heavy loads of misery in silence. But with the best tempered and even the most forgiving of men the home of the drunkard can never be one of peace.

It will be seen from what has been said that to the first two classes in the catalogue of pledgers, pawnbrokers' establishments are really useful places of business; and, though the members of the second are seldom able to redeem their pledges, they are really no worse off than if they had sold their property to people who did not require it. Moreover, by having had recourse to the 'uncle' of the public, they have been saved the disagreeable necessity of hunting for customers for their property and advertising their own necessities. But, although pawnbrokers are useful to the class of people who are continually being stranded on barren shores by the action of the great gulf-stream of commerce, we are much afraid that their evil influence upon the lives and fortunes of the other two classes more than counterbalances that usefulness. It must be pretty plain to most people who are at all acquainted with the social condition of the pledgers at the bottom of our list, that were it not for the aid of the pawnbrokers they could not have the means of patronising the gin shops and degrading themselves to the extent they do.

The conductors of pawnbroking establishments, we dare say, seldom or never look at their business and its bearing upon society from a moral point of view. They know that the trade is a legal one, and that they pay for a government license. But, unquestionably, the pawnbroker is continually aiding in generating vice, crime, and madness, with all their train of horrors. It is a great misfortune that one class of men should be habitually engaged in assisting the members of another class to bring ruin upon themselves and misery upon their families, without intending any harm. Yet it is so. Every shilling lent by a pawnbroker to a drunken woman is virtually a ticket for so much poison in the gin shop, and an additional contribution to the misery of her husband and children, if she has any. An army of married women make use of pawnbrokers' establishments for their own destruction and that of the comfort, happiness, and peace of their families. Besides, by their example, relaxing the bonds of public morality, by vitiating their natural constitutions they become the mothers of a degenerate race. The sins of a drunken mother are not

only liable to be visited upon her offspring by physical debility, but the children are too likely to inherit her craving for stimulants, and these penalties for the violation of the natural law are frequently extended to the third and fourth generation.

We do not wish to be understood as implying that pawnbrokers, as a class, are less honest or more heartless than the members of other commercial or trading portions of the community. So far as the pawnbroking business is concerned, there is perhaps less trickery in its management than there is very commonly in most of the other branches of trade in which the public are interested. We have shown that pawnbrokers' establishments are very useful to a comparatively small number of people, and in this respect they may be accepted as valuable institutions. But the misfortune is, that they are not only a positive evil to the great majority of people who use them, but that the evil is multiplied by the manner in which it is made to re-act on society. Every respectable member of society looks, of course, upon a drunken woman as a shame and a reproach to the community in which she lives. Habitual drunkards are callous to all the best feelings of human nature, and the only real sympathy they possess is for their swine-trough stomachs. If female intemperance were extinguished, the majority of the pawnbrokers' establishments would tumble down of their own accord.

A short time ago we had occasion to be in a pawnbroker's establishment in one of the busy trading and industrial centres of which the great City of London is formed; and having some little time at our disposal, we made up our mind to learn a fresh lesson in social science. We were fortunately placed in a position where we could see and hear all that was going on without being noticed, and as it was on a Monday evening when large numbers of deposits are made, our time was pretty well occupied in observing the manner and appearance of the customers as they presented themselves. When we took up our position there were several women, all of whom were pledging men's wearing apparel, the holiday clothing, no doubt, of their husbands or grown-up sons. We saw at once by the familiar and off-handed manner in which they transacted their business, that they were regular weekly customers, and consequently belonged to that thriftless class of housewives who squander a considerable portion of their husbands' hard-earned money in paying interest on loans they would not require if they would only use common prudence. When these customers had passed their rude jokes with the shopman who served them, pocketed their money and tickets, and moved off, the stalls they vacated were imme-

diately filled with a fresh set of customers. In this group there were several old stagers, who, like nearly all the members of their class, seemed rather inclined to court notice than to shun it. But there were three people in as many stalls who belonged to a different order of humanity. The first of these was a middle-aged gentlemanly-looking man. When he entered the box, he cautiously scanned the place, and seemed to keep himself as much out of sight as possible. As soon as a servant of the establishment was ready to wait on him, he pulled out of his pocket a gold watch with copious appendages attached. The question, 'How much?' was put. His answer was 'Twelve pounds.' 'Eleven,' said the shopman. At this I could see a painful shade of disappointment pass over his features. 'I must have twelve,' he said, 'it is for a special purpose, and nothing less will do; surely,' he added, 'you can let me have that sum; the watch and the appendages cost me forty guineas.' After this the shopman took the watch into the counting-house, where the proprietor was engaged with some people on business. A short consultation sufficed. The shopman returned and paid the advance sought. During the time the amount of the loan was undecided, the gentleman was evidently in a very uncomfortable condition of mind. It was evident from his manner that the realisation of the sum he sought was a matter of no trifling consequence either to himself or some person in whom he had a deep interest. He may have required the amount to make up the sum necessary to take up a bill, and thereby save his commercial credit; or, it may be, it was the sum required to keep the brokers from stripping his house, and thereby leaving himself and family without a home. For whatever purpose the twelve pounds were required, he evidently left with his mind relieved of a serious trouble. In two stalls, one on each side of that left empty by the man who had just gone out, were two women waiting to be served. Both were young; one was seemingly a wife, and the other had evidently never been in matrimonial harness. Both were something more than pretty, but the lineaments of their faces wore a marked difference. The married one had an infant in her arms, and though she had a jaded and melancholy look, the sweet innocent prattle of her child occasionally sent a beam of brightness over her sad features, which was like the sunshine chasing the shadows from a beautiful landscape. When she was waited upon, we could see that her pledges consisted of a number of small articles of jewellery, among which were three gentleman's rings, and what appeared to be a very handsome brooch. She readily got what she asked; but when the shopman had care-

fully folded the articles up and taken them away, we saw her heart was filled with sorrow, and the tide of her grief flowed through her eyes. Poor woman, she was not alone in her sorrow. She had unknownly made another heart sad beside her own. We could have wished ourselves away, but we were chained to the spot. When she left we set ourselves to speculate upon the cause of her being obliged to have recourse to a method of raising money which was evidently distasteful. We were satisfied from her jaded and care-worn look that her husband was on a bed of sickness. Was the partner of her sorrows a reckless, dissipated young man, who, regardless of the love and duty which he owed to his wife and child, had hurried onward to the jaws of a premature death? Had the evil genius of gambling caused him to lose caste, and to live on the outside of society? If so, though deserted by all the world, his wife evidently clung to him with a love that never cooled, and a hope that continually chased away the shadows of despair. Or, perhaps, he had got into the hands of that smooth-faced visitant, that recruiting sergeant for the worms, better known by the name of Consumption, and his poor wife was making every possible sacrifice to prolong a rapidly terminating existence.

The second young woman, in the sad and mournful features of her youthful face, evinced a sorrow that was too great to be relieved by tears. She was of a medium height, and her form was faultless. All the lineaments of her face were harmonized into something like perfect beauty, and that beauty was heightened by the quiet grief which rested in silence there. She had to wait some time before any of the servants were at liberty to attend to her. We were so deeply interested in that poor girl's condition, and the cause of her grief, that if we had had it in our power, we certainly could not have rested until we had learned something of her history, and endeavoured to mitigate her sufferings. While she waited, she neither looked to the right nor the left; instead of regarding external objects, her vision seemed to be keeping company with her busy memory. At last when she was attended to, we observed that she offered what appeared to us to be a lady's very valuable gold watch. When the shopman inquired how much she wanted upon it, she seemed to think that the answer to that question rested entirely with himself. Seeing it was left to him, the shopman said he would advance her ten pounds. A rippling shade of pleasing melancholy passed over her features, as if she felt an inward relief; she passed out into the big world of London, and we were left full of sad conjecture. We knew that girl's grief was not for herself. Was that watch pledged in

order to obtain the common necessaries of life for a father or a mother who had been nursed in affluence, to prevent a heartless landlord from sending them into the streets as houseless wanderers? Or was the money raised to endeavour to keep the spark of life whose oil was all but exhausted in some relation with whose existence her own was lovingly entwined?

During the time we were observing this young woman a number of regular customers had cracked their jokes (some of which were anything but feminine), had pocketed their money, and moved off; but just as the girl left, a half tipsy man, seemingly a mechanic, offered a shirt which was evidently warm from his body. He got for it sixpence, less the price of the ticket for his pledge, and we should say that that poor infatuated fellow did not go beyond the accommodating house at the opposite corner before he swallowed the proceeds of his shirt. If that man was a husband and a father, God help his wife and family, and God help him too. When a man gets so far lost to feelings of decency and self-respect as to pawn his clothing or his tools for drink, his case is a hopeless one indeed.

Two women now took their places in neighbouring stalls; they were of very dissimilar character. The youngest of the two was a poor, miserable, half-naked, wholly dissipated-looking creature, with a sickly infant in her arms; the poor little thing was endeavouring to draw nutriment from a dirty flaccid breast. In the woman's hand she held a bundle tied up in a filthy rag. While she was being waited upon, she kept her tongue in exercise by talking maudlin twaddle to her child, to the young men of the establishment, and to the other customers who were coming and going. When she unrolled her parcel she exhibited a pair of black trousers, which were, no doubt, her husband's best. Upon these she got two shillings and sixpence. She gathered up her change and ticket, and staggered into the street, a thing to be scorned and pitied.

The other woman was a clean, tidy, respectable-looking person, with an anxious and somewhat care-worn expression of countenance. She was evidently a stranger to the business of pledging, and did all she could to shun observation. Her property consisted of two cloth suits of boy's clothing. It was evident from the appearance of the woman, and the character of the pledges, that the necessity requiring her to part with these things only for a short time must have been urgent indeed. Had her husband lost his work from slackness of trade? Had he been obliged to leave his employment from sickness, accident, or settled ill-health? Or had they run in arrears of rent from sickness or death in their

family? We know that some calamity had overtaken that poor woman in the shape of a domestic affliction, otherwise she would not have pledged her boy's clothing. We felt for that woman's condition, because we were sure that her misfortune, whatever it might be, was not of her own seeking. Our attention was next drawn to a rude sensual-looking woman, who seemed to be in that condition which is neither termed drunk nor sober. She wore a bold, cunning leer, which appeared to imply that she knew quite well what she was doing, and that she did not care for the opinion of any human being. She had scarcely got into the box, ere she was followed by a youth who told the people in the place that she had stripped a young man of his waistcoat in the open street while under the influence of drink. The garment she carried openly in her hand. After this information she was ordered to leave the premises, but it was only by force that the servants of the establishment could eject her.

This sort of business is quite common in all the back slums both in London and in all the large towns in the kingdom, and the goods thus obtained are readily disposed of at from a sixth to a tenth of their value. The fact is, the pawnshop is a receptacle for all sorts of marketable commodities, and that too often irrespective of how they may have been obtained. The pawnbrokers who keep a conscience know pretty well, as a general rule, when they have goods offered them that have not been got honestly, and steer clear of them; but there are not a few in the trade who are not troubled with scruples, and who endeavour to make hay by moonlight.

Stripping drunken men, and even people who are sober, is a thing of hourly occurrence in London; and, in the slang of the professional thieves, nearly the whole of the property so obtained 'goes up the spout.' When it is stated that the number of people employed in this business of conveyancing, embracing young and old, male and female, would form a large colony, some little idea may be formed of the temptations to which pawnbrokers are exposed and the dangers with which their business is beset.

The next person we felt an interest in was a pretty-featured, pale-faced, sickly-looking woman. Poor creature! It did not require the practised eye of a medical man to tell that she was consumptive. The hectic stars on her bleached cheeks told but too truly of the fatal pulmonary action which was wasting her young life away. Her visit to the sign of the three balls was evidently a very unpleasant duty, and the nature of her pledges furnished proof that some urgent and immediate demand required to be satisfied. The four articles

of wearing apparel which she offered were evidently her own personal property. They were of good material, had been little if at all worn, and were in all probability the last remaining articles from the wreck of a happier time. The purpose for which they were being pledged was no doubt of a special character, inasmuch as she, poor woman, sought a sum much below what she could have had, the amount being fifteen shillings. Was this money wanted to save herself and an infirm mother or father from being turned into the streets? Was it to satisfy the demand of some importunate creditor? Or was it to pay a fine for some reckless brother, whose dissipated habits had not been reclaimed by the fallen fortunes of his family? Whatever may have been the cause of her visit, we were quite satisfied that her errand was one of duty and mercy, and when she left we wished her a speedy end to her trials.

The cases which we have described were supplemented by those of several women, some with infants in their arms, and all in various stages of intoxication, who left their pledges and hurried away to add to their demoralisation and the misery of their husbands and families.

PASTOR FLIEDNER.

THE death of Pastor Fliedner was reported in 'Meliora' soon after its much and widely lamented occurrence. We are indebted to Catherine Winkworth for the publication in this country, through Messrs. Longman, Green, and Co., of a 'Life'—much too brief—of the good pastor, translated from the German. It is by its aid that we are enabled to place before those of our readers to whom Pastor Fliedner is as yet no more than a name, proof sufficient that that name deserves in no ordinary measure the high consideration of every philanthropist. To others of our readers the good work accomplished by Fliedner will already have been made familiar by the 'Account of the Institution for Deaconesses,' given to the English world by Miss Nightingale, as well as by Dr. Howson's book on 'Deaconesses,' and the Rev. F. Stevenson's on 'Praying and Working.'

Theodore Fliedner was the fourth son in a large family born to a clergyman in Egstein, a little village about ten or twelve miles from Wiesbaden, close to the frontiers of Hesse

and Nassau. The 21st of January in the first year of this century was the birthday of our Theodore; and a fat, healthy child he was, endowed with huge sleeping capacity, and showing then so little of what was to come out of him, that of his intellectual future his father at first had the most indifferent expectations. 'And what do you mean to be?' asked a friend of the father's, when Theodore was in the eighth year of his age. 'Oh,' interposed the father, 'that is my good, little Fatty; he is to be an honest brewer.' But good, little Fatty had thoughts of his own about the matter, and did not approve of this jocular slight from his father. He turned red in the face, crept away, and wept bitterly; for had he not already made up his mind to be nothing less than a proper pastor, like his father and his grandfather before him, and to make himself, as his father had done, of signal use to the neighbourhood? Already the mother had called him to her knee to learn his letters, as she sat in the evenings at her spinning-wheel, and had found the round-headed chubby-cheeked little fellow a scholar both diligent and progressive. And Theodore soon justified his mother's praises when admitted to join a class consisting of his brothers and some boys from the neighbourhood. Although the youngest in the lot, he speedily outstripped the rest, and by the time he had reached twelve or thirteen years of age, his fluent reading of Homer was exhibited with pride by his father. No driving to work was ever requisite in his case. His mind was active, his ambition was high, books were his delight, and often would he sit reading quietly for hours among his noisy playmates, or hidden in the garden or barn to enjoy his reading undisturbed. First at books, yet he was not a mere bookworm; nor was he content to be less than first also in all boyish games. He could run and climb, and defend himself, too, with his fists, with a power that was a caution to boys bigger than he. But his greatest pleasures as a boy were the long walking expeditions in which his father sometimes allowed himself to be accompanied by Theodore; and the various household operations in which he could assist his parents. Thus, in autumn he collected his father's tithes from the peasants' fruit gardens, and kept the accounts of them; in the winter he helped to cut wood by day, and in the long evenings to carve kitchen platters and spoons; in summer he supplied his mother with berries from the woods for her preserve-pots, or waded in amongst and turned over the sharp stones of the brook, hunting for crayfish. A pestilence, engendered by an encampment of Cossacks, with which Egstein was cursed in the closing months of 1813, broke up this happy home life for

Theodore and his ten brothers and sisters; for it carried away the father, and left the widow and her large family wholly unprovided for. However, the open-hearted hospitality and worth of the father had predisposed many to help the bereaved ones; a generous velvet manufacturer, Peter Denninger, of Idstein, offered substantial aid towards sending Theodore and his elder brother to the grammar school; and a subscription in Frankfort provided support for the mother, which the exertions of Theodore and his brother were expected ere long to enlarge. Theodore went to Idstein to school. Denninger found him lodgings in his own house, but from the first the boy had to earn his daily bread and supply his other wants by teaching. Often did he make his own bed, cut up his firewood, clean his boots, mend his stockings, and sew up holes in his trouser-knees with white thread that had to be rendered invisible by aid of the ink bottle. Study was his favourite occupation; and for recreation he read books of travels and lives of great men.

In 1817, Theodore went to the University at Giessen, lodging free at the house of an uncle, but trusting to his own exertions for the rest of his maintenance. When the money he earned was insufficient, help always came in time of need from known or unknown friends; and it was thus that by many an experience of his own he learned to regard himself as one of God's bedesmen. He knew how to make a little go far and do much. He contrived, for instance, to accomplish a foot journey of two hundred miles, through Wurzberg to Nuremberg, on a provision of no more than two gulden, of a third of which sum he was cheated on the very day he set out.

At Giessen he went in for gymnastics, amongst other pursuits, and joined the Society of Gymnasts there, until he discovered that they had revolutionary schemes of which he could not see the propriety. 'Let each one mend one, and the world will soon mend itself,' was his reply to their projects; an answer sufficient, since he had wise reasons for holding aloof, but altogether faulty, of course, if perverted, as some are found doing, to the discouragement of enterprises for ameliorating the condition of others, such as Fliedner also was enabled to initiate in after years. With redoubled ardour he pursued his studies, especially all that promised to be of service in the pastoral office to which he aspired. With the theologic doubts that assume aspects so serious to some youths, he appears not to have been visited. His favourite studies continued to be the lives of great men; and in one of his manuscript books were collected the stories of their noble deeds, for an ever-present memorial to him. He fully proposed to be of their

great brotherhood; and even thus early formed plans of future service to be rendered to his fellow-men by Theodore Fliedner.

'Undoubtedly,' he wrote of himself at that time, 'I placed before myself the noble and sacred aim of effecting as much good as possible in my future congregation; but as yet, unfortunately, I knew very little of the right way to do it, because, what is best of all, a knowledge of God, and the blessedness of union with Him, was as yet unknown to my own heart. Such presentiment of it dwelt within me, but dim and indistinct as yet, through my own fault; for all my thoughts were full of doing good to others, and bringing them to God, and it never occurred to me to strive to come to Him myself. Yet how was I to lead them to this great happiness, when I did not possess it myself, did not even clearly understand it? Yet the Lord had patience with me, and led me by the cords of His love, though I thanked Him little for them.'

Meanwhile Fliedner was industriously adding to his stock of knowledge of all kinds, noting down especially all practical hints he came across in domestic medicine and agriculture, the use of which was great in after years, when he became to his flock an adviser in things temporal as well as in the spiritual.

From Giessen, after a brief interval of home life, Theodore and his brother went to Göttingen, where he gave most of his effort to the study of history, philosophy, and whatever else might seem to have special bearing on his own expected vocation, eschewing, however, controversial theology, as seeming to his practical mind to be only barren. His holidays he spent in travelling about North Germany, in his frugal way; making a single gold piece, for example, serve him during a whole month whilst he visited Bremen and Hamburg and Lubeck and the magnificent orphan-house founded by Augustus Franke at Halle.

To receive a final scholastic training, Fliedner went from Göttingen to Herborn. Here he practised preaching and gave theological lessons in the schools. In 1820 he returned to his mother's house at Idstein, giving attention to farming and botany, and earning a little money at the turning-lathe. That summer he passed his final examination with very great credit; and so, at twenty years of age, the young divinity student was declared to be ready to begin the work of the ministry.

First of all, however, he became tutor in the family of a wealthy man at Cologne; and here he discovered the deficiencies in refinement and polish which the poverty of his circumstances had occasioned up to this period. 'It is a great hindrance to a man,' he remarked many years afterwards, 'even to his progress in the kingdom of God, not to have been brought up in gentle and refined manners from his childhood.' He had three boys, and sometimes a little girl, to teach in this family; and with heart and soul he endeavoured to become in every way serviceable to them. At Cologne, Dr. Krafft, a high

dignitary of the Lutheran church, exercised a strong influence upon him.

'Thus it happened one Sunday that Fliedner had been preaching, as he frequently did, for the consistorial councillor. As they came out of church, Krafft asked Fliedner if he did not often feel very nervous as he went up the pulpit stairs. Fliedner promptly replied that if he had learnt his sermon by heart he was not nervous, he had no fear of breaking down. The accomplished preacher to whom he was speaking confessed that he could not say so much for himself; however carefully he might have prepared his discourse, the sense of awe that overcame him as he entered the pulpit would often drive it all out of his head, and he could only sigh. "Lord, help me," and help had never been refused him. "This humility," said Fliedner, "made me ashamed of myself, and the example of his living, indefatigable charity and faith had a powerful effect on my heart, and left on me a permanent impression of the simple truth and saving power of a real Scriptural faith."'

In the autumn of 1821, Fliedner returned home, intending to abandon the pastoral office, for which he no longer felt certain of his fitness. But a young army chaplain, who had known him at Cologne, spoke of him about this time to a leading friend of the church-going people of Kaiserwerth, an obscure village on the Rhine; and this friend strongly urged Fliedner to preach before them on trial. Fliedner did so; and, after some delay, received, to his surprise, a unanimous call to the pastorate. The pecuniary inducement was not strong. The income was to be about £27 per annum, and the parsonage was to be shared with the aged widow of a previous pastor; but Fliedner thought nothing of these drawbacks, and joyfully accepted the invitation at once as a call from God. In the opening of 1822 he was ordained at Idstein; and proceeded at once to Kaiserwerth on foot, in order to spare his poor little flock the expense of a formal reception. Having been duly installed, he threw himself with zeal into his new duties. He preached, he visited the sick, he endeavoured to provide work, food, or fuel for the poor who needed it, and he became amanuensis to those who were unable to write. The schools had been much neglected, and he strongly interested himself in their revival. He opened a grammar school in his own house, and soon had a mixed company of Roman Catholic and Protestant pupils. To relieve his mother of a heavy charge, he took into his house his two younger brothers and a grown-up sister, Catherine, who became his housekeeper. A sewing school for girls was soon opened under her care.

Not that all things went on prosperously at first with the young pastor. Only a month after his arrival, a great velvet manufacturing firm failed, and swept away not only the chief part of his salary, but also the means of employment relied on by the workpeople who had been paying the rest of the expenses. The little congregation saw itself on the point of dispersion;

and the government offered Fliedner his choice between two better appointments. But no; the hireling might flee, but not the true shepherd; and Fliedner resolved to remain at his post. By teaching the children of some wealthier families, he was able to secure the requisite means; and his people, finding him thus nobly self-sacrificing, strained every nerve to second his efforts. Still, when the utmost was done, it became evident that help from the exterior was requisite, and Fliedner prepared to go on a begging expedition amongst the richer congregations of Berg and Cleves.

The position of Kaiserwerth was, indeed, such as to give it some title to special sympathy from Protestants. It was not till 1777 that the first regular reformed service was performed there; up to that time the Reformation had not extended to that part of the world, except in the person of the Pastor Idiander or Sandermann, who died in prison at Kaiserwerth, at the opening of the seventeenth century, for preaching the Reformed faith. The pastorate of Kaiserwerth, therefore, claimed to be as a light shining in a dark place. Yet it was with a heavy heart that Theodore set off on foot for Elberfelt, for the task was far from congenial to his disposition. Just before coming into Elberfelt, he stopped to rest at a small wayside inn, and here anxiety was so apparent on his face, that an entire stranger accosted him and asked what was the matter. With an overflowing heart Fliedner told his unknown friend how the case stood; and the stranger, bidding him look to the true Helper in this time of need, pressed a small sum into his hand, to which something more was added by the landlord, who had listened to the conversation. Thus encouraged, Fliedner laid his wants before a circle of the younger clergy at the house of Pastor Leipoldt. His modesty and intelligence pleased them, but all agreed, when he was gone, that his shyness would prevent him from ever being a successful beggar. However, at the end of the week, the young pastor was enabled to return home with £180 in his pocket; and, by continued exertions in neighbouring parishes, he succeeded in paying off a heavy debt on the buildings at Kaiserwerth, and thus meet the most pressing difficulty. But it became evident that to ensure the permanence of the work, a much greater effort was necessary. There must be an endowment; and, to obtain this, the pilgrim's staff must be taken into Holland. To Amsterdam, therefore, he went, and here found it necessary to study Dutch hard and fast, in the first place; which done, however, his mission prospered. He afterwards went to Rotterdam, and the other chief towns of Holland, and came back with twenty thousand florins—about

half the sum required for the endowment. For the rest, he saw that he must go to England; and, nothing daunted, to England he went. In February, 1824, he appeared unexpectedly in London at the door of Dr. Steinkopff, who had by letter tried to dissuade him from coming. In seven weeks Fliedner, with the kind aid of Dr. Steinkopff and sundry French and Dutch ministers, and by help of a vigorous study of the English tongue, was prepared to make a commencement in his canvass; actually got the little Princess Victoria for his first subscriber; was patronised by many other members of the royal family, nobility, and clergy; and, in short, within five months found himself in possession of £700, raised in London and Oxford alone. In August he returned to Kaiserworth with a heart brimfull of joy on account of this success; and, with something to boot, of much more value than all else that he had gained.

'In both these Protestant countries,' he wrote afterwards, 'I became acquainted with a multitude of charitable institutions, for the benefit both of body and soul; I saw schools and other educational organisations, almshouses, orphanages, hospitals, prisons, and societies for the reformation of prisoners, Bible and missionary societies, etc., etc.; and at the same time I observed that it was a living faith in Christ which had called almost every one of these institutions and societies into life, and still preserved them in activity. This evidence of the practical power and fertility of such a principle had a most powerful influence in strengthening my own faith, as yet very weak. The deepest impression was made upon me by the majestic, world-wide activity of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and again by the Society for the Improvement of Prisons, into whose detailed working I was initiated by the venerable Dr. Steinkopff.'

These practical lessons fell, in Fliedner, into good ground, and brought forth much noble fruit.

For twenty-seven years he continued to be the pastor at Kaiserwerth; never limiting his performances by his bare obligations, but freely engaging in every labour that it was permitted him to undertake. He possessed, from his early days, a very unusual force of character, and had strong desire for action, and pleasure in hard work. In his pastorate he took great pains with his sermons. In the schools, besides exercising supervision over the master, he undertook the whole religious instruction, even of the youngest child. For a long time he conducted a Sunday school for the elder boys, until it grew into a Young Men's Institute and Temperance Society, which even many Roman Catholics attended. At his parsonage the children of his congregation were always welcome guests. A large garden, added to the parsonage in 1824, was freely opened to them on Sunday afternoons. The pastor loved children, and knew well how to make himself charming as well as instructive to them. For example, he told them lively stories with appropriate action. 'The boys

told how on one occasion, for instance, the fall of a wanderer into an unsuspected abyss, was illustrated by the sudden and unexpected disappearance of the boy who chanced to sit next to Fliedner under the table.' Again, once when they were singing a song about Goliath the giant, and had come to the line describing his fall, down came Fliedner on the ground and lay there motionless, to the great delight of the little spectators.

His first extension of philanthropic labour beyond his pastorate appears to have been for the benefit of convicts. Nothing corresponding with the reforms instituted in prisons in England at the instance of Elizabeth Fry and others had been accomplished in Germany. The convicts were crowded in narrow, dirty cells, often in damp cellars, dark and close; no classification was attempted; no chaplaincies existed; and no schools. The prisons themselves were, indeed, high schools of vice and crime. This dreadful state of things was known only to few, and of these none did more than sketch out some plan of reform, which it was left to the State to adopt if it pleased. Yet why should not the true friends of their race, said Fliedner, unite here as well as in Holland and England, and achieve the like results? He considered that he had both time and strength to devote to the work, and he felt urgently impelled to make a beginning. Of course, obstacles were placed in his way, and difficulties required to be overcome. But he persevered; for three years he acted as volunteer chaplain at Dusseldorf, six miles from his own place; no frost, no storm, ever prevented him from duly walking that distance to his work; not even an attack of spitting of blood, brought on by over-work, induced him to desist. After working in this and other ways, and accumulating a store of information about prison management acquired in visits which he paid to all the prisons of the Rhenish provinces, he commenced, in 1826, the first Prisoners' Society in Germany, to procure in all the prisons of Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia the classification and employment of the prisoners, the appointment of schoolmasters and chaplains, and the assistance of prisoners after their release. He received much assistance in this work, and whilst awaiting, in 1827, the sanction of the government for his proceedings, he again visited Holland and Frieseland, to examine in detail the prison management of those countries. Of his observations on this journey he published an account; and, in short, through his initiative and laborious aid, notwithstanding serious obstacles, he accomplished the great changes on which he had set his heart.

It was Fliedner's care for the convicts that led to his introduction to Frederica Münster of Braunfels, who had shown much willingness and aptitude in philanthropic work, and in whom he hoped to find a suitable Christian head-matron for the women's wards in one of the prisons. Frederica was willing to undertake the duty, if the consent of her parents could be obtained, but this was decidedly refused. It was a great cross to Frederica, and she almost trembled to meet the eye of the stern young Pastor Fliedner, for she knew and admired his burning zeal, and was sorry to disappoint him. But to her surprise, he listened to her report with only a kindly and quiet air; he was, in fact, secretly glad of the refusal, regarding it as an indication from Providence that he might seek to win her for himself, since he could not obtain her for his convicts.

Their marriage took place in 1828. The wife was four days younger than the husband; from her fifteenth year she had filled the place of a mother to a family of ten brothers and sisters; she was pious and good, and for fourteen years she was a faithful wife to Fliedner, and a tender mother to their ten children, of whom seven died before her. Besides all this, her experience, at the head of an institution near Dusseldorf for the rescue of neglected girls, where Fliedner met with her, made her in the outset a valuable assistant to him in his philanthropic work; and under her husband's direction she set on foot a society for the care of the sick and poor in Kaiserwerth, and was a judicious and affectionate superintendent to Fliedner's other institutions in their earliest and most trying years.

We come now to the origin of the charitable associations that have given the name of Fliedner an especial fame. Whilst labouring in the prisons, he had arrived at the conviction that an asylum must be opened where female prisoners who wanted to reform might be sheltered, and trained, and set to work, on their release. In 1833 he commenced such an institution at Kaiserwerth, on no basis except one of faith and love. A little summer-house in the parsonage garden at Kaiserwerth was the germ-cell of a vast growth that ultimately became like a spreading tree, with branches thrust out into many distant countries. The prison at Werden vomited forth a woman—Minna—whom Fliedner dared not leave to the world's mercies. She was lodged temporarily in the summer-house, and a friend of his wife's, Catherine Göbel, undertook the charge of her. Soon a second inmate appeared, and the summer-house became too narrow an abode. It was all very well in the day time, for the women could exist together in the

lower room without discomfort; but the tiny attic above was too small for a sleeping-place for three, and, besides, was only accessible by a ladder. A house was hired, and the good work went on. Money was always wanting, and generally had to be obtained by collections. The spiritual care of deeply degraded women gave yet greater anxiety; but of the first ten inmates, five shewed proof of a change which fully rewarded the good pastor and his assistants. These latter were multiplied as the number of convicts increased; the first 'Deaconess' being assigned to Mademoiselle Göbel about the year 1838. A penitentiary was ere long added to the asylum, and we are told that it still exists with between twenty and thirty inmates.

Three years after the opening of the asylum, Fliedner founded the first of his Deaconess Institutions. Students of the apostolic writings find traces of an order of Female Deacons in the first age of Christianity; but the institution was unknown in the Protestant Churches. Its revival had been mooted in Germany in several quarters; but Fliedner's was the practical hand that accomplished the work.

His own account runs as follows:—

'The state of the sick poor had long weighed heavily on our hearts. How often had I seen them fading away like autumn leaves in their unhealthy rooms, lonely and ill-cared for, physically and spiritually utterly neglected! How many cities, even populous ones, were destitute of hospitals! And where hospitals existed,—I had seen many in my travels through Holland, Brabant, England, and Scotland,—I had not unfrequently found the gates adorned with marbles, when the nursing within was bad. The medical staff complained bitterly of the hireling attendants, of their carelessness by day and by night, of their drunkenness and other immoralities. Little thought was given to that. Hospital chaplains were unknown in many cases, hospital chapels in still more. In the pious old days chapels had always formed a part of such institutions, especially in the Netherlands, where the Protestant hospitals bore the beautiful name of God's Houses, because it was felt that God was especially visiting their inmates to draw them more closely to Himself. Such spiritual care, however, had now almost entirely ceased. Did not such abuses cry to heaven against us? Did not that terrible saying of our Lord apply to us, "I was sick, and ye visited me not?"

'Or should we deem our evangelical Christian women incapable or unwilling to undertake the task of Christian nursing? Had not numbers of them done wonders of self-sacrificing love in the military hospitals during the war of liberation in 1813-15? If, again, the Church of apostolic days had made use of their powers for the relief of its suffering members, and organised them into a recognised body, under the title of deaconesses, and if for many centuries the Church had continued to appoint such deaconesses, why should we longer delay the revival of such an order of handmaids devoted to the service of their Lord? The disposition to active compassion for the sufferings of others, says Luther, is stronger in women than in men. Women who love godliness have often peculiar gifts and grace in the way of comforting others and alleviating their sufferings. It was only necessary that this inborn gift should be aroused and cherished in such women to render them suitable for the office of deaconess, and there must be institutions erected in which they can be trained for the care of the sick, the destitute, or the criminal.

'These reflections left me no peace; and my wife was of the same mind with myself, and of greater courage. But could our little Kaiserwerth be the right place for a Protestant deaconess-house for the training of Protestant deaconesses; a

place where the large majority of the population were Roman Catholics, where there could not even be sick persons enough to furnish a proper training school, and so poor that it could not undertake even partially to defray the great expenses of such an institution? And would not those who had more experience in the care of souls be more adapted to such a difficult undertaking than I could be? I went to my clerical brethren in Dusseldorf, Crefeld, Barmen, etc., and entreated them to consider whether they would not set on foot such an institution, of which, indeed, those places were in pressing want. But all refused, and urged me to put my own hand to the work; I had time with my small congregation; and the large amount of useful knowledge that I had collected on my journeys had not been bestowed on me by God without a purpose. The quietness of retired Kaiserwerth would be very advantageous to such a training school, and God could send thither the needful money, and the sick people, and nurses too. So we discerned that it was His will that we should take this burden on our own shoulders, and willingly offered ourselves to receive it.

'We now quietly looked round for a house for the hospital. Suddenly the largest and finest house in Kaiserwerth came into the market. My wife had been confined only three days; but in spite of this she beset me with entreaties to buy the house. It was true the price was 2,300 dollars, and we had no money. I bought it, however, with a good courage on the 20th of April, 1836, and at Martinmas the money was to be paid. We listened anxiously in every quarter where we thought the money might perchance be found, but met with no response. At length a Christian friend in Dusseldorf, Sophie Wiering, promised to lend us 1,800 dollars. The remaining 500 were very hard to come by, but we put our trust in the Lord. Then Count Antony Stolberg promised to apply to some friends for us, and on the 30th of May, 1836, the statutes of a Deaconess Society for Rhenish Westphalia, which I had drawn up, were signed by the society in Count Antony's house at Dusseldorf.

'Meanwhile the curiosity of the inhabitants of Kaiserwerth was greatly excited as to what should be my object in buying the house. When they gradually discovered that it was preparing for an infirmary, an outcry began, at first among the Roman Catholic tenants in the purchased house. They tried to rouse the inhabitants in general, and especially the Roman Catholic clergy in the city and neighbourhood, against us. We had, however, no proselytising schemes in view, and the best proof of this was that we had selected the Roman Catholic physician for our hospital, because he was the most skilful, although there were Protestant doctors in the town. One of the latter ran about the place, doing his part also to excite ill-feeling against our project; "a number of patients, ill with cholera, smallpox, and other infectious disorders, would be brought into the infirmary, and the pestiferous air would spread through the whole city. The place would soon become one great lazaretto," etc., etc. I answered calmly, if they would only be quiet they would soon see that the institution would be of the greatest benefit to the town, which in fact had no hospital at all.

'We commended our cause to the Lord; and, behold, ere long He sent us some bright gleams through our many clouds. On the 1st September I went to the missionary meeting at Gladbach, where I found many dear Christians assembled. At the meeting itself I did not venture to open my mouth for our cause; but I was invited afterwards, with a small circle of friends of the mission, to the house of Antony Lambert, where, after much unreserved conversation, that majestic hymn was sung, "Jesus Christ as monarch reigns," to a four-part chorale, unknown to me, but very impressive. Whilst listening to it my heart was expanded and my lips unlocked. I told them all our scheme of training Christian nurses. Great sympathy was shewn, beyond all my expectations, as I was almost a stranger to those present. Early the next morning my friends drove me over to Dusseldorf, and at parting put thirty dollars into my hands, which they had collected among themselves. With a heart beating loud with joy, I brought the money to my wife, whose faith was not less strengthened by it than mine.

'Soon a still greater confirmation of our trust fell to our lot. The most difficult point of all was to find Christian women adapted to the office of deaconess, and our search had long been vain. At last, a young woman of proved Christian excellence, Gertrude Reichardt, the daughter of a medical man, was persuaded to

pay us a visit, in order to consult about her own entrance upon the office. For several years past she had assisted her father in the care of the sick, and had gathered much experience in the treatment of the bodies and souls of the suffering and destitute. As she was about to set out homewards without having come to any decision, a great package arrived by mail. We opened it, and saw with astonishment that it contained a quantity of beautiful linen, handkerchiefs, bandages, and other useful appliances for the hospital. Our dear friends in Gladbach had sent it. She saw in this the hand of the Lord, and about the same time her second brother, who was a missionary to the Jews in England, and without whose advice she was unwilling to take any step of importance, came to see us, and gave his approval to her undertaking. Thus, our sister's heart was settled, and she promised to come.

'I next journeyed to Barmen and Elberfeldt to collect for the expenses of furnishing, etc., and I found to my shame for my mistrust, a kind reception and liberal contributions. One lady did angrily show me to the door with the question, "Did I wish to set up nuns and convents in our Protestant Church?" Other well-intentioned Protestants doubted whether our plan for forming deaconesses who should discharge the same duties as Romanist Sisters of Charity was practicable. Sister Gertrude was to come to us on the 20th of October, but we did not like to wait so long. As we say, the ground was burning hot under our feet, until the hospital was opened. Then the Lord put it into the heart of a Christian maiden in Dusseldorf, Albertina P., to help us for some months in the housekeeping, though she did not wish to become a deaconess; while our children's nurse, Catherine B., offered to act as temporary nurse to the sick people. Thus the Deaconess House began without any deaconesses. On October 13, the two young women entered the house, and arranged the ground floor for themselves and a few sick persons, very scantily; one table, some chairs with half-broken arms, a few worn knives, forks with only two prongs, worm-eaten bedsteads, and other similar furniture which had been given to us,—in such humble guise did we begin our task, but with great joy and praise, for we knew, we felt, that here the Lord had prepared a place for Himself.

'But would any sick people come? That was our next anxiety. Then, lo! on October 16, early on the Sunday morning, came our first patient, a Roman Catholic maid-servant, and begged us to take her in gratuitously. Hardly was she in the house, when one of the tenants occupying another part of the house, a half-pay officer, hurried to my parsonage and insisted on speaking to me, though I was in the act of going to my church to prayers, and demanded that the sick woman should be instantly removed on pain of a summons to a police court. I entreated him to be calm, and told him I must positively go into the church. He rushed away to the burgomaster, and there again demanded with vehemence that the sick woman should be turned out on the spot. The burgomaster, a good and judicious man, refused to do so, saying he had no legal powers in the case. On this, the other, in the presence of several persons, called him a fool. The burgomaster was also an officer of the Landwehr, and as such thought he ought not to put up with the affront, and sent a brother officer to call the first one to account. Then the tax-gatherer, Peltzer, a well-meaning but timid man, and a member of my congregation, ran to and fro between the burgomaster, the officer, and me, to mediate, and succeeded in reconciling the former and drowning this sanguinary dispute in one or two bottles of wine.

'Our first deaconess, Sister Gertrude, duly appeared on October 20, and shew as soon followed by other aspirants to the office. Shortly before Martinmas, a generous friend to the kingdom of God lent us, at Count Stolberg's request, the five hundred dollars that we still wanted. In the summer of 1837, when we knew not how to contrive to erect a necessary outhouse at the back of the building, the same noble friend again lent us three hundred dollars free from interest; and, in the end, he gave us both sums as a gift. Meanwhile, there was no deficiency of scorn and ridicule on the part of the higher classes of Romanists. They declared that, as our sisters took no vow of celibacy, the whole thing would soon melt away; and the burgomaster at first refused to take down the names of the new sisters, because he was so sure the whole affair would, in a very short time, be at an end. So despised were we, and a mock to the scorners.'

Such was the commencement of an institution which now has branches in nearly all the quarters of the globe. In 1838 the first extension of the work of the deaconesses beyond their own 'Mother House' was made, in the importing of deaconesses to the Elberfelt City Hospital. Soon afterwards sisters went out as nurses in private houses, and to superintend paupers in the workhouse of Frankfort-on-the-Maine. Applications for others presently came from all sides. By 1842 the 'Mother House' had more than two hundred beds all full, and more than forty sisters. A farm, an infant school, an orphanage, a dispensary, and a normal school for national schoolmistresses, were established under Fliedner's supervision. On all sides his buildings extended at Kaiserwerth. Books and tracts for the benefit of the institution were published. Kaiserwerth became a refuge for all who needed such help of any kind as deaconesses could give—the destitute, the sick, the young, the ignorant, the lunatic, and the criminal. Deaconess institutions were founded in imitation of Fliedner's, by Mrs. Fry in England, the Pastor Vermeil in Paris, the Pastor Härter in Strasburg, Pastor Germond in French Switzerland, by others in German Switzerland, and by Dutch ladies in Utrecht. A great central Deaconess House was founded at Berlin. Moreover, between the years 1846 and 1850, more than sixty Kaiserwerth deaconesses, trained under Fliedner's own eye, were at work in twenty-five different places. He established, also, a training school for young men in various charitable work. He was a man of almost sleepless vigilence and untiring energy, travelling about at home and abroad whenever his work required it. North America, Jerusalem, Constantinople, England, France, Switzerland, and Germany were witnesses of his personal labours, and are benefited by his deaconess institutions. He died in 1864.

THE GREAT GAMBLING TABLE AT EPSOM.

'IT'S only once a year, Julia.'

'No,' said Julia, doubtingly, wishing to see, yet for the life of her not being quite able to see, why 'only once a year' should alter the nature of a thing. 'And you'll come back in good time, George?'

'Won't I?' was his reply, as he went on adjusting his collar by the looking-glass in the shop, and now and then giving a

satisfied glance at his face and figure generally. 'Won't I?' signified 'I will' in George's idiom, so Julia was satisfied with the promise it conveyed—satisfied, that is, as much as she could be under the circumstances, not very favorable ones for a little woman with a baby two months old, with a house to mind, and a shop to mind, and with no very strong belief in her husband's wise behaviour on his yearly holiday at Epsom. But, then, what could she do? George would go, and she was not the woman to hinder him 'by no manner of means,' she would have said, as she looked up smilingly at what always seemed to her, his handsome face. She was not the woman, certainly, in these days to stand in the way of any reasonable pleasure for him! And was not this a reasonable pleasure? Well, she could hardly say; most people seemed to consider it so. And Julia was apt to think with the crowd. Last year George had taken her;—they were just married, and it seemed reasonable then that they should take their pleasure by going to the races after the wedding; it was but a day's trip, but it was what George called, and what she considered too, a very jolly one. There was the ride thither, in what seemed a grand vehicle on the Derby day, when it was a luxury to get a vehicle of any kind; and George had driven, while she sat by his side in her white wedding dress and bonnet, conscious of looking prettier and of feeling happier than she had ever done before in her life. There was the great, wonderful crowd of people, all excited and happy—at least so it seemed to her—the hundreds and hundreds of horses and carriages, the grand stands, the splendid pic-nic dinner—such a dinner! Julia wondered whether that was the way they were going to live every day; and then the exciting, bewildering gallop of the running horses, the pause of straining expectation, and the shout and buz when Vixen reached the goal first. All this she remembered with pleasure; but more than all, George's company that day, his smiles, his kindness, his pride in his pretty little woman, as he delighted to call her, his care of her lest she should take cold on her return.

And now it was a year ago—and the Derby day was no longer for her. Did she regret it? Not much in her heart of hearts; she was a woman of importance in these days,—a housekeeper—a shopkeeper when George was absent—a wife, a mother! Plenty to fill her hands and her heart and her brain had she now, and there was little time, of course, to think of holidays or of Epsom downs. But her baby was more to her than all the running horses in Christendom, her husband was handsome, and smart when smartly dressed; her house was neat and pretty; her shop was a very small one, but it would

some day, she hoped, be larger and better filled with goods; she had good health, good spirits generally—what was there more to wish for? Not much, she thought, and yet she sighed. It was a very little sigh, but George heard it, as he was giving the last twist to his moustache, and he turned round quickly, saying, 'Anything the matter, little woman?'

'No,' said Julia, half ashamed of her sigh, 'Nothing. But how time does go on, George!' She was thinking of the many changes and events of the past year that had come to her,—wifehood, motherhood, and some other hoods that, like their namesakes in dress, are as often a blind as a protection. George did not understand her thought, he was far too full of the races and himself. 'Time? Yes!' he said briskly. 'It's time I was off, I'm thinking. You've fixed the veil all right? That's the ticket!' and holding up his new hat before him admiringly, draped in its green gauze veil, before he put it on his head, he gave her a smiling kiss, said 'Ta-ta, litt'e one,' to the baby, and was gone out of the shop and out of sight immediately.

'It's only once a year,' said Julia to herself, as she turned in to the little parlour behind the shop to see that her young servant was putting away the remnants left from the hurried meal, half-breakfast half-lunch, that she and George had just partaken of. It seemed necessary that she should repeat this phrase, by way of comfort, and yet she was half angry with herself afterwards for needing to repeat it. It seemed as if she grudged George his holiday, and he so fond of a holiday, too. And yet, someway, this Epsom holiday did not please her, as another kind of holiday might. There were temptations: there was betting—she hoped George would not bet—and there was the drink. She hugged her baby afresh as she thought of the possibility of her husband coming home 'elevated,' and said, half to herself, half to her baby, 'We should not like that, my pet!' Such a misfortune had never yet befallen her; but these were early married days, and she had heard and seen something of the besetments of men in that way.

This busy whirligig world is to most people a great mill, in which to grind stray nothings into money, into bread, into clothes, into house, fuel, and whatever else is needed or not needed; a mill that accepts everything as grist, if the right sort of brain is put with it. Julia's particular aspect of the world-mill was a haberdashery shop, and if bread and money must be hers, the mill must turn to-day, though the master should be absent. Customers came in, and she had to attend to them; several gentlemen asked for green veils, one or two

for gloves; and Mr. Binns, the sweep, came too, at the last moment, for a knot of cheap ribbons, yellow and red and blue, to fix to his fancy steeple-crowned hat. He had made his face even blacker than its wont, and his teeth therefore shone all the whiter, as he laughingly fixed on his extraordinary head-gear, that was to be, as he expected, the envy and admiration of the race-going world. All these customers were in a hurry, and all more or less in high spirits, ready to laugh and to talk, if only they had time. Some of them were neighbours, and amongst the rest was Mr. Roberts, who lived next door, in a large, grand house of his own. 'Husband gone, Mrs. Meadows?' he asked in his curt, insulting way. 'Yes, sir,' was Julia's reply, given deferentially, for Mr. Roberts was accounted wealthy, and not too good-tempered. He and his wife had been customers of late at her little shop, and though Julia inwardly disliked him, she tried hard to believe that she had no right to do so. He was a man that few people liked, indeed, or cared to talk about; there was not much good to be said of him, but as he was rich it was well not to speak of the evil. Lately, he had invited George to his house, and had even asked him to supper one evening, so that George, who had styled him 'a sourish sort of a customer,' and 'a man that looks as if he would like to snap your head off, Julia!' now declared him to be 'a regular brick.' Julia did not think him 'a regular brick;' there was but one 'regular brick' in her eyes, and that was George Meadows. But she never attempted to reason upon or to define her feelings and thoughts about her reserved-looking neighbour, and I am afraid could have said nothing more of her dislike than that she couldn't abide him; but then she would have assured you she had so many things else to think about.

Mr. Roberts's face did not look any pleasanter when she had said 'Yes, sir,' so she went on to explain a little. 'George thought he wouldn't be in time, sir, and he ran down to the omnibus five minutes ago.' 'He might have waited a little longer, and gone in my trap,' was the reply; 'I told him so last night.' Julia wondered much to hear this, and admired Mr. Roberts's kindness and condescension in thinking of taking her husband. 'At all events, he isn't proud,' she said to herself, as she smiled and curtsied while handing him the gloves he had just bought. 'Mr. Roberts is better than his face says,' she thought, as she saw him go out, 'but I wonder why he wanted George's company, and why George didn't go with him?' Presently Mr. Roberts went by in his trap with two other gentlemen, the trap being, not a dog-cart, but a pony carriage that she had often admired, the pony decked out

in streaming ribands and white ear-caps, and with a large peony on either side his head, looking quite as proud as the gentlemen and Mr. Roberts, who were in smart attire also, with yellow kid gloves, light waistcoats, and gauze veils. She thought, with a momentary feeling of regret, how well George would have looked in that gay carriage, and have been as handsome as any of them—far more handsome than the dark-looking man by Mr. Roberts's side with the heavy gold chain, the sharp prominent nose, and the keen business-like glance of the eye. But why was not Mrs. Roberts in the carriage with her husband? She answered this question by the reflection that the Derby day was not a day for ladies so much, and Mrs. Roberts would perhaps prefer to stay at home, or perhaps her husband would prefer that she should; that was more likely, for it was whispered that Mr. Roberts was master and mistress too. Remembering which whisper, Julia gave a slight toss of her head, and murmured, 'He shouldn't be mistress with me.' She forgot how different different households may be, because of the differing minds and bodies that govern and dwell in them. She was pretty and young, and had sufficient self-assertion to be what she called 'spirity.' Mrs. Roberts was not pretty—her age was forty, and her spirit was, if not broken, bent and cruelly twisted. Julia's George was young and kind-hearted. Mrs. Roberts's George was thirty-five, and a hard, scheming man, overbearing and selfish. There were other differences, too.

How busy she was that day! More than once she wished for George to do this or that. Her little servant's head was quite filled with talk and thoughts of this wonderful Derby day, and she forgot both her duties to the house and to the baby. The fire was suffered to go out while Julia was waiting on a tedious customer; the baby's hat was tied wrong side before when he was taken for his morning's airing; and the saucepan boiled dry and was spoilt. These were minor troubles; but when two customers left the shop because she was too much engaged with another to attend to them, and she heard that they laid out a sovereign at the shop below, she regretted George's absence loudly.

Mrs. Roberts was in the shop at the time—a sallow, withered-looking woman, on whose face was written the word 'discontent' in very large letters. Julia had offered her a chair, partly from customary politeness, partly from compassion at her careworn appearance, and Mrs. Roberts had accepted the chair at once, and had sat down with a sigh that had a suppressed moan at its ending. Was she so very tired with her short walk, then, from one house to the next? Julia

had thought that it was tire of mind, and not of body, and half unconsciously she had compared herself with the rich neighbour, and had felt a thankful glow that she was the richer of the two in everything of the most importance. There was a selfishness, perhaps, in the thankfulness, but at least it arose from no wish to perpetuate the comparison. Health, prettiness, cheerfulness, a kind husband, a child, a pleasant home, occupation—all these she had; and yet, if George were to die to-morrow, much of her wealth would vanish at once, while Mrs. Roberts's one possession of money would be hers, even more than now, were she to be made a widow. She was rich when Mr. Roberts married her, indeed he had no property but what had been hers; and at his death, Julia naturally thought it would all revert to the wife. But what need to think of this? Here was Mrs. Roberts seated before her, looking so old and ill, that it was her death that seemed most probable, not his. She had asked for a skein or two of sewing silk, and when these were found she had wanted a little blue riband to put on a child's hat. Her little niece was with her, and the riband was for her, she had said. But she had not paid for it. 'I will send the money to-morrow, Mrs. Meadows. My husband forgot to leave me his purse when he went out, and I haven't a shilling in the house.' 'No matter, ma'am,' Julia had replied cheerfully. She would not have feared to trust the rich lady for many more pounds than she had asked for shillings, and she had rather wished, indeed, for the opportunity. And then she had expected that her customer would go, but Mrs. Roberts had continued seated, and had heard her hasty remark about her husband's absence.

'I hope you're not ill, ma'am,' Julia ventured at last to say, as the lady still remained, growing paler and paler, at least so she fancied.

'I'm not well, Mrs. Meadows,' was the answer, 'I never am now; but is Mr. Meadows gone to the races?'

'Oh, yes, ma'am, he's gone, and it's a fine day for him to enjoy himself. I want him at home very much; but he must have a holiday sometimes, though it's happened unfortunate to-day.' She was thinking of the lost customers.

'Yes,' said Mrs. Roberts, in a pre-occupied way, tapping her parasol absently on the shop floor and looking down.

Julia thought she might be displeased that George had not accepted her husband's invitation, so she hastened to make apology. 'I was sorry that he shouldn't have taken the seat in the carriage that Mr. Roberts so kindly offered him. It would have saved him expense, and have been so much pleasanter.'

'Did my husband offer him a seat in the carriage?' asked Mrs. Roberts, looking up.

'Yes, ma'am. Mr. Roberts told me so this morning, when he came to buy some gloves.'

'And he did'nt go with him, you say?'

'No, ma'am. He went in the omnibus.'

'You may be thankful,' was the answer, to Julia's great surprise, 'and tell him from me, that when Mr. Roberts invites to anything, the best word he can say is "No!"' She said this in a sharp, tremulous voice, yet with more energy than could be supposed was possible to her. Julia did not know what to reply. This was so strange a thing to say; she doubted for a moment whether the poor lady was in her right mind this morning. Sickness and neglect brought on queer fancies, and perhaps this was the case now. Why should George refuse the society of a man so much above him in wealth? It might be a great advantage to him in his business to have a friend with plenty of money like Mr. Roberts. She changed the subject. 'The air's so pleasant, it would have done you good to have gone out yourself to-day, ma'am.'

'So it would,' said Mrs. Roberts, 'but my husband has other use for the carriage, as you saw—as everybody saw. When I married, I didn't think I should come to this—to be left without a penny to spend in my own house, and to find my carriage used to take swindlers and gamblers to Epsom! He's going the way to ruin, is my husband. I've long suspected it, and this morning I've discovered it. I've found his betting-book, Mrs. Meadows, and, though I don't know much about betting-books, I've seen enough to convince me he's a thorough gambler, and his friends are the same. But what remedy have I? Thank God on your knees that your husband didn't go to the downs with him! For he'll not only ruin himself and me, but he'll ruin everybody that comes near him. What should he seek Mr. Meadows's company for, but to ruin him? I know him pretty well by this time, to my cost, and I tell you it is so. He would have fleeced him of every penny; he's a blackleg and a scoundrel!' And having said all this in an excited voice, Mrs. Roberts concluded by falling into a strong fit of hysterics.

Julia took her as soon as possible from the publicity of the shop to the little parlour at the back. It had never been dusted or arranged this morning, for she had been too busy to attend to it; but this was no time to think of such things. The poor excited lady demanded all her care for a full half hour, and when she came to, sufficiently to be quiet, and to let the tears flow more calmly, she began to talk to her young

neighbour and impromptu friend of her married griefs and cares, and Julia had to listen to many things that it would have been better never to have named. But Mrs. Roberts's heart was very full, and she had had no friend near her for many a day in whom she could confide. The fountain of bitterness overflowed, and Julia, with sympathising heart and sorrowful face, listened to her story and gave ejaculatory consolation and replies, scarcely knowing what she said, only feeling that it was necessary to soothe and comfort her neighbour as she best could. Bitter and long were Mrs. Roberts's complaints. Her husband was miserly, refusing to let her have what money she needed to support her position in the world, refusing even needful things for the house, and carefully doling out the pence to her, who had so unwisely given him unlimited possession of her thousands of pounds. Her little niece was just now staying with her—an orphan, and poor—and she would fain have had the child in her house as her home; but Mr. Roberts grudged the extra food, and clothes, and medicine the child had required in the three months of her stay, and to-morrow she was to return to her father's relatives in Wales—poor people who could ill afford to keep her. He was jealous of her friends, and had purposely offended them all, that she might be more completely in his power. He even grudged her the commiseration of her servants, and had given one woman warning for showing her deference. He humiliated her before his guests by treating her as a child, and he abused and ill-treated her in private. A long, strange catalogue of privations and indignities the young wife listened to, in the intervals between snatches of attention to shop and house and baby and servant, for Mrs. Roberts seemed in no hurry to depart. What miseries are so miserable and hopeless as home miseries? The miseries that arise between two unhappy contradictory hearts tied together perforce by the chain of matrimony, and grinding each other like the wheel and the axle when the oil is gone. Mrs. Roberts's chief complaint, however, was that there was but one heart in the case here. And as a climax to these miseries was this morning's discovery, that her money had been withdrawn from the funds to pay her husband's 'debts of honour'—more truly of 'dishonour'—and that he was now staking a large sum, perhaps their all, upon the running of a horse at Epsom. 'Why do they talk of gambling not being permitted?' asked the agitated wife, who, as she proceeded in the capitulation of her troubles, became again excited. 'What better is it than the gambling tables of Hamburg and Baden, this insane betting upon horses? What is the race-course at Epsom but a great gambling table,

open not only to the rich, but the poor—the poorest? Encouraged by the aristocracy, by the highest in the land—the Prince of Wales will be there, they say—the Prime Minister, members of Parliament, the noble and rich—all will be there, to gamble and to smile at the gambling! Oh, if they could but know the misery that comes from it! the wrong, the degradation! Even my husband wasn't so bad till those rogues of the race-course inoculated him and gave him the betting fever. And now I suppose he'll never stop till we're both in the workhouse. It wanted but this to fill up the measure of his crimes against me. To bet away *my* money, to gamble it away on the gallop of a horse's hoof—for it was all *my* money, Mrs. Meadows! But why do I talk? Wasn't I the first gambler, when I staked myself and all I possessed on the lottery of a man's face and a marriage license? I needn't blame him so much, I was the first fool. But who was the rogue? Mr. Roberts, and such men as he is, that made the law robbing the wife of all she has in that moment of trusting love and extreme faith when she takes a husband at the altar. I was told, but I didn't believe it, how it would be. I loved him too much, and the law takes advantage of a woman's love in that way, and the Church sanctions the robbery! I can't bring myself to believe, Mrs. Meadows—I can't bring myself to believe that Mr. Roberts contemplated being such a rogue as he has proved. And yet——' Alas! there were many more 'and yets' to be heard against Mr. Roberts.

The unhappy wife went away at last, and Julia bore about her for the rest of the day an unusual look of care. The little woman began to wonder how it might be with her in nine years' time—just the time Mrs. Roberts had been married. She had brought no money to her husband on the wedding-day, so that there could be no unjust plunder on his part as a commencement to a life of love and union; but if George were ever to prove a tyrant? If he were to turn idle and dissipated, and demand to live upon her earnings, as a master lives upon the earnings of a slave, what help would she have? None, for she was a wife, a word of wide meaning, embracing sometimes amongst others that of bondwoman in England, if compulsory life-service to a hard master means bondage; if life passed in indignity and hardship, and semi-starvation without help from the law, means bondage; if all work and no pay from youth to old age, with the bare reward of having performed your slave-duties, means bondage. But no, it was not possible! Her George was true and good. He would never forget to protect and care for her and her baby. He would never cease to love her. He would eschew gamblers and

blacklegs. Had he not already turned shy with Mr. Roberts? Perhaps he had had an idea of what Mr. Roberts was!

Seven o'clock came, and the people were returning from the great race of the year. Mrs. Meadows's shop faced the high road from Epsom, and with the rest of her neighbours she gazed out at the long stream of carriages and vehicles of all kinds that never ceased flowing for three long hours. The horses looked tired and melancholy as they prepared to mount the coming hill with their unconscionable burdens; but who cared for the horses? Not, certainly, the people whom they carried along at as rapid a rate as the weary legs of over-driven animals could manage, the people who were crowded and crammed in carts and omnibuses and hack carriages of all descriptions, and were smiling, joking, laughing, shouting, bowing, and posturing to the crowds gathered on the pavement. It was an amusing sight if the meaning of it could be forgotton. The people had been out for a holiday, where wild, rollicking, careless fun was rampant and fashionable; where absurdity crowned itself with paper wreaths and brightly coloured hats, and amused itself openly with dolls and toys, with jeers and practical jokes, uproar and nonsense; where the highest and lowest flaunted it, elbow by elbow, with the richest and highest, and where poverty parodied fashion and gloried in extravagance of dress and demeanour, and was not ashamed to show that it was poverty, holding up its coloured rags and paper, and smoking its vile tobacco with an air of jollity that was infectious, and that fairly outrivalled the merriment of the well-to-do and wealthy. He who had not a gallant steed to himself, had at least an eighth part of a bareboned pony to carry him back to London. He who had not a new coat, had a ragged one, or a patched one; and he who rode not on cushions, rode on deal. What did it matter? The steed and the new coat and the cushions had had no better sight of the races than the bareboned pony and the patched coat, mayhap, and if they had, what matter? A gay heart did not ask for new broadcloth and fine linen to cover it, and a man could laugh and joke as well from a sweep's coat as a lord's. The only thing, or the chief thing was to laugh and joke, for that seemed the work of the evening for these sight-seers and pleasure-mongers of the great day of the English carnival.

And what a sight these pleasure-mongers were in themselves! Here was a carriage load of men with masks,—masks of noses—red and purple and white noses—we will not say there were not blue and green ones, but mostly ruddy, vast, and impudent, giving a wonderfully ruinous air to the

faces behind them. Here, hats garlanded with small wooden dolls over heads that must have been somewhat wooden too; there, with broad bands, on which the name of the winning horse was printed in large letters; here, a van load of men shouting and bowing to the female spectators on the road side, some with grotesquely sentimental faces, and with eyes that spelt out a five-lettered word, the forerunner of all foolery, too well-known and preached against in the pages of 'Meliora' to need naming here; and there was a bevy of men with pea-blowers, all earnestly engaged in the interesting task of blowing peas at the bystanders. In this dog-cart a well-proportioned and rather intelligent-looking young man was shooting an intensely ugly jack-in-a-box into the faces of some children, who stood open-mouthed at the fun and wonderment; and in that, a tall, stout man with grey hair was turning round the handle of a child's twopenny toy, with the utmost gravity that drollery and drunkenness could assume. In this carriage rolled women with grand dresses, white lace parasols, white veils, blue dresses, staring crimson dresses, women that were beautiful, and that would have been more so in other places and in better surroundings, close by those who were not so, who were positively ugly with the ugliness of debauchery and sin. Smiles, ribands, red, white, and blue, paper roses, harlequin attire, pipes, drink, dirt, excitement, crime, folly, were everywhere in this rapidly moving crowd. The froth of humanity was there, very frothy, the wild tindery side of human nature was uppermost, the side that when a spark falls upon it is forthwith in a blaze, requiring the quenching waters of a gaol or an asylum to put it out. But there were far other expressions to be seen than those of jollity or inane merriment. Here and there Julia saw faces in the crowd that impressed themselves on her memory like a sorrowful dream, or a tale of anguish. Here and there, again, were faces that strove and strove in vain to smile and smile with the rest, and make believe they were happy. Intense excitement and mental pain had left traces round eye and mouth and forehead that were not to be brushed away by the feather brush of folly, and even pride itself staggered under the labour of putting misery out of sight for a few minutes. One young man made no such attempt. Pride was dead and buried for the time with him, and feathers could not well tickle the nerves of a corpse. He drove on amongst the noise and crowd with a sharp, pale face, utterly unconscious and unimpressed by all that was around him, his eyes fixed on an unseen something before him that was vast and terrible enough to fill his horizon with misery, and that left him nothing else

to see. Men jeered at him as he passed by, but he did not hear them; they stared impudently into his ghastly face, but he knew nothing of it; he was seated in an abstraction of mental agony that was beyond their reach to disturb. That he managed to drive clear of wheels and horses' feet, to keep his course unharmed and unharming, was a miracle; but he did it. His servant man, by his side, sat rigid as a statue, and gave him no help. Perhaps he knew that none was required, but to Julia's eyes it seemed every moment as if the reins must fall, the young man must sink down in a swoon, and the horse bound wildly among the crowd, mad with freedom. But it was not so. The young man with his misery went out of her sight like the rest, without any especial accident. He rolled on like a shadow into the grey twilight that already began to hang about the distance.

But where was her husband? He was to be back in good time, and she had not yet begun to doubt his word. The shop shutters were put to by this time, the baby was in bed, she had no other care on her mind, so this care about the return of her husband had all the more force. It was, perhaps, well for her that there was so much life and movement close at hand to divert her attention. People were still returning—returning! What an endless stream it seemed! She began to be a little dizzy with so much whirl and bustle; would it ever end? and would George ever come home? What could he be about? Lifting up her head, she saw Mrs. Roberts's pale face at her upstairs window; she, too, was watching for her husband's return; she, too, was anxious, but with more reason than herself. Julia almost longed to go up and comfort her with sympathizing words—if words could comfort. At last came Mr. Roberts's carriage. The pony had lost his peonies and his ribands and the pride of his neck, and held down his poor, tired little head as he brought the carriage to a stand against his master's door. He looked as if he had had nothing to eat the whole day, and Julia would have pitied him only that she was so busy looking at his master, who leaped from his carriage on to the pavement, and threw the whip towards the man-servant with a face white with anger. His companions of the morning were not with him. He had driven home alone, and as he strode up the steps and entered the great hall door of his house, Julia felt her heart beat with a sudden terror. What would he do and say to his wife when he got inside? But she had other thoughts the next moment, George's voice was at her ear. 'What are you thinking of?' he was saying. 'I've spoken twice to you; I'm tired and hungry.' His voice was rather cross, but she was too glad to

see him to think much about that; when he had had his supper he would be all right again.

After supper she asked, 'And what about the races, George?' 'Ladybird's won,' said he, indifferently; 'didn't you see it on the men's hats?' 'Yes; but, George, how have you gone on? Have you enjoyed yourself?' 'Oh, all right,' he said; but his tone did not sound all right. It was dull work to come home from the races in this way. What made him so dispirited? She sat silent for awhile, and he did not seem inclined to talk. All at once she coloured up, looked him in the face, and asked, 'George, have you been betting?' George threw a quick, startled glance at her. He did not like the question; but he managed to answer it with a joke. 'Yes; I've bet that you are the prettiest woman out of London, Julia, and I know I shall win my bet.'

'But, George!'

'But, Julia! If you will say no more about it, it will be all the better. What's that lad Biddles been doing all day?'

Biddles was the errand boy. 'He's been to the downs. He said you'd given him leave. I saw him come back, just now, half tipsy. What will his poor old grandmother say?'

'What she likes; but she'd better be quiet, and be glad he'd no money to lose, like some who are older.'

'Like Mr. Roberts,' said Julia, significantly.

Her husband looked at her in surprise. 'How do you know that Mr. Roberts has lost money?' he asked.

And then Mrs. Roberts's tale was told, not altogether. Julia suppressed some details, but told enough to impress him with its gravity. George looked very grave, and at length uneasy and distressed; and presently he rose up, put on his hat and went out, saying he would be back in ten minutes. He was pale when he went out, but when he returned in half an hour he was still paler. He tossed his hat upon the table, the green veil was still fastened to it, and as it streamed upwards in the fall it caught the blaze of the unprotected gas light, and was on fire directly. George did not at first appear to notice the accident, but Julia screamed and snatched the hat to throw it upon the floor that it might do no further harm. Her husband seized her by the arm and stamped upon both hat and veil with a savage earnestness that ensured the destruction of both. 'Who cares for a paltry hat?' he exclaimed, when she remonstrated with him. 'We're ruined, Julia. What does a hat matter?'

'Ruined, George? What do you mean?'

'Just what I say. Haven't I spoken plain enough? We're ruined, and there's an end of it.'

'Oh, George! You have been betting, then?'

'Of course I have,' he said, snappishly. 'Did I ever say I hadn't? I've betted with your uncle's money and lost it, and now you know!' and when he had said this he sat down in the arm chair, put his hands before his face, and remained silent for a long time, lost in misery, as it seemed.

Mrs. Meadows was thunderstruck. Her uncle's money was what had been lent to George to commence business with—or, at least, what was in the bank accumulating to return to him at the proper time. He would expect some of it very soon; he would be very angry when it was not forthcoming, and he might demand the whole more quickly than they had expected. If that were the case, how could they find it? They would have to sell up—they would be ruined, as George said. How could George be so cruel, so dishonest, so weak, as to gamble away money that was not his own? The money must be returned, for her uncle could ill afford to spare it. He would be in difficulties himself, if George did not repay at the right time. It was terrible! And the shame of having to confess how it had gone; of having her husband, that she had been so proud of, lowered in the eyes of her relatives! And if they were sold up—thrown upon the world penniless—oh, how could she bear it? She saw in imagination the sale, the crowd of gapers and scandal-mongers—the flight from their little home. And then she thought of the baby and herself, and the tears struck into her eyes, and for a moment or two she felt too angry with George to wish to ease his sorrow, to say a word of forgiveness. Let him bear his trouble as he could. He deserved to be made to feel.

But this feeling did not last long, she was far too true and too loving a wife for that. George had done wrong, but how did she know his temptations? What snares had been set for his feet—what wicked men had been about him—what delusive hopes had been given him? So she came near him in awhile, put her hand on his shoulder, and, leaning over him, kissed his hot forehead. It was a sorrowful kiss, but it was a loving one; and he understood what it meant, and thereupon began to abuse himself, to talk of being unworthy of her, to ask her forgiveness, to call himself fool, and scamp, and scoundrel.

He told her how it had all come about. The acquaintance with Mr. Roberts had been the beginning of all this trouble. Roberts had inveigled him into it, sometimes by the aid of wine and flattery mingled, sometimes by working upon his cupidity or cowardice. He had introduced him to his friends, and they had introduced him to a betting-book, and when George became afraid, Mr. Roberts always assured him he

would see him out of any trouble that might happen. He had been in this way induced to stake seventy pounds upon Loosestrife, one of the running horses, and to-day Loosestrife had been fourth in the race instead of first. The seventy pounds were gone; but he had hoped that Mr. Roberts would be as good as his promise, and lend him the money for awhile. And now Mr. Roberts was ruined, and in custody! He had come home foaming with passion at his losses that day. His wife had met him on the staircase and had reproached him for his extravagant gambling, and in his anger he had fallen upon her and beaten her till her life was despaired of.

'They say he's lost twenty thousand pounds this last year by betting upon horses,' George said. 'Anyway, he's been a villain to the woman he promised to love and protect. What'll she do now, if she lives? There isn't a penny left, the gardener told me, not a penny. As for him, I hope he'll have to work with a chain round his middle yet. He deserves it! Why should he want to ruin me as well as himself? My seventy pounds would seem like a drop in a bucket to such as he.'

But it was no drop in a bucket to the Meadowses. Long and painfully they both had to toil in after years, through the loss of that seventy pounds. Julia's pretty face became thin and pale with anxiety as time went on, and George's grey hairs came early. Both had reason to remember bitterly the great gambling table at Epsom.

SELECTIONS.

WORKING CLASS HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

The power loom, the steam engine, and some applied mechanics did more to change the social state than the Reformation or the Black Death; and, instead of Luther, Calvin, or Cranmer, we may read Arkwright, Stephenson, and Watt. All through the wild and hitherto desolate North a stir took place, and in the general movement every industry seemed simultaneously to partake, and concomitantly with that impulse the population did not fail to increase:—

Lancaster had in	1801.....	692,731
" "	1811.....	828,309
" "	1821.....	1,052,859
" "	1831.....	1,333,300

An increase of 19,000 per annum.

Yorkshire (West Riding),	1801..	563,953
" "	1811...	653,315
" "	1821...	799,359
" "	1831...	976,400

or nearly 20 per cent., and Warwick, Stafford, Nottingham, Chester, Durham, Monmouth, Worcester, and Salop showed a nearly equal increase. An immigration, almost without parallel, had in these few years taken place. Of course it came from all parts, and Irish, Scotch, and English were fused down into one compact and apparently homogeneous class, Proletarian at all events, and the factory system gave it solidity

and strength. If we consider that, at the same time, a great revolution was taking place in the industrial condition of the class, and that the handloom weaver, and the stocking frames, and cottage industry of all sorts, were soon to become extinct, it will be perceived how great a change was suddenly wrought. Men, women, and children were swept into the factory and the mill in a mass, and the one great feature of the nineteenth century became this creation of a wage paid class. About 35,000 handloom weavers resolutely resisted the change, and became a gradually pauperised class.

Now, what were our Legislature about? We have seen how active they were at previous periods. Here were conditions much requiring their care, no doubt. Perhaps they were unable to prejudge or foresee the consequences of so novel a case. Perhaps too much occupied in the much more interesting game of in and outs to take notice of mere social wants. At any rate, it was assumed that even under such circumstances the mere instinct of self-interest would, if sufficiently left to itself, supply all wants, and no legislation took place. The emigrants found their own level, not without loss, and it was not until 1835 that any official inquiry took place. Let me quote the Duke of Argyll as to the result:—'Men and women had been brought together into a social communion of a new sort; under natural laws, no doubt. But it had not been long at work when it was perceived that a whole generation had grown up under conditions of mental and physical degeneracy, and in ignorance and vice. Many years after it bore fruit, but it was not until self-interest itself had taken alarm, and the serious riots and turn-outs of Barnsley, Burnley, &c., &c., showed that something was rotten in the State, that really effective action took place. Of such rioters 900 were at one time confined in York Castle previous to the assize, a fact which I witnessed myself.'

During this time, and nearly up to these events, the old poor-law remained in force; and just in proportion as this wonderful expansion of industrial power was manifested on the one hand, so did the evil of the system and the pauperism it fostered increase. All the supplanted labour at once, and without effort, fell upon the rates, and the payment of wages out of these, both manufacturing and agricultural, was a very early effect of the system itself. We shall find traces of it almost from the first. Among the writers upon the subject we have treatises from the pen of Sir Matthew Hale, 1683; Richard Haines, Lawrence Braddon, 1722; James Child, 1694; Thomas Firmin, Roger North, 1753; George Chalmers, 1782; Daniel Defoe and Richard Burns. In all, or most of these writings, the root of every subsequent evil may be traced from the first. Roger North mentions the rates at Colchester as amounting to 50 per cent., while the makers of baize paid their labour out of the parochial funds. In fact, one thought alone possessed the ratepayer, and all his ingenuity was employed either to evade or to utilise his share of the rate. The administration of it was another thing, and did not much occupy his mind. Whatever public interest existed was absorbed in the struggle between houses and lands, and while they inflicted upon each other the heaviest penalties, these belligerents, with equal selfishness and folly, sacrificed the poor. These, no doubt, are heavy charges, but they admit of substantial proof, and how dearly they paid for it statistics once more prove: for while between 1536 and 1661 the rates remained nearly stationary at an annual amount of £190,000 per annum, in the next thirty-one years, during which time these malpractices existed, they quadrupled in amount. Self-interest fought the battle, and self-interest, ever short-sighted, out-witted itself, and lawyers fattened out of the rates, while paupers starved. Everybody got some pickings except the poor. All through this and the many succeeding reigns Acts of Parliament multiplied—while confusion of law increased, and rates rose steadily, until at the time we now approach 20s. in the pound was often reached, and land was abandoned and houses shut up to avoid the rates. Among the most distinguished writers upon this subject in modern times, were Jeremy Bentham and Sidney Smith, whose views, equally perspicuous and wise far beyond their age, extended not only to the battle then to be delivered, but the true principles of the campaign. They saw that to extinguish pauperism, deeply rooted and inherited, laws almost penal might be necessary at first. They engaged self-interest upon the true line of defence. But at this point they did not stop; they equally recognised a moral as well as a material want, and impo-

tence of mere poor-laws and bureaucratic administration to produce such an effect. Bentham speaks thus: 'But compassion is one thing, and relief efficacious and unmischievous is another. The one may be always bestowed, and in any quantity; the other should never be attempted to be bestowed, especially at the expense of the community, until after the most strict and comprehensive inquiry, whether the undertaking lies within the sphere of practicability, and whether the removal of the evil be not inseparably connected with more extensive and no less permanent evil. To banish not only indigence but dependence it would be necessary to banish not only misfortune but improvidence.' Words which seem to me replete and luminous with truth, though of a nature which it is not given to mere official intelligence to penetrate, nor of a kind which unassisted Bumbledom could carry out. Now, let us turn to another authority, Sidney Smith. He says, in 1825, 'A pamphlet on the poor-laws generally contains some little piece of favourite nonsense, by which we are gravely assured that this enormous evil can be perfectly cured. The first gentleman recommends little gardens, the second cows, the third a village shop, and if we add to these the more modern idea of land sub-division, we are pretty well at the end of such a list. As to the children, they are to be lodged in immense pedagogueries of several acres each, and to be brought up in virtue by the churchwarden.' 'There are two points,' he says, 'which we consider as admitted by all men of sense. First, that the poor-laws must be (not amended) but abolished; and, second, that they must be very gradually abolished. We think it hardly worth while to throw away pen and ink upon anyone who is inclined to dispute the above proposition. We shall think the improvement immense, and a subject of very general congratulation if the poor-rates are perceptibly diminished, and if the system of pauperism is clearly going down in twenty or thirty years hence. We have stated our opinion that all remedies, without gradual abolition, are of little importance. With a foundation laid for such gradual abolition, every auxiliary improvement of the poor-law, *while they do remain*, is worth the attention of Parliament, and in suggesting a few alterations as fit to be adopted, we wish it to be understood that we have in view the gradual destruction of the system, as well as the amendment while it continues to operate.'

The poor-laws were amended a few years subsequently to this, and we have now thirty years' experience of their efficacy to produce such a result. Since Sidney Smith wrote nearly a half century has passed, under circumstances more favourable than any our history can present. A time of peace, of free trade, of unequalled increase of wealth, of unparalleled emigration, and education more widely diffused. To what effect the following statistics will best show:—

A.D.	Population.	Pauperism.	Expenditure.	P'nd-age.	Wh't at	Rateble. Proprty:
				£ s. d.	s. d.	£
1834	14,322 000		6,317,255			
1844	16,410,000	800,000	4,976,093	1 6 3		64000000
1854	18,617.000	864,017	5,232,853	1 8 1	61 7	69000000
1864	20,663,000	1,014,078	6,423,383	1 4 5	43 2	
1865	20,881,000	951,899	6,364,961	1 4 0	39 8	93600000
1866	21,100,000	916.152	6,439,517		43 6	
1867		1,040,952	6,959,840		53 7½	
1868						

During the same period the emigration has stood thus:—

1861 ...22,145
1862 ...35,487 } England and Wales.
1863 ...61,243

Now these were conditions upon which neither Bentham nor Smith could count, and to what result? Is pauperism extirpated? Have the rates decreased? Are poor-laws abolished? Of it, is there, under this system, any reasonable expectation, 'fifty years hence?' As a system, it has taken firm hold of men's minds, and as a vested interest it claims its place. It is an important source of patronage and place, and the manage ment charges are daily on the increase, viz.:—

In 1853, salaries, &c... £596,162
1863 „ „ ... 696,098
1866 „ „ ... 730,704
Increase in fourteen years, £134,542.

On the other hand, what have been its effects? Morally, upon which so much stress was once placed, what men has it reclaimed? Who has it made more provident? What encouragement or assistance does it hold out? It acts by repression; it pauperises; it exacts a hard and rigid test. But it is not even so far a material success. Are we satisfied with it? Tested by the standard of Bentham or Smith, it is a failure throughout. How long shall we deceive ourselves upon this point? Poor-laws may satisfy a present require

ment, but they cannot cure pauperism itself. If we meet a moral evil by a mere administrative change, we seek for the living among the dead. I have alluded to the condition of the labouring classes subsequent to the great immigration which took place into the North; and here legislation has played its part with greater success. The repeal of apprentice laws, and the introduction of the Factory Act, followed an inquiry in 1835 to a most beneficial effect. In education, also, some progress has been made, aided by the State. The amendment of the Master and Servant Act, and the regulation of the agricultural gangs are efforts in the right direction, at least. The Bill for Artisan Dwelling Houses opens questions of a more serious class, and it is doubtful how far such interference can be carried, without altogether discouraging that tendency to numerical increase upon which, more than ought else, must depend the cheap house accommodation of the working class. Protection may do harm as well as good in such a case. At this point our review of legislation must cease, for the present, at least, for there is another side to the picture, which I must not neglect. I have said that during the early part of the present century but little legislation took place. Government was out of fashion, and self-interest was supposed to supply the want. It claimed to be enlightened, of course. We have seen what, under certain circumstances, was the result. Of course, Anglo-Saxons would not stop at this, and taught self-dependence, and with self-interest prescribed as the great rule of life, they set to work according to their light, and applied the doctrine to some remarkable effects. They formed friendly and co-operative societies, the progress of which I now propose to trace, and they formed also those trades' unions so much now talked of, and framed moral and social laws to match. These, at least, were natural results. As a social contract they recognised common interests, which even seemed to them more noble than self. As a moral code it was defective, but this was also natural, perhaps, under the antecedents I have pointed out.

The first of these friendly societies was recognised by law in 1793, and since that date we have had twenty-six different Acts to regulate and amend these [illegible]. Nearly the whole of these are now [illegible] by the Act 18th and 19th Vic., cap. 63. Many of them are of very ancient date, but these were rather guilds, than provident institutions, for the wage paid class. For their full development we must come up to the nineteenth century, during which the number has reached 24,800, with 3,000,000 members, and £20,000,000 of assets in hand. This, in itself, is a most significative fact, especially when the circumstances are taken into account. Left to themselves, and scarcely countenanced, they could not fail to be open to abuse, and knowing as we do the great proneness to fraud which attend all such transactions, upon the unwary and the weak, it seems wonderful that they should have been on the increase, or gained the confidence of such a class. Many of them are by no means rich, as the following returns sufficiently prove—of 10,264 which made returns, there were:—

3,161	with less than	£100 in hand.
4,222	from	£100 to £500
1,602	„	£500 to £1,000
903	„	£1,000 to £2,000
316	„	£2,000 to £5,000
50	„	£5,000 to £10,000
18	„	£10,000 to £20,000
12	„	£20,000 to £50,000
3	„	£50,000 to £100,000

Among such societies the Royal Liver is a leviathan, and its progress is in itself a remarkable fact, worthy of record. In 1861 its assets were £15,092, since which its increase has been at the following rate:—1862, £18,004; 1863, £25,630; 1864, £39,036; 1865, £55,460; 1866, £78,026; 1867, £103,355; 1868, £132,372. To their success there is, however, one formidable obstacle, the management expenses, and this item does not, as might be expected, decrease in proportion to the number insured. In ten of the largest these expenses amount to from 25 to 50 and 95 per cent. of the amount expended in relief; of these the largest are the worst, viz., 15s. to 16s. in the pound—a feature which, however, explained, is by no means a desirable one in such a case, and is no doubt the result of neglect, or a vicious system from the first. Unaided from without, it could not be otherwise in this case. Nothing, perhaps, can show the necessity and advantage of a sounder system (though by no means unexceptionable in itself, and partaking of the evil pointed out) than the success of the Post-office Savings' Bank, the number of which between 1861 and the end of 1868

had increased from 2,535 to 3,509; the number of depositors from 639,216 to 5,421,066; while in the old and new savings' banks, at the close of 1866, the number of depositors amounted to 2,149,764, and the deposits to £44,495,806—facts which seem to me clearly to indicate the future course, and the necessity of authority to guide and direct the effort, and to protect the weak. All that is ever urged against these societies tends to such a point. They are the speculation of a clever knave, or for the benefit of a public-house. What else can we expect, and whose the fault, if this is the case? Is it a new feature that idleness should prey upon industry, or that a man should put his brains to the worst possible use? Does not society guard itself with all its power against such abuse? That we know it may be otherwise is enough. In such eminently successful undertakings as the Essex Provident Society, with 8,000 to 9,000 members, and £70,000 assets; the Hants, with 3,000 members, and £35,000; the Hereford Friendly Society, the Shropshire, the Wiltshire, the Rutlandshire, the Lois Weedon, and the Beau Manor and Woodhouse, we see the true results of sound principles, and great and philanthropic efforts of good men, whose genius has thus enriched others, and whose reward is not of this earth. But society which applauds should do more than this, or it abrogates its highest task.—*The Past, Present, and Future of the Working Classes. By F. S. Corrance, Esq., M.P. Read at Norwich, before the British Association.*

JAMES BELL, THE INNOCENT CONVICT.

James Bell, aged 21 years, who has recently been liberated from Pentonville Prison, has made a very remarkable statement as to his treatment while undergoing a sentence of penal servitude. He was convicted of stealing twelve lambs, his identity being sworn to by three policemen. It has since been most conclusively proved that he was in bed at the time stated, and the really guilty man has been captured. Bell complains that when he was first taken to the police-station for the purpose of identification, instead of being placed with other persons he was put in a cell by himself, and the three policemen were then brought in. Bell's story is as follows:—

'On Friday, the 26th of last March, I was in the dock of the Middlesex Sessions, and I heard the foreman of a jury say, "We find the prisoner guilty of stealing twelve lambs." Of that crime I was entirely innocent, and I was found guilty upon the evidence of four policemen. Three of the constables swore in the most positive manner that they saw me in the broad daylight, at five minutes past six o'clock in the morning, driving the stolen lambs along the Farringdon Road. One of the men swore that he had spoken to me while I was driving the lambs, and that he had walked by my side for very nearly 200 yards. You might almost have knocked me down when I heard the word "Guilty" of a crime of which I knew nothing. I cried, and I placed my hands together, and I looked up to heaven and to the judge, and I cried out, "I am innocent." I was going to say more, when one of the warders, who had during my trial been standing by my side, laid hold of me by the left arm and dragged me out of the dock into a narrow passage. Another warder came up to me and said, "Have you anything about you?" and I answered, "No." He ran his hands down my clothes, and he said, "Come along," in a civil way. He put me into a white-washed cell. It had a stone flooring, and there was an iron grating on the floor of the cell, and I had to walk over it. It was a three-cornered cell, and I had about eight feet to walk up and down, and walk up and down I did, for I was very downhearted, for I had never seen the inside of such a place before. After I had been in the cell about an hour (it seemed a very long one to me), a warder came up to me with a brown loaf. It weighed about six ounces. That was my dinner. I had no water with that dinner. I was hungry, for I had been fasting from eight o'clock in the morning, and it was then long after two. There was a wooden bench in the cell, and I tried to sit on that, but I could not contain myself, and I could neither

sit down nor lie down. I first sat, I then lay down, and then I used to get up and walk up and down. At five o'clock the van came, and a warder came up to me and said, "Come on," and when I left the cell I saw a young man getting into the police-van. We were taken to the Coldbath-fields Prison. I there saw a policeman, and I said. "I am innocent." He laughed, but said nothing. I was then taken through a large gateway, and I stood there for some minutes; and while I was standing there another prisoner came, and that made our party of prisoners up to three. We were then taken through another gateway to some more prisoners into a room. I sat there for some minutes, and I was given half a pint of gruel and about 6oz. of brown bread. It was rather thin gruel, and of a dirty white colour. It was given to me in a rather rusty, dirty, tin bowl, which they call a pannican. After I got my supper, as they call it, all my clothing, with the exception of my trousers, was taken off. The clothes were searched, and the only thing that the warder found was my "bail paper." He took that away. I was taken up a flight of stairs and into a large long room, what they call a dormitory. Down the room there were two rows of matting, stretched from the wall to a bar running up the middle of the room. They were our beds. We had a blanket and a rug. I got into my bed. On the matting there was room for about fifty people. I laid between two men, and my feet very nearly touched the head of another. I could not sleep, and during the night I heard the other prisoners snoring, and I was thinking over the way in which the police swore my liberty away. There was a warder sitting on a stool in the middle of the room, and no one was allowed to even whisper to another. There was a gas-light in the room, and by the light of it I saw the warder eating a comfortable supper as he watched us. It was a weary night to me, and I was glad when morning came. As none of the prisoners were allowed to get off their mats until a quarter to six, I had to lie still until then. After dressing we were taken downstairs into the room where we had all been the preceding night. For two hours we sat here and looked at each other. At eight o'clock a warder brought me a loaf (thin) and a half-pint of gruel. After breakfast I felt very hungry. A lot of warders then came into the room and opposite us to see whether we were "old friends." None of them recognised me, and no wonder, for I had never before seen the inside of a prison. The doctor then came, and he asked me if there was anything the matter with me, and I said "No," for I was then a healthy, strong young man. He said nothing, but walked on. The governor then came and looked at us, and he walked away. I was then taken into the bath-room, and bathed in warm water. When I came out of the bath I found that my clothes were gone, and the prison suit was in their place. I was then taken to be present at the labelling of my own clothes. I was then taken back into the reception-room. I was there given a sheet and a coarse towel, and I was then taken and weighed. They did not tell me what I weighed, so I don't know. I was then measured, and then I was taken to a warder, who placed me in a cell. It had a black concrete floor, and I had to keep that well polished with a brush. It was about eight feet long and five feet wide, and about nine feet high. There was a small window in it, and it had bars in front of it. In the cell there was a hammock, a blanket, and a rug. There was also a small stool and a small wooden table. In one corner of the cell there was a closet, and when the door was open there was a smell from it. On a small shelf I found a Bible and a book of prayer. There was a bell handle in the cell, and the warder said, "If ever you are taken bad at night, ring that." There was a gaspipe hanging from the wall. The warder locked me in and left. At one o'clock a warder brought me a pint of gruel and a loaf. At three I had to go and get some oakum to pick. At that time I had not been sentenced; and at five o'clock I got a pint of gruel and 6oz. of bread. At nine o'clock I went to bed. That completed the diet for the first day. Three times that week I got the same diet. Two of the other days I got 4oz. of meat and half a pound of potatoes, and a 6oz. loaf for dinner. On the other two days I got a pint of pea-soup and my bread for dinner. Sunday was a soup day. That was the usual routine until the next session, when I was brought up before Sir W. Bodkin, the judge. He told me that he would give me a week to consider whether I would tell who my accomplices were. I said, "I can tell you nothing, as I know nothing about it." He said, "You are an ungrateful and an incorrigible thief;

and the sentence I shall pass on you will be that you be kept to penal servitude for five years." I then asked to see my parents, and the judge granted my request. I was taken out of the dock, and cried. As I was going down the stairs the warder said, "I'll kick you down." I replied, "I'll go down. I'm not a thief." He then placed me in a cell, and I was there visited by my father. The warder then said to my father, "Well, your son has come to something now, by his sheep-stealing tricks." Father said, "My son is innocent; you are a liar." I said, "Well, father, years ago, I should have been hanged for this crime." Father said, "Never mind, bear up and go through it. The punishment that you have got we shall not leave a stone unturned to alter. Your brother-in-law is looking out to find the real thieves." He wished me "Good-bye," and left. I was taken back to the House of Correction, where I was put in the same cell, and I found a pint of gruel and a loaf on the table. "Is this all," said I, "that I am going to have for my dinner?" The warder then asked me how long I had got, and I said, "Five years." He at once brought me 4oz. of meat and half a pound of potatoes. He took away the gruel, but he left the 6oz. of bread. The cell was dark and gloomy, and I asked to be taken to another cell. They took me to another one. I was told that I was now on first-class diet, and I got a pint of gruel and a loaf weighing 6oz. for supper. For breakfast I got a pint of cocoa and my loaf. On first-class diet there are no gruel dinner days. There is a pint of pea-soup three times a week, and eight ounces of potatoes—they are not peeled, and some of them are bad. I have been often so hungry that I have eaten the bad ones. Sunday is still a soup day. The next day, at seven in the morning, I was placed on the treadmill. It was a quarter of an hour on and a quarter of an hour off. It makes the legs stiff and tired; it is very hard work. You are not allowed to turn your head; if you do you get bread and water. I became weary, and once turned my head, and I got bread and water for one day. Twice after that I turned my head; on each occasion I got bread and water for one day. The bread consisted of 18oz. for the whole day. When I turned my head I neither smiled, looked, nor spoke. I was six months in prison, and during the whole of that time I never said a word to anyone. The silence was horrible, and I have not yet got over the effect of it. It was shocking not to be able to speak to anyone, or even to turn one's head. While in Coldbath-fields I only wrote one letter, and that was to my family, to know how they were getting on with the sale of newspapers. I had been in the newspaper business for the last ten years. On Sunday, all the prisoners are taken to the church in the prison, where they listen to preaching for an hour and a half on the Word of God. In about two months I was shifted to the Model Prison in Pentonville. The diet is: Breakfast, three-quarters of a pint of cocoa and half a pound of white bread; dinner, 4oz. of beef, a pound of potatoes, a pint of the liquor in which the meat was boiled, and 4oz. of bread; supper, a pint of gruel and half a pound of bread. That is on Monday and Tuesdays. On Wednesday I got one pint of soup and potatoes for dinner. The other days were much the same. While I was there I had to pick three pounds of oakum every day for a length of time. It was too much for me; I could not do it. I was then put to sewing braces. After that I had to make mats. I was reported for talking once. I whispered to a man who was sitting next me in church, and we were both put on a pound of bread and water for a whole day. While I was on the bread and water I was kept in a cold (separate) cell for twenty-four hours. The authorities never informed me of the fact that the real culprit had confessed two months ago to the commission of the crime for which I was unjustly suffering; and during the whole of that time I was still kept to hard labour, and was even punished by bread and water, although they were aware of the fact of my entire innocence. Until last Saturday I knew nothing about the fact of my innocence having been proved, until I was suddenly brought out into a passage and saw Mr. Guerrier and my brother-in-law, George Edds. They told me that they had the order for my release, as they had succeeded in proving that I was an innocent man. When my family found that they were in a position to prove my innocence, my brother-in-law sent me a letter, telling me what had been done, but it was sent back, and I was not allowed to see it. I never heard of that letter until I came out. When I left Pentonville Prison I was suffering from the effects of illness. One Friday, while I was making mats, I was sud-

dearly taken ill, and I was seized with violent pains in my chest. During the whole of my life I had never suffered from chest disease. Although the pain was dreadful, I said nothing about it that day. During the whole night I found it impossible to sleep. On Saturday, when I saw the warder, I asked to see the doctor, and I was taken downstairs to him. He asked me what was the matter with me, and I told him that I could not get rest on account of the pains in my chest. He ordered blisters, and I was taken back to my cell, where they were put on. The skin is now off parts of my chest, and it is quite raw. I was very ill for seven days, but as I found my feet were under the doctor's hands I declared myself well before I was so. I got boiled milk instead of gruel, and I found that the change was for the worse. The milk was less strengthening than the gruel, and I found that the quantity was also less. I am suffering from the effects of that illness now. It is now eight weeks since I was informed that my hair was to be cut. At that time my innocence was known. Mr Nicholls, the warder, cut my hair all as close as ever he could. When I passed my hand over my head I thought I had been shaved. My hair has not been cut since then, and it is now half an inch long. I have had a suit in my head ever since. If I had remained in the prison six months longer, I feel confident that I should have become mad. It was wrong to keep me there persevering the heinous labour when they knew that I was innocent. Even after the granting of my pardon for being innocent I was kept in prison. My pardon was granted by the Home Secretary on a Friday afternoon, and the order on my account was then given. I was kept in prison the whole of that afternoon and the following night, and I was not told that I was entitled to my release until after eight o'clock on Saturday morning. At that time I was in a terrible fear, and I had to be pressed hard. I have said that I saw my clothes laid out. Why that was done I do not know. On going to get them on (having no pocket I was told that they were with). They gave me instead a wideawake hat, a short brown coat, a flannel waistcoat, and a pair of corduroy trousers. I was told that they were according to my station [illegible] had been a gentleman they [illegible] a suit of black. When they gave me a pair of boots I said that my own were better, and I asked for them, and they told me that they had sold my boots for 2s.'

The family of the unfortunate young man have been almost ruined by the affair. They were in good circumstances before he was arrested. For his defence they parted with their furniture, and even their clothes. They then borrowed money from their neighbours and their friends. So confident were those that knew them of the innocence of James Bell that subscriptions were raised in their behalf. Some persons lent them shillings, while one whose name ought to be mentioned in consequence of the active part which he took in bringing about the happy result spent on their behalf £15. His name is Mr. Rendall. He it was who first offered a reward for the discovery of the real thieves. Mr. Guerrier then came forward, and he increased the first reward of £10 to £100, and the whole sum expended in getting Bell out of prison will come to £200. When the real thieves were discovered, the persons who owned the lambs refused to prosecute them, and the Bells were then informed that, before they could secure the liberation of James, they must find the money to prosecute the thieves. That they had to do. They say that was very hard, and that it shows the want of a public prosecutor, who would provide the money for such cases.

We give below their narratives of their adventures in quest of the thieves. That of George Edds, the brother-in-law of Bell, is as curious as it is interesting. It may be as well to state that Edds is, like Bell, a man in humble sphere, but is possessed of good intelligence and wonderful tenacity.

'When we found,' says Edds, 'that James Bell had been sentenced to five years' penal servitude and separation from his family for a crime that he had never committed, we pledged our words to him that we would leave no stone unturned to prove his innocence to the world and secure his return to freedom. Our task was a hard one, for all appeared to be against him. When we saw him in his cell, after the judge had told him that he was an incorrigible thief, he was crying bitterly, although for some time, while his father was present, he made every effort to keep up. The jeering of the warders at his grief, and at our declarations of our belief in his

innocence, made us feel as if our task was altogether a hopeless one; but we had made up our minds that, cost us what labour or time it would, right should be done, and we left him with the assurance that before many months had passed he should be with us once again. We were all rather sad that day, and we returned home. When there, we held a sort of meeting of all our family and a few of our neighbours. We knew poor James was innocent, so we did not talk much about that, and we set about talking of the best way of getting evidence to prove that he had never stolen twelve lambs that he had never seen. While we were talking over this matter, a young woman ran in to tell us that she had told Bell's mother that her son had got five years, and that when she heard it she fell on the ground insensible. The young woman said that she believed that she was dead. That stopped our first meeting; but Bell's mother was not dead, she had only fallen in a fit. Shortly after a woman sent in three shillings, and she said that that would pay for the printing of a hundred bills asking for information that would lead to the discovery of the real thieves. We ourselves were out of money, for we had spent all we had in paying lawyers to defend him. When we were about to get the bills printed, Mr. Rendall, a house agent, said that he would put "£10 reward" at the top of them, and he asked the acquaintances of the thieves, too, if they knew anything about the stolen lambs, to call up for the money. The bills were printed, and we put them up in a hundred different places on the same night that Bell was sentenced. The first night I went out,' continues Edds, 'I went after the master drover who gave evidence against James. I thought from his way in court that he was a thief, and I was not wrong. He had a mean look, and he used to hang down his head when he was passing by any of our family. He was keeping company with a young woman, and I have often been tired out following them. I thought that they would never stop talking and walking. They used to walk down John-street Road, on to Shoreditch, and then back again all round Islington. What they talked about I could not make out, and I often thought that he might say something to her about the lambs. One night I saw them go into a public-house. I was afraid to follow them, for I knew that that would stop their conversation. I stood outside, and while I was waiting I saw a poorly-dressed young man sauntering along the road, and I went up to him and asked him would he have a drink. He said "Yes," and I then told him that I would give him sixpence if he would go into the public-house and tell me what the drover and his sweetheart were talking about. I said to him, "Get up to them as close as you can, and listen to all they say." He said he would. This was in the John-street Road. In half an hour he came out, and he said, "He is telling her how he's looked at in the market with an eye of suspicion, and some of the drovers say that he knows more about it than Bell did. That's all I could get you." I gave him another sixpence and went away, for it was twelve o'clock at night. For a whole fortnight I kept watching those two, night after night. Then Mr. Guerrier came into the field and offered £100 reward. He came with me some nights. The drover afterwards got four months' imprisonment for lifting a lady's mantle off a draper's door in the Holloway Road, and handing it to his sweetheart, while he was taking an evening walk with her. She, poor girl, also got imprisoned for taking the present from her lover. One is in Coldbath-fields, and the young woman is in the Westminster House of Correction. While we were watching I frequently went into from six to ten public-houses every day. Sometimes by going in with other people, and paying for what they had, I was able to avoid drinking even ginger beer, for I never drank anything else. During the time I was engaged in this anything but pleasant work, which lasted five months, I went into 270 public-houses—not bad for a teetotaler—and I saw in that time twenty working men thrown out of public-houses, after they had spent all their money, and had become insensible from drink. They were generally caught hold of by the throat and the shoulder, and the landlord or his barman used then to throw them out on to the flags. I have often heard a dull heavy thud, caused by the man's head falling on the stones. Some of the harmen used to say, "Pity people don't know when they have enough. They never do — they are so ignorant." Shortly after Mr. Guerrier came to our assistance, we received a letter from one of the men who stole the lambs, but he did

not give his name. The letter was very short, and it was: "I stole the lambs, and not James Bell. Get up a memorial to the Government, saying that he is innocent. I have written to the judge and to the police-sergeant, to tell them so. Send you 2s. worth of postage stamps, and I shall send you more when I can." There was no clue given to the writer of the letter, and it had been posted in the General Post Office. We tried to find out where that letter came from, but failed. We gave it to Mr. Guerrier, to see whether he could trace the handwriting. In about a week another letter in the same handwriting arrived. It was:—"Bell,—I hear that you have given my letter up to Mr. Guerrier, and only that you have done so I should have given you more assistance; but now, if any one come near me, I shall put a knife up to the handle into them" That was all he said, and he still withheld his name. I then went round to several of the post-offices, and asked whether any drover had lately bought two shillings worth of postage stamps. They were civil, and they said at the offices that they had not noticed any one. In trying to trace the letter, there was one drover that we came across whose writing we thought was the same, and we watched him for a month, and one Friday we went up to him, and said, "You know something about this, and we have sent for a warrant for you." He replied, "Good ——, I know nothing of this, I am as innocent as Bell;" and he cried. We afterwards found out that he had nothing to do with it. On the following Friday he was on Clerkenwell Green, talking to several men about the arrest of three men for sheep-stealing at Tottenham, when a young man came up and said, "What a shame young Bell should get five years for nothing. I know one of the parties that had the lambs." One of the men said, "Do you? then it's £100 for us, if you tell." The young man replied, "I have opened my mouth too wide," and he ran down the street, and several of the men ran after him, and they discovered where he was employed. They then told us what he said. We were three days trying to find out that young man, for he threw up his employment when he heard that detectives were after him. We passed him one morning at two o'clock returning from the Britannia Theatre, where he told us he had seen "All is Not Gold that Glitters." He refused to tell us anything, but after some persuasion and threats he consented to go to a solicitor's in the morning. He went, and his statement was written down, and he said in it that Daly was the thief, not Bell. The police were then applied to, and they refused to give any assistance, saying, "We have got the right man in Bell, and we will do nothing more." Common policemen used to stand on Saffron Hill and say to us, "The walls are high. Three policemen have sworn against him, and you can't get him out, and you shan't get him out." We sent a letter to Bell to tell him that his innocence was nearly proved, and to "Trust in God, as He is the great deliverer." That letter was sent on the 3rd of June, and was returned to us from Pentonville Prison the next day, after it had been read by the Governor. It was endorsed—"Memo. 5,546. James Bell will not be entitled to receive a letter until the 18th of November, 68. 4, 6, 68. GOVERNOR."—The next part was to go to Tottenham to the hearing of the three prisoners. Two of the prisoners had to sign their names, and one of their handwritings corresponded with the letter that we had received. He was the guilty man, and he has since got five years. His name was Daly, and he afterwards confessed to Mr. Guerrier, while he was in the House of Detention, and in it he implicated others, but fully cleared Bell. The police were again applied to, and they still persisted in refusing to give us any assistance. Several of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood then got up a public meeting on Clerkenwell Green, "to protest against the injustice of keeping an innocent man in prison when it was known that he was innocent." The meeting was a crowded one, and several very long and loud speeches were made. The police told us that we should have to prove the guilty parties guilty before we could get Bell out. Even after Daly's confession we were told that we should never have him out. The consequence was, that we determined to give Winter into custody. We arrested him at a slaughterhouse in Whitechapel, and then we took him to Inspector Thomson, at Scotland Yard. The reason that I arrested Winter was that I had heard that it would be necessary to capture and convict everybody concerned in the stealing of the lambs before I could get Bell out. When I got Winter

the police for the first time gave me the use of a constable, and he went with us to Scotland Yard.'

Mr. Rendall states that, believing in the innocence of Bell, he exerted himself to procure evidence which would establish the fact to the satisfaction of the authorities. He visited innumerable public-houses, choosing by preference the least respectable. The haunts of the lowest class of drovers, roughs, and bad characters generally were the most promising with regard to the end in view, but visits to such places were not always unattended with inconvenience, and even danger. 'On one occasion,' says Mr. Rendall, 'while in a wretched public-house amongst all sorts of people, and while attending carefully to what was being said all around, I noticed one man whom, from his appearance, I judged to be a likely person to lift sheep. I, therefore, walked towards him and invited him to have a drink. I got into conversation with him, and gradually introduced the subject of sheep. All appeared to be going on right enough until I somewhat incautiously spoke of Bell and the twelve lambs. He instantly took the alarm, and eyeing me with great suspicion from head to foot, he appeared to come to a conclusion the reverse of complimentary. He looked me full in the face, and cried out in a voice that struck upon the ears of everybody in the place, "He is a —— detective." The public was instantly in an uproar. The cry of "The detectives! the detectives!" was raised by nearly everybody in the place, and they all began to crowd round in a most threatening manner. I did not at all feel intimidated, although I will confess that I remembered very distinctly at that moment the expressions in the letters promising the knife to anybody who was too inquisitive with respect to the stolen lambs. I knew how to deal with them, however, and I kept quite cool. I took no notice of the others, but I said to my man, "What a fool you are making of yourself. I am no more a detective than you are. You have been drinking too much." The obvious truth of this last remark made them give me credit for that of the other. The affair blew over, and I quietly slipped out of the house as soon as possible.'

After Daly's confession, the labours of those who interested themselves in the matter were not lightened. There were two others of those implicated in the crime still to be discovered. From the attitude taken by the police it was pretty evident that nothing short of the conviction of the whole gang of the real criminals would suffice to secure the liberation of Bell. The question was how to get hold of the two rascals still at large. Acting on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, four members of the profession were dexterously appealed to, and were promised £5 each if they would get the required information. They got a sovereign on account, but they seemed loth to act in the matter. When pressed they stated what seemed to be true enough, that they were afraid they would get the knife if they did not mind what they were about. Their scruples, however, yielded to a higher bribe and solemn asseverations of secrecy—one of them, who is known, has received a free passage to America and £10. The result of this diplomacy was shown in the conviction of the three thieves at the Middlesex Sessions.—*Morning Star.*

ORGANISATION OF THE DESTITUTE POOR AND CRIMINAL.

Let us now briefly apply these plans and principles, beginning with the *criminal* population. Men and boys belonging to this class must be made to understand, through the medium of friendly meetings, at which no policeman should be allowed, that measures are being taken for offering all who will accept it honest employment with cheerful amusement, but that far closer watch will be kept on known and suspected thieves, and far longer and severer punishments will shortly be inflicted on those who, still preferring a life of crime, are convicted and sentenced. At these meetings the men themselves should be invited to state their own wants and wishes, and the aim should

be to adopt and supplement their views, when reasonable, as far as possible. Those who are willing to live honestly and to work must then be enrolled in groups, clubs, or societies, with presidents or captains over every ten, fifty, and a hundred members, great care being taken to make both them and their former companions know that none of these reclaimed criminals will be invited or, indeed, allowed to give information incriminating their associates for past offences. As fast as you gain any influence over them, you must endeavour to make good your ground by uniting them with some kind of organised society. Meetings of a similar character should also be held for inviting the honest roughs and unemployed poor to join a society or club in their neighbourhood. English labourers, as well as artisans, are already accustomed to organisation, to some extent, by their friendly societies and benefit clubs. By thus gathering these chaotic individuals into organised groups, you will be able by degrees to awaken in them an *esprit de corps*—an attachment to, and a pride in, the society or community in which they are enrolled. May not men in a condition not more anarchic and hopeless than the early settlers in Rome, the Anglo-Saxons when the Danish deluge was rolled back, Florentine *ciompi* in the Middle Ages, or French *sans-culottes* during the wars of the Revolution—may not our criminal and destitute population be brought to care strongly for a society of which they are the organised members—to care for it, not to the heroic or death-point, perhaps, but sufficiently to call forth much of their better nature? For this purpose, however, it would be needful, first, that there should be a simple natural organisation into which they can easily enter; secondly, that this organisation should form a society or community which they can feel some pride and find some joy in belonging to; thirdly, that they should have the hope and the chance of gradually making that fellowship, club, or community more worthy of honour, and more capable of affording honour and joy to those who *belong to it*.

In like manner, there must be a system introduced into these groups or communities, whereby, on the one hand, men deserving of trust and honour should receive it; and, on the other, unworthy conduct, especially violation of the law, whether of the State or the society, would be instantly denounced and punished. By the Saxon system of 'Frank-pledge,' and on which I desire to lay great stress, not only would every man be answerable for his neighbour, but the whole community would be liable for the misdeeds of a single member. In fact, there is true fellowship, a veritable corporate society, only in proportion as the members are thus bound together, so that if the hand offends the foot also suffers. In the case of reclaimed criminals, at all events, the head of each group and of each subdivision must be held legally answerable for the conduct of the members beneath their supervision, and we might trust to the honour even of thieves that if this were done very little crime comparatively would be undetected.

Genuine suffering and hardship among the destitute poor would thus, also, be at once promptly discovered and effectually relieved, while imposture would as surely be exposed. District visitors are admirable persons, whose visits in some shape will always be most useful and needed. Many a blessing of unspeakable value has been brought to a sorrowing, ignorant, or sin-stricken abode through their instrumentality. And they would be wanted more than ever, for a time, under the system I propose. Relieving officers, detectives, and policemen generally in their way are very useful and necessary, and long will be. But much of the work now being done by district visitors, relieving officers, and the police could be done far better if the roughs and rogues of our great cities, reclaimed criminals, and the honest but suffering poor, could be got to *help* in doing it, and especially to prevent the necessity for its being done by visitors, or policemen, or relieving officers at all. It is quite true, however, and *most important to be observed*, that a system of Frank-pledge, of supervision, and responsibility *for crime only* would soon be felt to be degrading. You make it healthful and welcome by combining with it relief in sickness and suffering, provision for amusement and education, a share in the management of the little commonwealth or society, and the cultivation generally of corporate, brotherly, neighbourly life. Thus, persons who had lately been, or still were, leading criminal lives would come under supervision anyhow; but if they joined one of these clubs it would not be their conduct only that would be looked after,

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but also their comfort, means of livelihood, enjoyment, and so forth.

But pray understand that it is not proposed to attempt uniting in one fellowship honest roughs and dishonest rogues while the latter *remain* dishonest; nor, in fact, to organise at all those who are living a criminal life. Whether, as men give up thieving, and take to honest work, the honest poor will allow them to be associated with them remains to be seen. There is reason to hope that, under good influences and wise arrangements, this might be accomplished, even as reclaimed drunkards have been cordially welcomed, nay, drawn into temperance brotherhoods consisting of sober men. But, then, as in the teetotal movement so in this, persons of good character and higher social position —clergymen, skilled artisans, noblemen, and benevolent ladies — must also join these groups and organisations. It is true that the separate groups must consist *chiefly* of persons residing in the same neighbourhood or district, both for the sake of sociable intercourse, mutual improvement and recreation, and also for the supervision, guidance, and help to be given by each officer or family to those subordinated to them. But the larger organisations in which the smaller societies should be united, might contain many of a higher class; and, under all circumstances, a certain proportion of the more influential class, possessing simple and kindly dispositions, would be invaluable for filling particular offices, for occasional visiting, but especially for promoting recreation, business, education, and general good fellowship. Thus the higher and lower ranks would find a common meeting-ground, and a good understanding would be promoted between them in a simple natural way.

Each group or club should probably meet once a-week at first for business and friendly discussion. After awhile, once a month would be often enough. For the first six months after the society was formed, perhaps for a year, every male member of each group above twenty-one should be at liberty to attend and vote at these meetings, with a view of awakening and sustaining general interest in the proceedings; and at no period should any general laws be made or rescinded except by the whole body assembled. But, after awhile, the general business of each club or society should be transacted by a committee chosen quarterly or half-yearly. The business and the laws would, of course, have reference only to whatever concerned their common weal. Any matters relating to employment, recreation, education, relief of distress, supervision, to the health of the district, the operation of the Poor-law, condition of dwellings, drainage, the appointment of officers, and so forth, would be among the matters for discussion. These meetings, among other useful purposes, would perform the valuable function of what is known by most working men's clubs and institutes as the 'Remark Book'— a book in which any member can write suggestions for the benefit of the club, or mention any grievances under which the members labour. This book is duly laid before the committee; and in like manner a record of remarks made at the above-mentioned meetings should regularly come before the governing body.

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With regard to the means of enforcing obedience to the rules and government of these organisations, you can only

inflict direct punishment by means of fines. But indirectly, and far more efficiently, you can exercise the requisite amount of correction or retribution by depriving members for longer or shorter periods of privileges and enjoyments. But for this purpose you must *give* enjoyments and privileges. And the promotion of the general happiness thus becomes as useful in preserving order and obedience to rules as for its own direct benefits.

It will no doubt be urged that I have been suggesting the employment of far too many agencies in combined operation. I answer that you might as well object that this table rests on too many legs. It stands firmly precisely because it has several supports, not three or two. We constantly find that one agency is inoperative without another, and that other without a third, and so on, because they each supplement the deficiencies or strengthen the weak points of the rest. As human wants and weaknesses are very manifold and diverse, so must be the agencies for meeting the one or supporting the other. Otherwise admirable schemes have failed just for want of attending to this principle.

Two or three points only remain to be noticed, or rather time permits of my noticing only these.

1. The assistance of Government should be obtained for the appointment of commissioners to engage the services of competent engineers to set the unemployed poor to work on remunerative labour, as in the time of the Lancashire cotton famine, and also for passing an Act for the infliction of long sentences on offenders convicted the second or third time after due warning given, according to the suggestions made above. By offering the criminally-disposed great facilities for escaping from a life of crime, and great privileges of various kinds when they have abandoned their evil courses, we earn a right to restrain them from further injury to society by far severer punishment than would now be equitable. We should have a velvet paw of tenderest benevolence for those who will accept our help, but beneath it a claw sharp as steel for those who still rebel. We must not be exposed, if this scheme should ever be put in operation, to its being continually thrown out of gear by returned convicts and incorrigible gaol-birds coming back at short intervals to boast of their victory over law and order, and to seduce from a new and at first irksome life of honest labour their former and better-disposed companions. The aid of the Legislature must also be invoked to restrain the present enormous multiplication of public-houses and beershops, and to amend the whole system of licensing these terrible temptations to evil; while an Act to levy an exceptional and heavy rate upon houses inhabited by thieves and receivers of stolen goods (according to a valuable suggestion by Mr. Pare, F.S.S., in a paper read before the Social Science Association in 1862) would also most materially promote the object.

2. In order to carry out to their full extent these plans you would need, no doubt, a far larger body of devoted Christian workers than is even now engaged in philanthropic labours in the metropolis, each having his or her special department of work or superintendence according to their gifts and calling, with a definite relation to one or more above and to others below them in the required organisation. The 'Parabolani' of the early Christian Church are a memorable illustration of what may be, and to some extent is now being done to promote missionary effort in the midst of a half-barbarous people surrounded by luxurious civilisation. But I think we need not fear that this body of workers would not be gradually forthcoming. For while on the one hand there is all that huge chaotic mass of suffering and crime, there is assuredly on the other a vast amount both of active and latent, or wasted because unorganised, Christian energy and love. Thousands of generous-hearted men and women of every rank, from the aristocracy downwards, often feel life to be a burden, and seek refuge in frivolity, or worse dissipation, simply because they have had no fitting field presented to them for the exercise of their energies and benevolent affections. A noble sphere would be offered by the plans detailed above to thousands of high-hearted, accomplished young men and educated women for bringing their accomplishments and influence to promote the reclamation and happiness of their sinning and suffering fellow-creatures, by helping in concerts, readings, exhibitions, lectures, classes, discussions, excursions, &c., or by guidance and counsel at home—perhaps by leading forth emigration abroad.

An inestimable blessing also might possibly result from this co-operation

of earnest benevolent persons for a great common object—viz., greater Christian union and charity among the servants and disciples of our common Lord and Head. All long and pray for that true unity in Him which has been sought for in many ways, but which, perhaps, can never really be attained except by first uniting in practical Christian labours for the benefit of those for whom He died.

The practical steps to be taken at once, if you think it good to take any at all, seem to be the appointment of a committee composed of representatives of the principal London philanthropic societies, who shall be requested to put themselves in communication with their respective committees, with the clergy, ministers, and missionaries of the various denominations in London, with Scripture-readers, with the Poor-law Board and the Commissioners of Police, with the view in the first instance simply of laying before them the foregoing and various other principles; requesting, in return, co-operation, suggestions, and information. They should then present a report of what they have been able to learn and to do to a conference of leading social reformers, which should be convened next spring, and when it could be decided whether any and what steps should be taken to carry these or other plans into effect. For want of a practical step of this kind following up meetings for discussion, many valuable measures have been at various times lost sight of and much valuable time lost.

But do not, I beg of you, imagine that I want to propose the formation of a new society, or the sudden commencement of some gigantic organisation. I want simply, in the first instance, to urge the principle of applying benevolent energy and resources to the uprooting, the complete extirpation of the distress and crime caused by defective civilisation, instead of merely to palliative measures—to prevention instead of cure. And with that view, I would urge, in the second place, that our benevolent societies should form or co-operate with this joint committee, for deliberation and collecting the materials for future action. No matter how little progress is made at first in the right direction, so long as it *is* in the right direction, real progress towards ultimate health, and not merely plaistering over the sores. If you can in any district set the honest unemployed men to remunerative work, get half-a-dozen thieves really to give up thieving, and bring these and twenty roughs besides to group themselves in fellowship that involves civilised humane ways of life, you may feel satisfied that you are on the sure road to ultimate victory, which I do not think we are, by any means, at present.

I pray you remember that if we do not more or less *crush* those evils in this generation, the task will be far more terrible for our children. Social disorganisation and moral putrefaction, such as we have seen in the most flourishing communities of other times, may be expected, as a slow gangrene or sudden paralysis, to invade the body politic, unless we can arrest its progress by a living healthy development of organised fellowship and benevolent co-operation. —*Destitute Poor and Criminal Classes. By the Rev. H. Solly.*

INCREASE OF INSANITY AMONG THE POOR.

That insanity is largely on the increase among our poorer classes has long been admitted by those who have specially directed their attention to the subject, and there is much in the recently published Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, despite its lamentably-defective statistics and decided lack of information on vital points, in support of the painful and disheartening allegation. Of the 31,917 lunatics officially mentioned as remaining, on the 1st of January, 1867, in the various county and borough asylums, registered hospitals, metropolitan and provincial licensed houses, and naval, military, and State criminal asylums in England and Wales, no less than 25,998 belonged to the pauper class. On the 1st of January, 1868, the number of insane patients confined in these institutions had risen to 33,213; this marked increase being wholly among the pauper lunatics, the number of which, at that date, was 27,361, the

better class of patients exhibiting a decrease of 67 during the same period. These figures do not include the patients confined in the lunatic wards of our workhouses; this species of information being apparently considered of remote importance by the commissioners, who merely inform us—in a separate table—that in the 299 workhouses in England and Wales, visited under their direction in 1867, the number of insane, idiotic, and imbecile inmates was 7,987. As to the number of persons of unsound mind residing as single patients, either in lodgings or with their relatives, the commissioners do not condescend to vouchsafe any information whatever, although in their previous report they obligingly mentioned that the number of such persons then actually under their notice was 6,861. It is perfectly clear that if we desire to stay the further progress of insanity in this country, we must, as a mere preliminary step, acquire a considerably larger amount of definitive information respecting the actual extent to which cerebral diseases prevail among the community in general, especially among the poor; also respecting the real or probable causes of the same. As regards the latter, the commissioners' report is absolutely worthless. It merely supplies certain formal statistics of a most meagre and commonplace character, leaving those who wish to investigate this painful subject to procure their information from non-official sources. Considering the expensive character of the commission, we have a right to look for more satisfactory results. So far as we can ascertain, it would appear that it is the lower and most degraded section of the poorer classes which furnishes the great proportion of lunacy cases. It is amongst these that drunkenness is most rife. They certainly are the largest consumers of the vilely-adulterated malt liquors and spirits common in poor neighbourhoods, and it is most desirable that it should be ascertained whether there be any connection between the wholesale system of drug-poisoning practised by large numbers of beershop-keepers and publicans on the one hand, and the increasing prevalence of insanity among their customers on the other.

Again, most medical men are aware that severe privation, sanitary deficiencies, depression of animal spirits arising from want of employment, parental intemperance, defective living, over-work, and adulterated food, are among the prolific causes of working-class insanity; yet the commissioners take not the slightest heed of these. They pride themselves, however, on the adoption of a series of tabular forms, 'drawn up,' we are told, 'after careful consideration of the subject, by a committee of the Medico-Psychological Association,' and which tables, they believe, will enable them to prepare 'a compilation of facts,' of 'the greatest utility in statistical comparison,' and which will 'supply the chief requisites for a scientific application of the results of medical experience.' Now, will it be believed that these much-vaunted tables merely show the number of admissions, re-admissions, and deaths; the proportion of deaths and recoveries; causes of death; length of residence, &c., in each asylum? All this information ought to have been procured on the first establishment of the commission, and it is scarcely to the credit of the commissioners that no systematic attempt should have been made in this direction until the commencement of last year. In their present report the commissioners recommend the collection of information relative to the number and duration of insane attacks, age, and condition—whether married or single—of patients, and probable causes of cerebral disease. So far, good. But under a proper system we should, long before this, have been in full possession of such details, also of others relative to the trades or occupations of the persons afflicted, their social habits, the physical condition of their immediate relatives, and numerous equally-essential facts, the knowledge of which is requisite to a proper investigation of the subjects. If the commissioners have not legal power to insist upon the collection of such information, they ought to have at once applied to Parliament for the same, instead of allowing things to take their wonted course without the slightest hindrance. The interests of the community demand that the country should be placed in possession of all procurable information respecting the real or probable causes of insanity, and of the conditions under which it is fostered, so that some attempt may be made to effectually stay its further increase.

With respect to the condition of the insane coming under the observation of the commissioners, there seem to have been more pains taken with regard to investigating the state of the 'body' and

'gentleman' class, than in the case of the mere paupers; but we should be loth to accuse the commissioners of unfairness in this respect. Their report, however, contains ample evidence that in many of the metropolitan and provincial workhouses and asylums, the treatment of the insane poor, although superior to that adopted in former years, remains far from being what it ought to be. The want of proper provision for the insane poor of Middlesex has caused the metropolitan licensed houses, in which paupers are received, to become crowded to overflowing. In other instances, numbers of recent and acute cases 'have remained for long periods in the wards of workhouses, where no proper means for their care or treatment are provided.' False notions of economy have in more than one place produced a tendency 'to relieve the pressure on the asylums, and to avoid building, by removing to the workhouses harmless chronic cases.' This tendency has been severely commented on, in previous reports, by the commissioners, but without result. 'During the past year (1867)' say the commissioners, 'in many of the populous unions in the provinces, separate lunatic wards have either been established, or the existing wards have been extended. These wards are professedly intended only for such chronic and harmless patients as it is proper to retain in the workhouse; but we very generally find that where such wards exist, they are not restricted to the above-named class, but that, as a rule, in many unions recent cases of insanity are sent to them in the first instance, and are only removed to the asylum when they have become so violent and dangerous as to be quite unmanageable, after imperfect attempts at cure in the workhouse have failed, and when much valuable time has been lost, during which the patients, if submitted to proper treatment, might have recovered.' Here, surely, exist reasons for legislative interference.

But this is not all. In the report before us we have numerous significant complaints, on the part of the commissioners, of the deficiency of bathing and washing accommodation in many of the asylums visited by them. In some, the cisterns were too small to admit of the patients being washed separately; in others, the same water was used for four or more patients. In the Devon County Asylum there were only four baths for 266 male patients, and five baths for 400 female patients; while in the Dorset County Asylum there were only four wash-basins for eighty-two patients. In the Sussex County Asylum a much better state of things prevailed. In that institution, which is under the care of Dr. Robertson and Dr. Williams—the latter gentleman formerly belonged to the Northampton Asylum—the bathing arrangements are represented as 'very good;' every patient being bathed twice a week, and each time having fresh water. The quality of the food supplied to the insane is found to vary considerably. In some establishments there is nothing to complain of; in others, there is much to condemn. In one place the soup tasted by the commissioners is spoken of as 'poor and tasteless;' in another, it is described as being of 'poor quality,' and rejected by nearly fifty of the patients; in a third case, the meat was considered as 'somewhat coarse and inferior in quality;' elsewhere, the meat proved too 'hard,' or the suet-pudding appeared 'to be generally disliked,' or the use of mustard and pepper is practically forbidden, and so forth. Then we are told of establishments where the drains are very defective, the case-books neglected or badly kept, the staff of attendants too small, the class of keepers inferior, in consequence of the low wages offered, no physical or mental occupation provided for the patients, no attempt made to impart a cheerful aspect to the interior of the wards, and where overcrowding is largely practised. In the Carmarthen Asylum, we are told, 'little or nothing has been done to supply the numerous deficiencies in the way of furniture, and the wards still present a very bare and comfortless appearance.' In the same place, the commissioners 'are very sorry to be obliged to report that the case-books have been almost entirely neglected.' In the Hants County Asylum, 'the recommendations made during a series of years, at each successive visit of members of our board, have had little or no attention.' Here, too, 'the seclusion continues to be large.' At Colney Hatch, we are informed that 'one subject on which remark has been made at every commissioners' visit, but without obtaining the attention which, above almost every other, it requires, is that of regular employment for the male patients. Out of 825 male inmates, there is not an average of more than forty engaged on the land and fifty in the workshops; while in the tailors' and

shoemakers' shops there are almost as many paid workmen as working patients.' In the Somerset County Asylum, the state of the persons and dress of the male patients is reported as being 'far from satisfactory.' 'Much of their clothing,' we are told, 'even of those in the dining-hall, was of inferior quality, untidy, and out of repair.' In the same place the commissioners remark the want of table-cloths, 'the absence of which tends to diminish the aspect of domestic comfort.' While visiting the City of London Asylum, the commissioners 'noticed a considerable number of patients wearing strong and special dresses of an unsightly character, secured by locks and belts;' in consequence of which they recommended 'the disuse of such obsolete contrivances,' but we are not informed whether their recommendation has been acted upon. In connection with the same institution, we are told that 'the airing-courts in connection with the worst wards remain in a rough and unfinished state, neither laid out, turfed, nor planted.'

Complaints similar to the foregoing are scattered profusely through the report of the commissioners, and read very inconsistently with the high praise invariably lavished by them on the medical and other authorities connected with each asylum. Indiscriminate praise of this kind is worth little. In fact, it is almost an insult to bestow on those in charge of really well-managed institutions the same meed of approbation as that dealt out in cases where there has been so much of which to complain and so little of which to approve. Altogether, the general tenor of the report is far from re-assuring; it rather tends to convince us that things are considerably worse than they are made to appear.—*London Review.*

PETTED DAUGHTERS AND SPOILT WIVES.

It is seldom that a petted daughter becomes a spoilt wife, human affairs having that marvellous power of compensation, that inevitable tendency to readjust the balance, which prevents the continuance of a like excess under different forms. Besides, a spoilt daughter generally makes such a supremely unpleasant wife that the husband has no inducement to continue the mistake, and therefore either lowers her tone by a judicious exhibition of snubbing, or, if she is aggressive as well as unpleasant, leaves her to fight with her shadows in the best way she can, glad for his own part to escape the strife she will not forego. One characteristic of the spoilt woman is her impatience of anything like rivalry. She never has a female friend—certainly not one of her own degree, and not one at all in the true sense of the word. Friendship presupposes equality, and a spoilt woman knows no equality. She has been so long accustomed to consider herself as the lady paramount, that she cannot understand it if any one steps in to share her honours and divide her throne. To praise the beauty of any other woman, to find her charming, or to pay her the attention due to a charming woman, is to insult our spoilt darling, and to slight her past forgiveness. If there is only one good thing, it must be given to her—the first seat, the softest cushion, the most protected situation; and she looks for the best of all things as if naturally consecrated from her birth into the sunshine of life, and as if the 'cold shade' which may do for others, were by no means the portion allotted to her. It is almost impossible to make the spoilt woman understand the grace or the glory of sacrifice. By rare good fortune she may sometimes be found to possess an indestructible germ of conscience which sorrow and necessity can develop into active good; but only sometimes. The spoilt woman *par excellence* understands only her own value, only her own merits and the absolutism of her own requirements; and sacrifice, self-abnegation, and the whole class of virtues belonging to unselfishness, are as much unknown to her as is the Decalogue in the original, or the squaring of the circle. The spoilt woman, as the wife of an unsuccessful husband or the mother of sickly children, is a pitiable spectacle. If it comes to her to be obliged to sacrifice her usual luxuries, to make an old gown serve when a new one is desired, to sit up all night watching by the sick bed, to witness the painful details of illness

—perhaps of death—to meet hardship face to face, and to bend her back to the burden of sorrow, she is at the first absolutely lost. Not the thing to be done, but her own discomfort in doing it, is the one master idea—not others' needs, but her own pain in supplying them, the great grief of the moment. Many are the hard lessons set us by life and fate, but the hardest of all is that given to the spoilt woman, when she is made to think for others rather than for herself, and is forced by the exigencies of circumstances to sacrifice her own ease for the greater necessities of her kind.

All that large part of the perfect woman's nature which expresses itself in serving is an unknown function to the spoilt woman. She must be waited on, but she cannot in her turn serve even the one or two she loves. She is the woman who calls her husband from one end of the room to the other to put down her cup rather than reach out her arm to put it down for herself—who, however weary he may be, will bid him get up and ring the bell, though it is close to her own hand, and her longest walk during the day has been from the dining room to the drawing room. It is not that she cannot do these small offices for herself, but that she likes the feeling of being waited on and attended to; and it is not for love, and the amiable if weak pleasure of attracting the notice of the beloved—it is just for the vanity of being a little somebody for the moment, and of playing off the same regality involved in the procedure. She would not return the attention. Unlike the Eastern women, who wait on their lords hand and foot, and who place their highest honour in their lowliest service, the spoilt woman of Western life knows nothing of the natural grace of womanly serving for love, for grace, or for gratitude. This kind of thing is peculiarly strong among the *demi-monde* of the higher class, and among women who are not of the *demi-monde* by station, but by nature. The respect they cannot command by their virtues they demand in the simulation of manner; and perhaps no women are more tenacious of the outward forms of deference than those who have lost their claims to the vital reality. It is very striking to see the difference between the women of this type, the *petites maitresses* who require the utmost attention and almost servility from man, and the noble dignity of service which the pure woman can afford to give—which she finds, indeed, that it belongs to the very purity and nobleness of her womanhood to give. It is the old story of the ill-assured position which is afraid of its own weakness, and the security which can afford to descend—the rule holding good for other things besides mere social place.

Another characteristic of the spoilt woman is the changeableness and excitability of her temper. All suavity, and gentleness, and delightful gaiety, and perfect manners when every thing goes right, she startles you by her outburst of petulance when the first cross comes. If no man is a hero to his valet, neither is a spoilt woman a heroine to her maid; and the lady who has just been the charm of the drawing room, upstairs in her boudoir makes her maid go through spiritual exercises to which walking on burning ploughshares is the only fit analogy. A length of lace unstarched, a ribbon unsewed, a flower set awry, anything that crumples only one of the myriad rose leaves on which she lies, and the spoilt woman raves as much as if each particular leaf had become suddenly beset with thorns. If a dove was to be transformed to a hawk the change would not be more complete, more startling, than that which occurs when the spoilt woman of well bred company manners puts off her mask to her maid, and shows her temper over trifles. Whoever else may suffer the grievances of life, she cannot understand that she also must be at times one of the sufferers with the rest; and if by chance the bad moment comes, the persons accompanying it has a hard time of it. There are spoilt women also who have their peculiar exercises in thought and opinion, and who cannot suffer that any one should think differently from themselves, or find those things sacred which to them are accursed. They will hear nothing but what is in harmony with themselves, and they take it as a personal insult when men or women attempt to reason with them, or even hold their own without flinching. This kind is to be found specially among the more intellectual of a family or a circle—women who are pronounced 'clever' by their friends, and who have been so long accustomed to think themselves clever that they become spoilt mentally as others are personally, and fancy that minds and

thoughts must follow in their direction just as eyes and hands must follow and attend their orders. The study of man of the world, and of a literature generally, has a greatly given to large discourse that does not of a kind that leaves all to one side, and that denies the right of any one to criticise, doubt, or contradict, is an intellectual Tower of Pisa under the shadow of which it is not pleasant to live.—*Saturday Review.*

CARICATURE AND ITS HISTORY DURING THE REIGNS OF THE GEORGES.

The application of song and satire as a means of political warfare is one of the most characteristic features in the history of every people with whose history we have much acquaintance. Caricatures have been found on Egyptian tombs. The song and the lampoon were the constant attendants on and incentives to those assemblies in the struggles which, during the middle ages, were preparing for the formation of modern society; and many an old manuscript and sculptured block, whether of wood or stone, show that the draftsmen in those times understood well the permanent force of pictorial satire. But it is more especially in religious matters that the middle ages, heavy and gloomy as they were, have left us proofs of the importance of appealing through the eye to the hearts of the masses. In the rapid and temporary movements of political strife this weapon could not be adopted with much effect until after the invention of printing, when, by a quick process, pictures engraved could be multiplied indefinitely. It was in the latter part of the sixteenth, and especially during the seventeenth century, that engraved caricatures became a very formidable instrument in working upon the feelings of the populace. Songs and lampoons, which every tongue could assist in circulating, have never ceased to show themselves in great abundance during every political movement since the period when the small amount of historical information which time has left us, allows us first to trace them; and they, as well as our natures, have been by far too much neglected as historical documents,—for in them, perhaps, alone can we hope to trace many of the real motives which caused or exerted an influence over all the great popular revolutions of the past. In the wish to show the utility of such records, by illustrating a given period of modern history from materials entirely derived from these sources, originated the following course of lectures on the reigns of the first three Georges. It is to us an interesting period, because in it arose all those distinctions of political parties, and that peculiar spirit of constitutional antagonism which exist at the present day. With it most of the political questions now in dispute took their rise. It consists in itself of two periods; the first that in which the House of Brunswick was established in the throne of England upon the ruins of Jacobitism, and by the overthrow of the political creed of despotism; the second, that in which the same dynasty and its throne were defended against the encroachments of that fear-inspired republicanism which burst out from the neighbouring kingdom, and when they thus gained a victory over democracy. During these periods both the great political parties in this country came into play; in the first, the constitution owed its salvation to the Whigs, in the second, it was in all probability saved, perhaps not altogether gracefully, by the Tories. It may be necessary to state that in the present work the political colour of the history has been generally given more or less as represented in the class of materials on which it was founded. This was the period during which political caricatures flourished in England—when they were not mere pictures to amuse and excite a laugh, but when they were made extensively subservient to the political warfare that was going on. This use of them seems to have been imported from Holland, and to have first come into extensive practice after the revolution of 1688. Before that time, the art of engraving had not made sufficient progress in this country to allow them to be produced with much effect. The older caricatures, those, for instance, upon Cromwell, were chiefly executed by Dutch artists;

and even in the great inundation of caricatures occasioned by the South Sea bubble, the majority of them came from Holland. It was a defect of the earlier productions of this class, that they partook more of an emblematical character, than of what we now understand by the term caricature. Even Hogarth, when he turned his hand to politics, could not shake off the old prejudice on this subject, and it would be difficult to point out worse examples than the two celebrated publications which drew upon him so much popular odium, 'The Times.'

Modern caricature took its form from the pencils of a number of clever amateur artists, who were actively engaged in the political intrigues of the reign of George II.; it became a rage during the first years of his successor; and then seemed to be dying way, to revive suddenly in the splendid conceptions of Gillray. This able artist was certainly the first caricaturist of our country; during his long career he produced a series of prints which form a complete history of the age. — *Caricature History of the Georges, by Thomas Wright, F.S.A.*

ISLAY.

All the grown male inhabitants understood English besides the Gaelic, but very few of the women or children could make themselves understood in it, especially in those parts remote from schools. If we are to credit the stories in circulation, the English of even some of the men is not particularly classic. One is told of a cattle dealer, of considerable position in the island, who had pre-engaged the steamer for his cattle. On the arrival of the boat, another drover, unaware of the compact, persisted in having his animals put on board; upon this Donald lost his temper, and eloquently expressed himself as follows:—'I tell ye I'm the poat, and the poat's me, and — the stot'll get aboord but mysel';' a conglomeration of persons and things that would rather stagger a grammarian. This is on a par with the Inverary man who addressed the cartwright of the place with, 'Are you a pig this year?' Upon the reply in the negative, he exclaimed triumphantly, 'Oh! I am two pigs this year.' I always found the men sturdy, intelligent, and hospitable, and ready to give their assistance kindly and good-humouredly; but a total disregard for truth, a 'plentiful lack' of knowledge regarding everything excepting whisky and potatoes, and the most degrading filth, these are the principal characteristics of the mass of the natives. How have they been caused? how are they to be ameliorated? are the questions that naturally arise. They are the characteristics of an enslaved people, and the consequences of a state of serfdom. Until lately, the population of the Highlands and islands had been little better than slaves. Ground down by a landed aristocracy who treated them like dogs—for rarely indeed have Scotch or Highland proprietors shown the slightest regard for the feelings or welfare of their tenants—they have gradually increased in poverty and misery. Losing all respect for themselves, they plunged into the oblivion of drunkenness, and, without the semblance of education to teach them better things, have gone from bad to worse. Gaining a scanty subsistence, partly from agriculture and partly from the sea, they have lost all regular habits of labour, and the practice of subdividing the land among their children has increased their difficulty of gaining a livelihood. Thus that look of sadness and hopelessness so generally observable among the lower classes of the Scotch, when not roused by action, settles down upon their faces. It is not always because 'they can never get enough o' fechtin,' that the Scotch look so serious; oftener far is it that they cannot get enough of proper food, and, on the mainland especially, that they cannot get sufficient rest, rest from continuous grinding labour. Seeing none on earth, they place all their hopes on heaven, and possessed of a strange mixture of superstition and religion, through a life of labour, immorality, and devotion, pass wearily to the grave. As is to be expected, the people are very immoral. I hold it almost impossible for a pure mind to rest in a filthy body, and calmly to live in the midst of dirt. This impurity of mind and body has been the growth of centuries, and is

not to be got rid of in a day. Already illicit distillation, always a great source of depravity, has been done away with in the island; other improvements must be more gradual. The education of the young, and the instillation into them of habits of cleanliness, sobriety, and the necessity for steady labour in life, will also do much. But the root of the evil is not true to be eradicated. It lies with the proprietors to assist in removing the evils caused by their predecessors during centuries of oppression, by having proper dwellings erected for their small farmers and cottar tenants. But not until the owners of the soil dwell thereon, with their wives and families; not until the women of the island have some higher standard of excellence and cleanliness brought constantly before them; not until the ladies of the lairds visit the cottages of the poor, and exercise the benign influence which ever belongs to a virtuous woman: not until the women are taught by one of their own sex that a neat wife and a bright clean fireside to welcome him at home are the best inducements to make a man work hard, and cut the public-house on his return: in fact, not until the dirty, slattenly habits of the women are thoroughly revolutionised can any real progress be anticipated. Once, through improvements in their dwellings, cleanliness becomes possible, they will take care to have everything tidy against the visit of 'her ladyship,' or the clergyman, and be ashamed to be caught with unswept hearth or dirty person. But 'Rome was not built in a day,' and certainly a considerable period must elapse before the 'great unwashed' of Islay will be presentable in society.—*Off the Chain: Notes and Essays from the West Highlands. By Gourie.*

THE ROYAL HOUSES OF ENGLAND AND SICILY.

It is true that a much closer relationship than that which has been above indicated exists between the Royal Houses of England and Sicily, but that relationship comes through the House of Savoy, and is represented by King Francis II. of the Two Sicilies, who is the eighth cousin of the Prince of Wales. A very perceptible family likeness between these two princes may be detected by even a cursory inspection either of the countenances or of the photographs of these descendants of King Charles I. Even the legislation of the English Parliament is not competent to extinguish lineal descent, however it may deal with the claims which are usually entailed on the hereditary representatives of great names of the past. But it is happy for the dynasty now enthroned at Westminster that the Nemesis of the House of Stuart—that constant and unintermitting evil fortune which in nine descents was marked by four violent deaths, two of which were on the scaffold, by one death of broken heart, by four abdications, imprisonments, or dethronements, and by the final loss of a dominion descending from the Plantagenets and from the Scottish [redacted]—has followed the right line. On [redacted]th of the Cardinal of York, in 1807, the representative of the House of Stuart was the head of the House of Savoy, who descended from Charles I. of England, through his daughter, the Duchess of Orleans, the House of Hanover being a degree more remote from the representative line, as descendants of a daughter of James I. The Stuart line of the House of Savoy lost its Italian dominions owing to the operation of the Salique law, on the death, in 1831, of Charles Felix, in whom, being the third brother succeeding to the crown of Sardinia, the dynasty became extinct. But the second of these brothers had left four daughters, two of them twins, and the eldest son of the first of these ladies who gave birth to a male child was, according to English genealogical rule, the heir by blood of the House of Stuart. The eldest daughter, who married the Duke of Modena, was also the mother of the eldest son. The third sister had no issue, her husband, the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, himself descending from his throne under the constraint of a *Conseil de Famille*, to make way for the present King of Hungary, Francis Joseph of Lorraine Hapsburg. The representatives of the other three sisters are—Francis, the dethroned Duke of

Modena; Robert, the exiled Duke of Parma; and Francis II., the fugitive King of the Two Sicilies. Four abdications or expulsions, affecting the husbands or the sons of the four Stuart co-heiresses, is an instance of persistent evil fortune not easy to parallel in the history of any Royal House.—*The Trinity of Italy.*

PUBLIC OPINION.

If some classic writer of ancient Rome could say, and some French Revolutionary leader could repeat, *vox populi vox Dei*, what may we hopefully say and believe of the voice and power of the public sentiment of Christendom, gifted with these new and stupendous energies? If with the forces given to it by steam, railways, cheap postage, and all the other facilities invented to give it movement and momentum, it has driven slavery out of the world, and brought down the level of other great sins and miseries, what may, what ought it not to do with all these electric wires that thread the oceans and the seas and the wide world itself? When any event worth the world's notice may be known the very hour of its occurrence at all the capitals of Christendom; when instead of twelve men, twelve great nations may be summoned by lightning to sit in jury upon any great act or intent of wrong; when any outrage upon human rights may thrill the palpitating nerves that connect all the Parliaments and Congresses of the two hemispheres with all the localities and realities of mankind; when the thunder of universal opinion may follow instantaneously its lightning hurled in one burning bolt against a sinning Government or people in the very act and moment of the wrong; in a word, when the voice of the people is so made by Him the speech of God to mankind; when He has clothed it with such omnipotence for His glory and the good of man, what next? What great monster of iniquity, what huge, gorgon-headed enemy and destroyer of the peoples should fall next under the thunder and lightning of the world's opinion? What new mechanical forces wait we for, what new machinery of thought do the people need to sweep war from the face of the civilised world? What more wait they for? Let them feel the edge, the pulse, and the point of these mighty, these almost over-awing instrumentalities of omnipotence put into their hands by Almighty power and wisdom. Why should war stand up longer in their midst like the very abomination of desolation; bending them to the earth; battening upon the spoils of their peace and prosperity; consuming their substance; throwing the bread earned with such toil for their children to its greedy dogs? Who shall lead the van? Who shall sound the charge of the nations against the great Destroyer?—*Fire-side Words, by Elihu Burritt.*

GOUCHO HORSEMANSHIP.

One performance of the gouchos, however, was really startling. The entrance to the corral was closed by five slip rails, in place of a gate, fitting into morticed posts as in England, save that the highest was some eight feet from the ground. Among the mares in the corral was one great black five-year old, well bred and vixenish-looking, standing over fifteen hands high. She was already very excited at her unwonted confinement in the corral. Speaking a word or two to his capitaz, Signor —— called us outside, when a goucho, in huge spurs, and having only a heavy revenche in his hand, clambered on the top slip rail, standing on this so far towards the centre that he could just balance himself by touching the side-post. Another goucho let down the under four rails, then, entering the corral, he swung his lasso in the air, and away with a rush went the mares, making for the gateway. Watching his

opportunity as the mares passed under him, the goucho on the top rail dropped down safely mounted on the vicious black, who seemed so utterly astonished that she appeared for a moment to slacken her speed; down went the heavy revenche on her starboard flank; then, with a scream and two or three tremendous bounds, away she went, head down, across the camp. No less excited seemed her reckless rider, as, yelling like a demon, continuously flogging and spurring, he and his mount rapidly passed out of sight. Signor ——, however, assured us they would soon return, which they did in about a quarter of an hour, the mare staggering, seemingly exhausted, but still showing the whites of her eyes, and, with ears sloping back, looking vicious enough, but quite under command, and easily guided by the application of the revenche on either side of her neck. The goucho dismounted by sliding off the mare, still in motion; he seemed perfectly cool, and not at all aware he had done anything out of the common. Not so the mare; covered with foam, her quivering flanks bleeding and striped with huge wales, after a few yards she stopped, as though bewildered, then, smelling about the ground, she kneeled, snorted, and rolled, at first feebly, afterwards more energetically; in three or four minutes she arose, shaking herself vigorously, then, as we advanced towards her, she flung her heels high into the air, and bounded away as madly as before, never slackening her headlong speed so long as we could sight her; and Senor —— told us she probably would not pull up until she joined her equally scared companions, long since out of sight.—*A Long Vacation in the Argentine Alps.*

BIRMINGHAM TRADE AND THE FASHIONS.

Birmingham, in its mechanical industries and productions, has followed the fashions and customs of the world very closely, and supplied every art and occupation with all the working tools and appliances it needed. It has 'worked to order' without asking questions for conscience' sake in regard to the uses made of its articles of iron and brass. It has made all kinds of cheap and showy jewels for the noses and ears of African beaux and belles, and stouter bracelets of iron for the hands and feet of slaves driven in coffles to the sea-board. In the same shops and on the same benches, gilt and silver buckles were made by the million for the shoes of the nobility and gentry when Charles II. came back to the throne and brought with him the court fashions and moralities of the continent. That was what archæologists would call the bronze period, when articles of brass slightly gilt or washed with silver were in high fashion in the upper ranks of society. Buckles and metal buttons then began to compete with iron wares in the business of the town, and from that to the present day, the workers in brass have steadily increased, until they now number about 10,000 persons employed in that department. But the manufacture of firearms may be considered to have been the great distinctive industry of the town for more than 200 years. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century, London monopolised the fabrication of these weapons of war, and then it was transferred to Birmingham. Indeed, its skill and labour all the way back to the morning twilight of written history have wrought upon the scythes, sickles, and reaping hooks of war 'for home and exportation.' On the battle grounds of Hastings, Lewes, Evesham, Tewkesbury, and Flodden Field, hundreds of these tools bearing the Birmingham brand lay scattered about with hacked edges or broken points. Perhaps thousands of the tomahawks lifted by North American Indians against the 'pale faces' of New England and Canada wore the same mark. And since firearms superseded these weapons of hand-to-hand fight, it is doubtful if a single battle has taken place in the civilised or uncivilised world in which muskets and rifles manufactured here have not played their part in the work of slaughter. — *Walks in the Black Country.*

A PHILANTHROPIST IN EVERY-DAY LIFE.

During his entire London life he wore unusually large coat-pockets, and no change of fashion, or jests, could induce him to alter the style. These pockets were to carry oranges and apples and children's books. There were many poor orange and apple-women who had stalls upon his daily beat. At the close of the day he would notice which of them had been the least successful, and often would he rejoice the heart of some poor woman, who had been watching all day in the biting wind or drizzling rain, by clearing her stall, and sending her home with a lighter step to her waiting and hungry children. The pockets were filled to the brim, but he soon lessened his load as he went along. If he met a little girl carrying an infant he would give her an orange 'for nursing baby so nicely.' If he met a little boy and girl hand-in-hand he would give the boy an orange for taking care of his little sister, with injunctions to give her a part. If he overtook two children carrying a clothes basket he tossed one or two oranges in 'for helping mother,' expressing a hope that it would not make the basket too heavy, and adding a book 'to read to mother' when the day's washing was done. With every orange came a book. So would many a lesson of kindness be enforced, and many a ray of sunshine thrown across a dreary home by the encouraging word and unexpected notice. . . . Widows and orphans were the special objects of his generous and delicate kindness. Some such reduced in circumstances by their bereavement experienced that kindness for years, unknown to any but themselves. Nor did it need extreme destitution to call forth the exercise of his liberality. In less urgent and less obvious perplexities he was equally considerate. There is the case, for instance, of two young people long waiting to be married, because he is a minister on small pay, and she has little but goodness and pure affection for her dower, and Mr. Thompson writes to some members of her family, challenging them to give £50 each, and he would give £100, to furnish their house, and start them comfortably in their new life.—*Life of Thomas Thompson.*

SPEED OF THE SENSES.

There are thirty-one pairs of compound nerves in the human body, the sensory and motor fibres of which are so commingled as to render it an impossible undertaking to separate them by any means at present known. Now if, for instance, a needle be stuck into one of the fingers, the sensory fibres take the impression through the nerve and the posterior root to the spinal cord, and thence to the brain. The command goes out to 'draw the finger away.' The mandate travels down the spinal cord to the anterior root, and thence through the motor fibres of the nerve to the muscles, which immediately act, and the finger is at once removed. All this takes place with great rapidity, but yet with nothing like the celerity once imagined. The researches of Helmholtz, a distinguished German physiologist, have shown with great exactitude the rate of speed with which the nerve fluid travels; and other observers have given a great deal of time and patience to this and kindred questions. As the result of many experiments, it was ascertained that the nervous fluid moves at the rate of about 97·1 feet in a second. Now electricity travels with a speed exceeding 1,200,000 feet in a second, and light over 900,0 0,000. A shooting star moves with a velocity of 200,000 feet in in a second, and the earth in its orbit around the sun, 100,000. A cannon ball has a mean velocity of 1,800 feet in a second; an eagle, 130; and a locomotive, 95. We thus perceive the nervous fluid has no very remarkable rate of speed—a fact which, among many others, serves to indicate its non-identity with electricity. Professor Donders, of Utrecht, Holland, has recently been making some interesting experiments in regard to the rapidity of thought, which are likewise interesting. By means of two instruments, which he calls the noematachograph and the noe-

merachometer, he promises some important details. For the present he announces that a simple idea requires the brain to act for sixty-seven one-thousandths of a second for its elaboration. Doubtless the time required is not the same for all brains, and that by means of these instruments we may obtain definite indications relative to the mental values of our friends. What invaluable instruments they would be for merchants in want of bookkeepers; in short, for all having appointments of any kind to make. For the eye to receive an impression requires seventy-seven one-thousandths of a second, and for the ear to appreciate a sound, one hundred and forty-nine-thousandths of a second are necessary. The eye, therefore, acts with nearly twice the rapidity of the ear.—*Galaxy.*

A PATERNAL GOVERNMENT.

A curious controversy has sprung up in Russia. M. Aksakof, in the paper called the *Moscow*, has been advocating religious liberty in Russia. He complains that the supervidence of the Government over a Russian begins with his birth, never leaves him one moment during his life, and accompanies him to his grave. The police regulations about his baptism extend to the most minute details. Still more particular are they about his church-going. He is required to be diligent in his attendance at church, especially on Sundays and civil festivals. Parents are bound, under severe penalties, to see that all their children over seven years go to confession at least once a year; and the civil and military authorities are to see that no parents fail in this. All adults are under a surveillance which, in their case, is to be enforced by the civil and military authorities. 'In the most private affairs of religious life the police stands sentinel over every Russian.' Police regulations require him to attend church 'with piety' and 'without hurry' (Art. 3; not to talk there; to treat the sacred pictures with due reverence (Art. 6); not to move from one part to another; to show 'awe, silence, recollection, and reverence' (Art. 7); not to kiss the pictures except before or after the service (Art. 8). All particulars of the church decorations are carefully prescribed, and useless ornaments out of keeping with the sacredness of the place and carved images are strictly forbidden. Then as to religious liberty, any member of the Russian Church is subject to the forfeiture of all civil rights and exile to Siberia, or two years' service in a penal corps, if he joins any other communion (Art. 47-49 and 32). M. Aksakof has been pressing for the repeal of these laws, and has been answered in the paper called the *Russia* by M. Pogodine, who says:—'What in the world would you have with your "liberty of conscience?" If the Government were to listen to you, we should soon have the population in different sects, and half the great ladies throwing themselves into the arms of charming abbés.'

JAPANESE FUNERAL.

The correspondent of the *New York Times* gives an account of a funeral he attended recently, when in Hiogo:—'First walked a group of boys bearing poles ornamented with long streamers and paper banners covered with inscriptions, no doubt laudatory of the dead. Next came several white-robed priests with shaven heads and carrying funeral offerings to the deities. Two of them had cymbals, which, at a signal from a silver-toned bell, they would strike as if to drive away evil influences. After these was the corpse, borne on a cumbrous bier. The latter looked like a small temple, and was decorated with tinsel and with ribbons of parti-coloured paper. Then came more priests, boys bearing sacred chairs, and a group of mourners completely enveloped in white robes, with long gauze veils thrown over their heads and reaching to their feet.

After these marched three priests of the highest order, robed in gorgeous vestments like those worn in the Romish Church. Each carried a fan—that Oriental emblem of authority—and wore a tall hat of golden-coloured silk, with a cape falling upon the shoulders. Then came about thirty of the gentry, all bare-headed—the fashion in Japan—and dressed in the official costume, with swords by their sides; and a long line of women and children brought up the rear of the procession. It marched a long distance into the country, and as it wound along hill and valley with flaunting streamers and sounding cymbals, the scene was weird and unearthly. At last they reached the appointed spot; the bier was laid on two stone pillars, its frame was taken apart, and inside was seen a cask like a small half-barrel well hooped. This is the coffin, and into this the corpse has been packed into a sitting posture, and all spare room filled with combustibles. The sacred chairs are placed opposite this cask, and are occupied by the high priests, and on a bench between them are laid the cereal offerings. The people gather round and commence a low-toned and monotonous chant, probably a mere repetition of the name of their deity, after which one of the high priests approaches the dead and mutters a prayer. In the meantime the thirty men previously mentioned are kneeling near by on a matting, and are scattering bits of white paper, probably to distract the attention of the devil, while the others secure the safety of the departed. Several of the assembly wear white paper crescents on their foreheads, and their duty appears to consist in passing around and bowing very low to the others. The services are closed by burning the body, and after all others retire the undertaker remains to gather the ashes, which are placed in an urn and buried.'

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Ecce Agnus Dei!' or, Christianity without Mystery. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

In the absence of all external clue to the authorship of this remarkable volume, the internal evidence suffices to prove that it is the work of a clergyman of the Established Church of the southern kingdom, somewhat advanced in years, but full of fire, strong in abhorrence of Popery, bitter with dislike of Mr. Gladstone's anti-Irish Church Establishment movements, hostile to Dissent, and a hater of the Liberation Society. He is, also, much dissatisfied with the doctrine of his own Prayer Book, and with the condition of his own communion, and is an ardent advocate of tenets which, if the Thirty-nine Articles were thirty-nine men, would make the hair stand on the head of some of them. He is a hearty friend of temperance and the Permissive Bill.

In his preface, the author states that as a Bible-student he has from his early years, in common, perhaps, with many others of his class, experienced the unsatisfactory character of Bible Commentaries, hardly ever having been able to find in any of them a conclusive answer to a serious difficulty. May not this (he asks) be accounted for by the writers having commenced their labours with mistaken views of the being and character of the Almighty, and moulded the Scriptures to suit such views, unconscious that they were looking through a perverted medium? All commentaries (he thinks) written upon this principle are comparatively useless and often misleading. Contrasted with these, a key to the principles by which the Bible is to be understood, coupled with some illustrations from familiar portions of the Divine Word, might seem to be acceptable at the present juncture, if only one could be found willing, to some extent able, and withal bold enough, to undertake the work. The author has made the attempt (he assures us), at least, in the love of truth, and on behalf of all parties; and he humbly commends it to the perusal of the Queen, and the bishops, priests and deacons, and particularly of the Houses of Convocation, in whose hands, he thinks, under favourable circumstances, authoritative declarations of doctrine might safely be left.

The book consists of a dedication, a preface, and a list of contents, followed by an introduction, and a series of little essays on detailed themes, suggested by texts of Scripture, or otherwise. These essays are in four divisions; on what principle classified we have not been able to detect. A brief synopsis of the author's cardinal doctrine follows, and the work is concluded with an appendix of anti-alcoholic extracts from the speeches or writings of Dr. Begg, Lord Shaftesbury, Dr. F. R. Lees, S. Warren, Esq., Mr. M. D. Hill, Mr. C. Buxton, and others. The declaration of the Council of the United Kingdom Alliance is the last thing quoted.

That the writer is an ardent adherent of the Alliance is evident from the following extract,—one out of many to the same effect that might have been selected:—

'The *dangerous classes* may be regarded in two divisions:—

'1. Those numerous bands of persons of *all ranks* who infest society, and cause perpetual and increasing hurt and danger to life, to property, and to institutions designed for the spread of truth, the increase of knowledge, and the general advancement of the people. In *this* division we may notice the *victims* of ignorance, destitution, pauperism, crime, disease, and insanity. These are fast multiplying in our midst,—a result flowing of course from some *adequate cause*. Something radical, therefore, in the form of change is needed, going to the root. This portion of the dangerous classes must be brought to a knowledge of the *actualities*, the physical and moral agencies, which make them what they are; and, somehow or other, they must be made *willing* to co-operate in their removal.

'2. Those other classes who have controlled the causes of these evils, *they*, too, must see that it is *their* duty to aid in the possible abatement of the wrong.

'If the main cause be national drunkenness, induced by the common sale and general consumption of intoxicating liquors (App. 2), then *that* condition must be changed; and, until it be so, every other effort will be but "beating the air." Improvement in this direction demands that the *people* by some means shall attain to clear-headedness, and become accessible to reason and religion; that their animal passions and sensual propensities shall not be provoked into morbid action by any agency which it is within the scope of society to limit or prevent. The *first* body of the dangerous classes, deeply criminal though many of them may be, are not the controllers of their own circumstances; their surroundings, unfavourable to moral and spiritual culture, are to a large extent determined by the ignorance or covetousness of others, and hence they must in some measure be viewed as social *victims*.

'In *this* second division we include those other classes who, simply to serve certain ends of their own, either *do*, or suffer to be *done*, those things which tend to create the first-named body of the dangerous classes. In describing these, we deal only with matters of fact.

'(*a*) We want means (money) to stop the cause of PAUPERISM. The working classes are tempted by others into spending on intoxicating liquors, every fifty-two weeks, at least sixty *millions of pounds* sterling of their wages.

'(*b*) We want to stop the operating cause of public *crime* (and what stops this will also diminish private vice), which society is called upon to punish or to repress. *Drunkenness* is the great originator and support of this.

'(*c*) We want to prevent the decimation of the people through the diseases that spring from causes that are either preventible or removable.

'(*d*) We want to save from *premature* DEATH the myriads that are "slain" in our streets, and that outnumber those who die in war or by pestilence. *Intoxicating liquors* destroy more than fall by those other causes, year by year.

'(*e*) We want to displace *national ignorance*, and for this purpose we require money for schools and schoolmasters, and a willingness on the part of the people to avail themselves of the offered advantages. Intoxicating liquors, and the *drunkenness* ensuing from their common sale, frustrate the attainment of these benefits (App. 3).

'(*f*) We want the dwellings of the people improved, by being ventilated, furnished, and decorated (App. 4). The money now spent in fostering *drunkenness* and its concomitant evils would effect this.

'(*g*) We want to see the national mind made sane (App. 5), commerce flourish, rags disappear, and the people well clad with the clothes they manufacture, not only for home consumption, but for those who live in other lands. Commerce flags, our national wealth is ab-

sorbed (App. 6), and rags necessarily result from the use of the "*drunkard's drink*." We want to see unjust and pernicious laws REPEALED, and others founded in reason and justice substituted. A House of Commons, filled with brewers and distillers, and the advocates and lovers of strong drink, is not willing to legislate in direct opposition to their own means of acquiring wealth. These men are wielding a power opposed to every good, and engaged in a business instrumental and incentive to the production of everything that is to be deplored.

'(*h*) Above all, we want to bring the people at home and abroad to the knowledge of the "truth as it is in Jesus," because "there is no other name given under heaven *whereby* they can be saved." That trinity of evils—*intoxicating liquors, the liquor traffic, and the drinking customs* must give way to purer and better things, ere the Gospel in our dear old English homes and our dependencies can leaven the hearts of the people.

'The term "dangerous classes," when applied *simply* to the *pauperised, ignorant*, and *criminal law breakers*, is a misnomer; these are indeed dangerous, but they will never cease; on the contrary, they will increase and multiply upon society, so long as those agencies which produce them are morally or legally permitted to work. Whereas, if these were, so far as possible, removed, such "dangerous classes" would, by reclamation, prevention, and the course of nature gradually disappear. In other words, the *victims* would cease, if they were no longer required, sought out, and in a very business-like way "*ordered by*" and for the *victimisers* themselves. The *more really dangerous classes*, then, are assuredly those who devise, arrange, and carry out the *plans* and *processes* by which their dupes and victims are to be seduced and defrauded, robbed and ruined. The responsibility lying upon them must be tremendous; yet, as of old so now, because they deceive themselves, "hardening their own necks," and wilfully shutting their eyes to the *facts*, many of them will never realise it till it be too late, in that hour when "He that shall come, will come," and in the presence of adoring angels give to every man "*according as his* WORK *shall be*." There is an internecine war going on between "*heaven and hell*;" so says a reputed philanthropist and a brewer (App. 7), and the *munitions* of that warfare are of course essentially diverse, the one from the other.

'On the one hand we have the "school" in which to teach the young; the "library" whereby to bring learners into contact with the facts and experience of the present and the past; and the "church" to inform and influence the spirit, and bring the souls of men to the knowledge of their heavenly Father, so that by belief in His truth and obedience to His law they may "save their souls alive." And on the other hand we have the "gin-palace," where fiery poisons are recklessly sold to all who will buy, unfitting men, women, and children at every step both for the life that is, and that which is to come; and the "beer-shop," second only to the "gin-palace," in lacking its *variety* of "poisoned poisons." And this (writes the same philanthropic brewer) is "a *development of the war between heaven and hell*,"—GOD, in His mercy, vouchsafing the blessings of knowledge, supplemented by the revelation of His divine truth through the medium of the church; and *distillers and brewers*, with their "legion" of dependents, supported and sanctioned by laws, in making which the people at large have had no hand,—arranging their implements of warfare with a deceptiveness and a power for evil which assumes the proportions of a diabolic empire. How long, O Lord! how long! shall these "dangerous classes" of the *higher*, and therefore *more guilty* and *blamable* kind, be permitted to make and multiply those *lower* "dangerous classes," who, but for their social superiors, might have been honest and happy citizens, but who, under existing circumstances, never can or never will be aught but social pests. Oh God! that a sense of THY JUSTICE, THY MERCY, AND THY LOVE may constrain all sincere citizens to perform their respective duties, and that a way of escape from our distresses may be opened, for man's deliverance, to Thy glory in Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Of the author's theology, we need merely report that he holds that the 'Agnus Dei,'—Jesus Christ, is not a mere man, as the Socinians teach, nor yet the Second Person of the Trinity, as taught by the Tripersonalists; but is 'God [not the Son of God, but God] manifest in the flesh,' in whom dwells 'all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;'—in whom, therefore, dwells the whole Divine Trinity, which is a trinity of essentials,

but not of persons. Thus the personal unity of God is maintained in conjunction with the assertion of the doctrine of the Trinity.

The Temperance Bible Commentary. Giving at One View, Version, Criticism, and Exposition, in Regard to All Passages of Holy Writ bearing on Wine and Strong Drink, or Illustrating the Principles of the Temperance Reformation. By Frederic Richard Lees and Dawson Burns.—Second Edition.—London : S. W. Partridge, 9, Paternoster Row.

THIS remarkable contribution to Temperance literature forms a volume of 504 octavo pages, and in it the learned and laborious authors have collected every passage in the Scriptures that can be supposed to bear, however remotely, on the wine and strong drink question. How large is the number of verses thus dealt with will be seen, when we state that 109 are found in the Pentateuch alone, 116 in the following books down to Job inclusive, 26 in the Psalms, 51 in the three books associated with the name of Solomon, 190 in the Books of the Prophets, and 144 in the New Testament. Each of the texts is first quoted from the authorised version, then dealt with to obtain accuracy of text, and afterwards examined minutely as to its bearing in the Temperance controversy. A 'General Preface' serves as a brief introduction to the volume. A 'Preliminary Dissertation' acquaints the reader with the various propositions that are afterwards more fully established in the commentary, contains a summary exposition of the chief Hebrew terms concerned in the inquiry, and deals with the objections of various antagonists. A 'Preface to the Notes' comes next; and it is not till we arrive at the fiftieth page of the volume that the actual Notes on the several texts of Scripture are reached. These fill 394 closely printed pages. An actual examination of the Notes is necessary before justice can be done to the painstaking minuteness of the inquiry. A series of appendices, and an index, conclude the volume. The first contains a solution of Scripture texts, exhibiting the authorised English version, with suggested emendations, of the principal passages concerning which a revised rendering is deemed desirable. Appendix B gives a concordance of such Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin terms as tend to illustrate the object of this Commentary. In Appendix C we have an article on the application of 'Yayin' and 'Oinos' to the unfermented juice of the grape. The index is a copious one.

Of the manner in which the authors have fulfilled their task, nothing needs be said to those who are already acquainted with their writings, except to rank this, their latest work, as worthy to take its place with their previous achievements. Others we can only advise to examine the volume for themselves. For our own part, we know of no more valuable contribution to Temperance literature than this Commentary. The authors' design in preparing it is shown in the following extract:—

'Christians everywhere unite in accepting the saying of St. Paul, that all God-inspired Scripture is "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works." (2 Tim. iii., 16, 17.) But the profit derived from Divine Truth will necessarily vary according to the degree of teachableness and soundness of judgment brought to its perusal. The Bible is not accountable for the multifarious errors and abuses it has been employed to support; yet it is occasion for lamentation that on not a few great questions, both of Science and Morals, the Living Oracles have been strangely misapprehended and misapplied. Not the illiterate and vicious alone, but successive generations of scholars and divines, have enunciated mischievous fallacies professedly extracted from the Scriptures. In Physical Science, the fixity and recent creation of the earth; in Political Philosophy, the right of arbitrary government and negro slavery; in Social Economy, the excellence of polygamy; in Ecclesiastical ethics, the duty of persecuting heretics, and the obligation of unlimited submission to the clergy: these, and other baneful dogmas, have been zealously propounded, not as speculative theories, but as the practical teachings of the Divine Word. That such conclusions are now commonly discarded, is not due to any change in the Record, but to a marked improvement in the manner of reading it; and to a perception that there can be no real contradiction between one portion of Holy Scripture and another, or between

the Revelation of God in Nature and in His Written Will.

'Not less obviously true is it, that social customs and personal habits of diet and indulgence, continued from childhood upwards, may induce a state of mind inconsistent with the unbiassed interpretation of Holy Writ. For example, let a man be accustomed to regard intoxicating liquor as a necessity, or even a valuable auxiliary, of life, and as an innocent vehicle of enjoyment and social entertainment; let him remain ignorant of all that can be said, and has been proved, to the contrary; let him consider the intemperance arising from strong drink to be one of the inevitable forms of natural depravity, and therefore to be classed in its origin as well as its results with other sins of the flesh; let him persuade himself that the ordinary means of Christian evangelisation are sufficient to eradicate this prolific vice with its dismal progeny of social curses: let all this be done, and it will no longer appear surprising that many of the allusions contained in both the Old and New Testaments are construed in favour of the use of such drink, and that other passages, clearly opposite in their tendency, should be ignored or explained away. This may be done in perfect good faith, and without any consciousness of the process by which the one-sided exegesis is wrought out.

'Accordingly, when the Temperance Reformation began, some of the earliest arguments brought against it were borrowed (as was supposed) from the armoury of Scripture texts; and down to the present time many who hold aloof from that cause, defend their estrangement by a similar appeal to Scripture precedent and approval. Some even now go the length of charging abstainers with a conduct at variance not only with the privileges, but with the duties of the Christian dispensation, and accuse them of seeking to impose a code of asceticism contrary to the genial and liberal spirit of the Gospel. In controverting what have been represented as the views of Temperance writers upon the wines named in Scripture, some critics have ignorantly attributed to them the most absurd positions—such as that all those wines were unfermented and unintoxicating,—while they themselves have neglected to distinguish between the various terms translated "wine," and have confounded the use of intoxicating liquor by men of old, and the permission of such use, with the express sanction and blessing of God.

'To some friends of the Temperance movement a work of this character may appear superfluous. Certain of them may be disposed to deny that the question is one for Bible arbitration or reference at all; while others may be prepared to concede that Scripture permits and approves the use of strong drink, though also permitting and approving of abstinence from it. It is in vain, however, to expect that the Bible will cease to be quoted as an authority on the subject of Temperance; nor is it desirable that its store of facts should be overlooked, or its testimony left unexamined and disregarded. Those who contend that "liberty to abstain" is all that is needed as an argumentative basis for abstinence, will find themselves undeceived when they attempt to urge the practice upon others as a duty; for how can that be a duty, it will be asked, the opposite of which is sanctioned by both the *letter* and the *spirit* of the Divine Word? Besides, even the argument from Christian expediency to which such friends attach a high (if not exclusive) importance, cannot be understood without an appeal to passages of Scripture whose true meaning and legitimate bearing have been warmly contested.

'In reply to the inquiry, which may not be discourteously proposed, whether the authors of this Commentary can claim to be exempt from a bias in favour of abstinence which may have inspired and controlled their exposition?—they can but say, that they have been fully sensible of their liability to such an influence, and have therefore endeavoured to counteract its operation by carefully weighing all adverse arguments, and by placing before the reader the materials by which he may form for himself an independent judgment as to the correctness of the inferences drawn. They have honestly sought, with trust in Divine aid, to discover the truth contained in the passages successively discussed; and, in consigning the fruit of their labours to the press, they pray that the blessing of heaven may attend it so far as it is adapted to promote the faithful, intelligent study of Scripture, and a more perfect sympathy with the spirit of the Psalmist, "Teach me, O Lord, the way of Thy statutes; and I shall keep it unto the end. Give me understanding, and I shall keep Thy law; yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart."'

The Social and Political Dependence of Women. By Charles Anthony, Jun. Fourth Edition. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1868.

This essay, which was adverted to some time back amongst the Notices of Books in 'Meliora,' has now arrived at its fourth edition. This fact adds another proof of the increasing attention its subject is receiving, to the one advanced at Norwich the other day, when Miss Becker read her paper before the British Association for the Advancement of Science. We have already declared our assent to the justice of the claim for political equality so ably set up in this essay, as well as our dissent from some of the arguments on which it is founded. The distinction of sex, we repeat, is not superficial; it is *intus* as well as *in cute*, and extends through every department both of soul and body. But distinction is one thing, inferiority is another. Who shall decide the relative values of the bass and treble clefs? It is virtually involved in the arguments of most of the advocates of women's rights, not excluding Mr. Charles Anthony, that girls would come to sing bass as well as the men, if they were not secluded in early life, and deprived of the educational advantages of boys. We have no respect for such notions. Yet for the free admission of woman to all the fields of use and exercise for which she feels herself adapted or adaptible, we earnestly plead; it is her right, and by all means let her have it. When all is done, the indelible sexual distinction will assert itself in the mass of men and women, none the less because there are exceptional men who squeak and have smooth faces, and exceptional women who speak gruffly and grow short whiskers or moustaches.

A Selection of Æsop's Fables, Metrically Translated from the Greek Original, and Modernised. Cambridge: Forster and Jagg. 1868.

A well-meant endeavour to promote a good cause, but, unfortunately, the author does not see the line between the sensible and the ridiculous, and runs across it without mercy.

Letters by Discipulus to a Friend on Moderate Drinking. Belfast: Henry Greer, 31, High-street.

A series of seven letters, in which a friend is reasoned with and advised to abandon 'moderate drinking.' The method of treatment is thoughtful, earnest, and Christian.

The Fixed Character of God's Dealings in Nature and Grace, in this Life and the Life to come. Lessons from the Healing of the Paralytic. By the Rev. G. St. Clair, of Banbury. Oxford: Henry Alden, 35, Corn Market-street.

A sermon on Mark ii., 1—12. A very sensible exposition of the literal sense of the passage.

The Hive. A Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday School Teachers. A penny monthly.

A capital help.

The Scattered Nation. Edited by C. Schwartz, D.D. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London.

The Appeal, a Magazine for the People. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Church. A penny monthly magazine. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

Old Jonathan, the District and Parish Helper. An illustrated penny monthly.

The Lifeboat, or Journal of the National Lifeboat Institution. Issued quarterly. 14, John-street, Adelphi, London.

The Church of England Temperance Magazine. A monthly journal of intelligence. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, and S. W. Partridge.

Meliora.

THE LIMITS OF STATE ACTION.

1. *On Liberty.* By John Stuart Mill. People's Edition. London: Longman and Co. 1865.

2. *History of Civilization in England.* By Henry Thomas Buckle. 3 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1867.

3. *The Contemporary Review. November. Article* 4, *The Relative Functions of Church and State in National Education.* By Professor Plumptre.

THE greatest problem of civilisation is, to avoid a possible despotism. We do not mean, of course, the vulgar, typical despotism of a single imperial will, backed by an army and the whole force of rough, rudimentary laws, working out its own selfish ends, crushing out human freedom, and rioting in the absolute satisfaction of its own caprices and desires. A despotism of that kind is an impossibility where humanity has been quickened by the faintest breath of civilisation. The despotism we refer to is one of law, of society, of maxims; sometimes impalpable, as in fashion, frequently just in idea, though not in mode, and always the result of centuries of advancing civilisation. It is so subtle that we are not always conscious of it, so all-pervasive that it binds us, as with a zone, and so consonant with our natural indolence and subservience that we ridicule it, and sport with our chains. There are philosophers who tell us it is social progress, sceptics who assure us that it is the natural evolution of law, and moralists who would have us yield to it a blind, unquestioning obedience. The poet says, 'the individual withers and the world is more and more,' and the politician hints that we have simply to read *state* for *world*, and we have translated from poetry into fact a fundamental axiom, which holds true of all civilisations whatsoever, be they monarchical or republican in form.

In having admitted the character of the danger, we have by no means confused it with the natural functions of civilised government. It is hardly possible yet to erect government into a science, and yet it is every day losing its unscientific character. At present we rule by a few empirical maxims, and are content with a certain amount of orderly progress, produced at the expense of much waste of time, effort, and officialism; but we shall presently leaven our crudities with genuine philosophy, ascertain whither we are going, and balance the probable effect of extension in one direction, with contraction and defeat in another. Until we are able to do so, laws will be seemingly harsh, freedom restrained, and despotism legalised. At the present rate of law-making, unchecked by a truer estimate of the limits of state duty, we shall reach a despotism in practice, if not in name. 'Fewer laws, I beseech you,' is the plaint of many wise men, as it was of M. Michelet. We shall, however, go on making them, rightly and wrongly, until we clearly understand the virtue of state-rule and the dignity of individual citizenship. Other science consists in the reduction of phenomena to the fewest possible laws, and when politics cease to be ruled by expediency, and are history blending with prophecy, we shall take up a vantage ground from which it will be possible to reconcile the highest human freedom with the most faithful attention to the common social necessities of protection from crime, vice, and disease. At present, we are suffering from anarchy on the one side, and a patchy, mean, and cowardly despotism on the other. Let us explain ourselves. In the first place, we suffer ourselves to be ridden to death by a few grand half-truths about the absurdity of governmental interference in this or that direction. This is what we mean by a despotism of maxims. The sounding phrase, 'liberty of the subject,' makes us willingly submit to all manner of infringements of our liberty. Shoals of predatory people are permitted to make war upon society, upon our persons, our properties, our health, our food, our very existence. The ragged urchins who tumble about our streets; the vagrants who cant, sing, beg, and steal; the professional thieves, burglars, assassins; the food and drink adulterators; the noisome quacks, and some of their still more pestilent victims; the thousands who are ignorant, vicious, ready to lift a hand against everybody, are all sheltered by this shallow philosophy, and must chuckle to themselves at the potency of a pretty maxim. The law is no terror to them. Most of them know how much punishment it can give them for a given offence, as well as a criminal lawyer or a stipendiary magistrate. They band together,

when committed to a life of crime, to provide money for legal expenses, and for the support, when they are in prison, of those dependent upon them, and they are nice on the subject of prison dietaries. To catch a poor Fenian, who is maddened by a silly but patriotic dream, we suspend the *Habeas Corpus;* to justify our being the freest people under the heaven, we permit known criminals to be at large so long as they are clever enough to evade our police, and cannot be inductively suspected of some unusually daring offence. It is not much better in other things. Free trade is good, and no one but an idiot now denies it, but free trade in poisons, in adulterated food, in fire-arms, in prostitution, is a physical and moral calamity, which we shall presently come to view with a purified and enlarged vision. Look at other examples—for instance, our dislike of compulsory labour and education. Why should the sturdy vagrant thrive under our poor-laws, with a minimum of physical exertion? Why should the children of the drunkard, the idler, the criminal, the starving poor, grow up in ignorance, with a blunted moral sense, and the consciousness that, inasmuch as society crushes them, they must speedily make war upon it? Voluntary labour and effort are very grand, no doubt, but what anarchy they are leading to!

The functions of the State, men say, are to give free play to all, and to crush none, if possible. Granted; but what is the test of success? Of what use is one man's freedom to live honourably, virtuously, beautifully, if he is not protected to the utmost against aggression, not only by the punishment of the aggressor when he is found out, but by the prevention of his plotting, his disposition of plunder, his very criminal training? The honest citizen is invested by law in all directions, as to bequests, voting, taxation, and a hundred other things. He feels it no loss of liberty, though in one sense it really is, to comply with these forms, to pay his debts, to marry according to law, to trade according to law, to respect the constitution under which he lives, municipal and parliamentary, and to bring up his children to do the same. We demand of him self-sacrifice in a hundred ways, and he cheerfully makes it. He pays dearly, usually, for being on the side of peace and order. Does the professional criminal pay as much? Do we ever seek to influence him through his predominant quality—love of liberty? We incarcerate him, clothe, feed, and shelter him, when he is found guilty; and when his term of sentence has expired, he returns whence he came, possibly a better, more generally a more hardened man. He has had a taste of the worst, and all he sets before

him is, either a prolonged sentence for another offence, or loss of life by hanging should he advance to the very acme of criminality. The difference between the two men is this: the honest man is girt about with law in all directions,—the criminal only feels it when he blunders, or when others are more than usually vigilant, or acute. Beside law, in fixed regulations, the honest man is bound by the fashions, the *convenances*, the moralities of the society in which he moves. We do not for one moment say this is not right; we are contrasting the more or less conscious despotism which goodness has to endure with the licence which badness enjoys. It is possible our terms may be disputed, but we have no fear that the position itself will be denied. The struggling, honest man frequently staggers under the heavy load of imperial restrictions on his absolute freedom, whilst they sit comparatively light on the man whose life is one long gratification of his savage instincts and lusts, for we must not suppose there is no actual pleasure in this preying upon society, low and brutalising though it may be. Why, however, should it be so? The most trivial, momentary criminality of the weak but honest man, brings him within the reach of the criminal laws. It would seem, in fact, as if our police-system were more intended to keep the honest, honest—to enclose them, as it were—than to watch the criminal, and prevent, as well as punish crime. Thus, it is more difficult for the honest man to begin to be criminal, in the first instance, morally as well as socially, than it is for the criminal to commit the fifth or sixth offence; whereas it ought to be more difficult for any man, legally, we mean, to commit the sixth than the first crime, though the habit may have stifled the conscience. What society does in the first case, police espionage ought to do in the second. We are now leaving out of view the question in casuistry, as to whether a first sin is morally worse than every single act after a certain habit is formed; we simply insist on the necessity of the State attempting by law, after a criminal habit is fixed, to set up some detective, condemnatory apparatus which shall act as respect for law, in the individual and the mass, does in the case of a first offence. As it is, when the strain of this consensus is taken off, we impress on the criminal mind the necessity of expertness, in a Spartan kind of method. We punish him when we find him out, but not otherwise, unless he is blundering enough to be seen and caught under suspicious circumstances. If he has been known to be a criminal for years, has been convicted, imprisoned, has undergone several terms of penal servitude, we still permit him to be at large, because ours is a free country, though if

he were a lunatic, or an idiot, we should have no scruples in limiting his freedom, and subjecting him to rigorous surveillance.

A truer theory of the limits of State action would correct our behaviour in this and many other things. The highest duty of the Legislature is not to go on perpetually making fresh laws, as occasion seems to require, and popular feeling demands; but to understand where the pressure of the State may be relaxed, or taken off altogether, and in what directions it ought to be increased and vigorously persisted in, convenient and current philosophic maxims notwithstanding. In this way, and this only, can the science of government become a factor in human progress, instead of a feeble expression of a civilisation already attained without its aid. We are aware that this will be denied, and that one of the most vigorous intellects of the present day is against us. 'The whole scope and tendency of modern legislation,' says Buckle, 'is to restore things to that natural channel from which the ignorance of preceding legislation has driven them. This is one of the great works of the present age, and if legislators do it well, they will deserve the gratitude of mankind.'* We venture to think this is simply a brilliant half-truth. A review of past legislation undoubtedly shows that repealing laws is a most important part of our legislative work. It is nothing more than the wisdom of to-day sitting in perpetual judgment on the past. As civilisation grows more complex, and human society decomposes into sections, with varying necessities and desires, we must remove old barriers and allow for freer expansion. But this is merely one aspect, or one function of Government, though where civilisation is many-sided and a nation has a checkered history, it may come to be very important. The other aspect is towards the future; the other function to assist in shaping it. It may be a nice problem to detach the influence of the nation from the reaction of its Legislature upon it, and the difficulty may induce us to imagine that because public opinion is sometimes omnipotent, and legislators simply focalise it, Government can neither beat it back when it is formed, nor create it when it does not exist. We do not claim for resistance the character of the highest State-craft, but there are times when it may claim to have become so; as, for instance, when the nation is panic-stricken, as it has recently been over Fenianism in England and in New South Wales. Had the English Parliament been as fanatical as many public writers were, immediately after the Clerkenwell

* Vol. 1, p. 275.

explosion, we should have passed a law as absurd as the New South Wales Treason-Felony Act. The creation of opinion by legislative projects is strikingly seen in two matters: the Irish Church question, and the Electric Telegraph Bill. Pronouncing no opinion here on the merits of the first, we simply note the illuminating effect it has had on the public mind, the new views of Church and State it has created, and the political education that has grown out of it. Hundreds of persons have had to form an opinion upon a matter they previously knew nothing about, and discuss principles of which they knew as little as they did of the law of storms, or the precession of the equinoxes. They have been led to study Irish history, to consider the effect of race upon politics, and to think and reason in a hundred new and different ways. The Telegraphs Bill originated, we believe, with the Government, at least with Mr. Scudamore, one of its trusted servants, and the scheme for Government purchase and control was in noway the result of public opinion, or pressure from without. The measure was seen to be good, was in fact an imitation of what was being done elsewhere, and was almost unanimously acquiesced in at the first blush of the matter. Its effect upon our civilisation will probably be as great as the monopoly assumed in letter-carrying—a very striking contradiction to Mr. Buckle's dictum. We may say the same of railway legislation, for any parochial system of iron-roads would have robbed us of half the advantages of steam, and it was quite open to the State, in the early unformed condition of public opinion on the subject, to have refused to assert its right to regulate the sale of land by giving compulsory power of purchase. If the new Parliament should adopt the principle of compulsory secular education, it would be an originative instrument of progress, especially if there should be grafted upon it a scheme of State-managed and supported technical schools, for on neither question is opinion unanimous, or capable of directing legislation. It seems clear to us, then, that Legislatures or Governments may become, and when wisely managed invariably are, potent factors in both mental and material progress. The very existence of Government necessitates special education, and we agree to call that education politics, and it is through it that we are constantly shaping the future. The doctrine of expediency, which too generally governs political life, is admitted by Buckle himself to be only a temporary one, to be simply a rule 'on all subjects not yet raised to sciences.'

Admitting, therefore, that the State is an active element in civilisation, either as a creating or co-operative force, we have to ascertain its fundamental principles of action, and trace its

current and legitimate tendencies. Neither of these problems should be very difficult, and the one throws a flood of light on the other. The State, in scientific terms, is the reaction of the whole upon its parts. It exists for the individual *per se*, and for society as a community of individuals. Its fundamental principles are, therefore, twofold—to assist in the development of the individual, and to reconcile his freedom with the artificial conditions of life. Intellectually, morally, and religiously, the State must allow to every man as much freedom as is conducive to his individual ends, so much and no more. Thought must be free, politically and religiously; hence we must have a free press, right of public meeting, untaxed paper, privilege of association, liberty of worship. There are, however, fair limits even to these, and they begin where individuality and society overlap. Laws must be respected, life sacred, trade honest, marriage regulated, political power subject to restrictions, crime and treason punished. The State must levy taxes to find us protection, by armies, navies, police; to provide for the higher adminstration of justice; to sustain the supreme head of the State for the time being; and to regulate our international intercourse. All these are restrictions on individuals, but for the common benefit of all. We have no right to grumble at the facts, though we may at their intensity, inequality, or incidence. All civilised beings accept most of these forms of State control, which are as natural as the laws of life or health; and fanciful scientific observers are for ever tracing resemblances between the physical and the political, as we may sometimes do with profit. Thus, if we want an image of true State influence, we may find it in the sea, never keeping precisely the same limits, receding here, advancing there. It precisely typifies present tendencies. When free trade was a thing unknown, we had more liberty in other matters. Inhuman sports were more common; we had no Factory Acts, no courts for the cheap recovery of small debts, no stringent laws against duelling and bribery, and unlimited licence in sanitary matters. For the loss of freedom in these matters, we have gained an equivalent in other directions, and so long as we gain freedom in the right direction we are in no danger from the pervasive omnipotence of the State. This should be the cardinal virtue of State action—freedom to do right, opposition and loss of liberty in doing wrong. But it should be more than a blind tendency, a struggling principle. We should think it out, and make it the test of righteous government. Protection in trade was wrong, because it stood opposed to the brotherhood of nations, and free trade was the only reactive

influence that could temper and destroy the natural dispersion of races. Protection was also wrong because it was an undue interference with the laws that underlie production, demand, and supply, and its abolition was the first practical acknowledgment that the true science of government is to understand law, and let it have free play, whether it be in trade, intellect, or religion. Thus, government is a double process of relaxation and tension; of the first in all that concerns the true individual, and the second in all that concerns the collective mass, called society. It is necessary to protect the first from any undue interference on the part of the second; the second from any aberrations, or licence, on the part of the first. The tendency of individual freedom is to decomposition, dispersion, speciality; of society to despotise, to absorb, to confuse. By allowing fair swing to the former, we secure a healthier spirit in the dominance and reaction of the whole, and exactly in proportion as the State does so allow it, its other functions come out into distinctness and assume their proper rank. 'In low, undeveloped forms of society,' says Mr. Herbert Spencer, 'where there is yet but little differentation of parts, and little specialisation of functions, this essential work ("protecting its subjects against aggression") discharged with extreme imperfection, is joined with endless other work: the Government has a controlling action over all conduct, individual and social—regulates dress, food, ablutions, prices, trade, religion—exercises unbounded power. In becoming so constituted as to discharge better its essential function, the Government becomes more limited in the power and habit of doing other things. Increasing ability to perform its true duty, involves inability to perform all other kinds of action.' *

We may, therefore, dismiss a good deal of current cant about the danger of being over-governed, so long as the stream of government, the dominance of the whole over the parts, is in the right direction—the development of man, and the betterment of his social state. We are, also, now in a position to apply, practically, the foregoing inductions from history, and deductions from individual life, to several modern questions of serious moment, stating freely where and how they must be rigorously, lightly, or compromisingly applied. Let us begin with education, as most important. Has any individual, living in a social state, an indefeasible right to be ignorant, and therefore potentially a pauper, or a criminal?

* Representative Government—what is it good for? Essays, Second Series, p. 226. Williams and Norgate, 1863.

Has the State a preventive, as well as a repressory and punitive right, duty, or function? Again, is it the duty of the State to direct, as well as enforce, education? To the first question, no wise man can answer *yes*, and by refusing so to answer he has in part disposed of the second, and somewhat narrowed the third. Mr. Mill calls it 'almost a self-evident axiom that the State should require and compel the education, up to a certain standard, of every human being who is born a citizen,' and Professor Plumptre is even more explicit and exacting, though not less just. We quote the passage as a convenient summary of what has been, and what remains to be, done.

'The State, then, looking to the end for which it exists [that it may develope the national society, *as such*] is bound to see that the education which is needed for the attainment of that end, is within the reach of all its members. If ignorance be productive of crime and pauperism, it is justified in removing that cause of evil, even at the cost of some interference with individual freedom. If skilled labour be less serviceable than unskilled in the increase of a nation's wealth, it is justified in demanding of all who share its protection a certain *minimum* of skill. It may treat the neglect of parents to provide that education for their children, where they have the power, as not only a *sin* but a *crime*, to be punished like other crimes by imprisonment or fines. It may restrain the premature employment of the young before their education is completed, or compel those who employ them to provide for their instruction. It may apply a part of the national revenue in bringing its education to the doors of those who are unable to provide it for themselves, or may sanction the imposition of local taxes for the same purpose. It may legitimately claim and exercise any amount of inspection and control, where an education is given which the State does not originate, in order to ensure the fulfilment of conditions which it regards as indispensable. The right of the State to make education compulsory, to levy an education rate, general or local; to appoint inspectors for every school in the country, private or public, endowed or unendowed; to make the very function of teaching dependent upon evidence that satisfies its officers as to the competency of the teacher, takes its place with the other primary rights of the national society. It has an almost axiomatic character. It must be accepted as soon as stated, unless we are prepared to maintain a doctrine as to the rights of men, and the freedom of the individual will, which would land us in lawlessness and anarchy. The extent to which the right should be exercised, when it is fitting to assert it to the uttermost, when it becomes irritating, vexatious, and oppressive, is a question of expediency and degree. It is always wise to keep the assertion of a right in the back ground as a reserve force, and to accept, as far as may be, the results which it is intended to bring about when they come as the fruit of men's free activity.'*

Our third question still remains unanswered, and those who are most active in advocating compulsory education hesitate to boldly answer it in the affirmative. Mr. Mill discusses it in his essay on 'Liberty.' He states that objections urged with reason 'against State education, do not apply to the enforcement of education by the State, but to the State's taking upon itself to direct that education; which is a totally different thing.' The former he supports; the latter he goes

* P. 385-6.

'as far as any one in deprecating.' The distinction is to be insisted upon, because, in recent discussions, it has been entirely lost sight of. Whilst, therefore, the test of teaching ability may safely be left in the hands of the State, and, if need be, by agreement, in our University corporations as well, local authorities should be left to settle subjects in their own way. This removes the objection to the dead uniformity characteristic of a national system, civil, or clerical; it allows districts to adapt their teaching to special requirements, naval, mining, manufacturing, or agricultural, as the case may be; and it recognises that social freedom which no one would wish to see lost in a prison-like sameness. There is no reason why the State should not encourage special subjects, as elementary political economy, and industrial history, but beyond that few would wish it to go. It might also give its imprimatur to class-books, written by eminent men, upon these and other topics, and continue to hold and exercise authority over building and sanitary arrangements, giving to local bodies compulsory power of purchase of land, so that no serious inconvenience should arise, in country districts, as to distance. The form compulsion should take, and whether education should be gratuitous or not, purely sectarian or religious without being denominational, are matters of detail we need not discuss in tracing the limits of a principle.

Next in importance to education is the question of State limits relative to our criminal population. We have already incidentally referred to it, but the subject has latterly assumed such importance as to warrant an attempt to show that much may and ought to be done on the theory of protection from aggression, which is the grand duty of representative government. To punish crime is not enough. Our reformatory arrangements are a confession of the failure of punishment, and an effort to prevent vicious habits from vigorously rooting themselves in the character. We have now, it seems to us, to begin a new movement at the other end, so as to effectively deal with those persons in whom criminal habits are fixed and ineradicable. How shall we do it? And why ought we to do it? Let us answer the second question first. The State exists for the welfare and the protection of all, and the predatory classes make themselves legal aliens. They do not recognise the justness of the laws, at least practically, and they do not respect the rights, property, and peace of society. They are an unproductive class, evade taxes, and discharge no single decent citizenal function. When convicted of crime, we punish them; but, except they are ticket-of-leave men, the State resigns its authority over them the moment their

term of sentence has expired. A few of them eventually become prisoners for life, but the majority use their newly-acquired freedom to return to their old prowling, predatory habits. As enemies of the State, *in esse* or *in posse*, the duty of the authorities is to look after them, to restrain them, to convince them by sleepless vigilance that a life of crime cannot be permitted, and means loss of liberty and loss of citizenship. This truth has been lately forced upon us in our large cities, especially in the metropolis, in many painful ways. New forms of crime make their appearance, perplex the authorities, and bring disrepute upon our protective system. The police are at fault, the public is alarmed, and by the time we have devised some fitting punishment for these offences, criminal invention and expertness, favoured by facility of organisation and co-operation, have planned some new method of attack, more daring and ingenious than the other. What are we to do? Will simply increasing the police prevent them? or are we to be driven to bolder expedients? The latter is, we conceive, the wiser policy. Men who have forfeited the rights of citizenship have no longer any claim to the liberty that is the essential part of these rights. We have, then, to fix some test of avowed criminality, and shape our measures accordingly. When, for instance, a culprit has been three, or four, or five times convicted of a serious offence, as burglary, robbery with personal violence, let him be put under the police surveillance, which forms such an admirable feature of the Irish convict system. Let him have a conditional ticket-of-leave for life; the conditions being that he shall report himself every month at the police station of his district, or give good assurances that he is living an honest, industrious life. Failure in either of these qualifications for liberty, should entail incarceration for double the term of the last sentence. Photographs, descriptions, and a more centralised system of police administration would enable this plan to work with ease and at very small expense. A second plan was proposed in the *Times* recently by a chairman of quarter sessions, namely, that after three or four convictions, such persons 'be sentenced to labour for life—not exactly in penal servitude, but to work in some Government establishment, under supervision, and only to receive a remission of sentence under the conditions of the licence of 1864.'* The principal objection to such a scheme is, its expense; but since unreformed criminals must be kept by society, one way or another, it surely would be better, and more economical, to main-

* The *Times*, November 4, 1868.

tain them by a system, and get as much productive labour in return as possible. At present we keep them and get none. A third plan, in which an increase of policemen would be indispensable, would be to form a daily and nightly cordon round suspected centres and localities. Legitimately, however, this plan would be a branch of the first. A fourth plan has also been suggested, and has great merits. It is to destroy the co-operation of capitalists who enable the robber-criminal to live. First, to make harbouring a thief a severely punishable offence, which it is not at present. Secondly, to increase in stringency the regulations affecting the receivers of stolen goods, especially pawnbrokers, and flash-house keepers. By these means we might, assuredly, deprive the predatory classes of their means and material of war. What to do with the children of criminals, under long or life convictions, is another branch of this subject, previously dealt with in this Review. Loss of citizenship, by perverse criminality, ought to carry with it loss of all rights, and domestic duties can never be more than sparingly or viciously performed by those who neither respect the moral law within nor the national law without.

Trade, again, has dangers that require to be guarded against, so that absolute free-trade in every thing is an absurdity. Mr. Mill admits that in many things restriction is desirable, but we go very much further than he does, without, we think, endangering the liberty of the individual he so strenuously upholds. The sale of reputed poisons is manifestly a matter for stringent regulations, and any plan that would prevent ignorant shopkeepers in country villages from combining two trades, as grocer and druggist, and doing mischief by selling drugs in the latter, would be very desirable. As to reputed poisons, all we need do is to make it more difficult to procure them for criminal than innocent, industrial, or experimental purposes. Free-trade in strong drink would be an injury, and this is admitted by existing restrictions. No lover of his species would desire to see intoxicating liquors sold as freely as groceries are, and power of local self-government on a matter of this kind seems to harmonise the liberty of the individual with the claims of national society. The tendency of the times is towards Government centralisation on strictly national questions, as the administration of justice, and as Viscount Amberley has shown in the case of Devonshire,* it would lead to local improvement and real thrift, though it requires to be corrected by local independence on such

* See the *Western Daily Mercury* for November 6, 1868.

matters as admit of variation according to the disposition of a district. County financial boards are an effort in this direction, and we are not sure that in the future these local organisations will not play a much more important part than they do now. While on this part of our application, we may say a word respecting food proper. Tradesmen are no longer allowed to sell diseased meat with impunity, and the principle demands extension. Why should any other kind of food be sold, with deleterious compounds introduced into it? If the State protects society against diseased meat and fish, why should it not also condemn adulterated milk and other things? We really see no reason why it should not. If legal regulations on these matters would prove burdensome, the least the State could do would be to appoint a chemical analyst in every large town, whose certificate should have a moral if not legal weight, and who should be paid by a nominal salary from the State, and a small fee for every case in which his judgment was required. Immoral trading would be as effectually checked by this plan as it was by the loosening of the restraints on frontier trade; and now we have introduced a system of inspecting weights and measures, common sense demands that it should be done. The Factory Acts must also be applied to agriculture, unless our new educational arrangements will prevent the employment of young children in continuous labour before they are fitted for it, and have received any education. The farmers will stoutly resist it we know, and already show fight, but if the ancients regarded the cultivation of land to be more sacred than trade and manufacture, there is no reason why we should be influenced by their folly. The deck-loading of ships is another matter for State interference, because many lives are wantonly imperilled by it. The working men of Edinburgh and Leith have very properly made this, and the inspection of vessels before proceeding to sea, a part of their political programme.* Unhealthy occupations, and trade combinations are other matters where individual liberty may be justly curtailed or modified. Respecting the latter, we may say that Mr. Roebuck's idea of making Trade Union subscriptions recoverable, like common debts, would be monstrously unjust to literary and social voluntary associations, where nothing but a parliamentary charter bestows such a right. Other points in which the State may legitimately interfere with trade in the interests of the nation will readily suggest themselves, and need not be dwelt upon here. For instance, the

* See the *Spectator* for October 24, 1868.

governing principle of trade taxation should be to press as lightly as possible on necessaries, but heavily on luxuries. Armorial bearings and jewellery obviously ought to bear more taxation than tea, sugar, or foreign articles of food. Works of art, pure and simple, are sources of national culture that may be justly placed in an intermediate position.

We have only space to make two other applications. The first, to State monopolies; the second, to sanitary matters. A great outcry has been made against the Electric Telegraph Bill, and the probability, growing out of it, that the State may some day purchase and work our railway system. The issue is simply this: Ought the State to do for all what it can do infinitely better than private and voluntary associations? We admit the fact in protection from criminals, and every policeman is our answer. We admit it in trade, to some extent, and are likely to admit it still more as the years roll on. When the Paston Letters were written there was no national postal system, but who would dream of returning to that old free state? In a few years we shall be equally reluctant to return to the existing, wearisome, delaying, and expensive system of telegraphy. If we hesitate to accept a Government monopoly in manufacture, as we rightly should, even in ships and fire-arms, much more in salt and tobacco; why should we grow so timid and scrupulous in the matter of communication? The State has had to give power to voluntary associations, or they could never have existed at all, or worked to any good ends; and in assuming supreme control, the State would only take up the ceded right, and relieve us of those conflicting claims that make junctions little better than penitentiaries, of those panics that affect our pockets, of those accidents that endanger our lives. If these and other obvious things could be done by State management, both telegraphs and railways are clearly cases wherein monopoly would be advantageous, deprived of its usual objections, and neither detrimental to trade at large, nor out of harmony with common social interests and pursuits. The second, and the last point we have to apply, does not need many words. Our Boards of Health are doing and have done inestimable service. Fevers have been driven from some localities altogether, and health has been increased in all. Compulsory vaccination has told, as a visit to any essentially agricultural district will show, when compared with what used to meet us twenty years ago; but there are still many objections felt against it. The Contagious Diseases Act has answered so well in our garrison towns, as we can testify from our own observation in one of them, as well as the abundant statistics extant on the question, that we surely cannot be

long before we shall overcome our reluctance to apply it in every town with a population of over ten thousand inhabitants. The argument that it makes vice less harmful, and so increases the very moral evil we are anxious to repress, can best be met by the counter argument that, if the State enforces celibacy on thousands of men, it is bound to see that the health of the community does not suffer by it, and the only method of preventing that ill-health is by applying the Act in question to all towns where soldiers abound, permanently or casually, or where there are naval stations. Indirectly, this touches the civil towns, for the persons in question are migratory in their habits, and continually prevent the full effects of the Act from being developed where it is in force. The more general enforcement of the Act, in military towns and sea-ports, would prevent this immigration, and hence the civil populations would suffer, as they do now in some measure. The physical degeneracy, and consequently low moral type of population where prostitution abounds, and there is no restriction upon it, physically or medically, is after all but a poor equivalent for an unwillingness to indirectly recognise a vicious tendency. Let us preach down the tendency by all means, and in all ways, but let us also be careful of the physical stamina of the future inhabitants of our country.

We shall be accused of having started with the idea that civilisation should not be despotic, only to end by proving how completely it ought to be so. Let us not be misunderstood. Society demands concessions of individual right, or it could not exist, and individuals demand freedom for all that is good and necessary to their development, or they become things instead of persons. We have only tried to harmonise the two. The laws of things are not the laws of persons. Political economy cannot be governed by the State, but human actions can, and what is wanted is free play and free recognition for the double fact. As knowledge extends, the bonds of the State dissolve; its restraints become less harsh, its will is nobler. The whole philosophy of our subject, the lesson of all we have written, may be pressed into that fine saying of Emerson's :—'To educate the wise man, the State exists; and with the appearance of the wise man, the State expires.'

INCREASED PAUPERISM, AND ITS REMEDY.

1. *Prize Essay on the Employment of Operatives and Workmen in Temporary Distress.* By R. A. Arnold. London: Social Science Association. 1868.
2. *Industrial Employment of the Casual, Destitute, and Truant Poor.* By Thomas Webster, Q.C. London: Social Science Association. 1868.
3. *How to Deal with the Unemployed Poor of London.* By the Rev. H. Solly. London: Social Science Association. 1868.
4. *Letters on East London Pauperism in 'Times,' 'Daily News,' and 'Standard.'* 1867-8.
5. *Poor-Rates and Pauperism. Parliamentary Returns.* 1867-8.
6. *Twentieth Annual Report of the Poor-Law Board.* 1867-8.

WHAT are we to do with our unemployed poor? For years the question has been either evaded, or recklessly ignored by many of those who profess to aspire to the rank of statesmen; but of late it has acquired such pressing importance, that its thorough discussion in Parliament cannot be much longer delayed. Whether any practical good will arise from any such discussion, must depend entirely on the manner in which the subject shall be treated, and on the amount of information and experience possessed by those who shall take part in the matter. We are far from being too sanguine. The general tenour of the papers on the subject read before the members of the Social Science Association, and the various discussions arising therefrom, conclusively show that, even amongst those who have given considerable attention to the question, there exists a considerable amount of misconception—arising either from imperfect knowledge, prejudice, or adherence to some particular theory respecting the actual cause of pauperism—the deficiency of employment amongst the poor. Nearly all the speakers who took part in the discussions alluded to, committed the grave error of confounding effects with causes. To the committal of this mistake are directly traceable the many fallacious conclusions

arrived at by them, and the generally unsatisfactory nature of the different remedies proposed. Instead of staying the evil at its source, they would dam it up at the flood, even at the risk of the barriers suddenly giving way, and allowing the destructive torrent to carry all before it.

The serious nature of the existing crisis is plainly evident when we glance at the enormous amount of pauperism with which we are at present burdened, and which forms a striking and significant commentary on our boasted social and industrial progress. Each successive year has beheld a steady increase in the number of our pauper population, and there does not appear the slightest prospect of any perceptible diminution in the rate of increase. In January, 1860, the number of persons relieved in 642 unions, in England and Wales, was 844,875. In January, 1868, the number had risen to 1,040,103; being an increase of 195,228 in eight years; and this, too, with thousands of ameliorative social agencies actively at work in all parts of the United Kingdom. A volume of many hundred pages would scarcely suffice to hold the names of all the charitable associations, hospitals, dispensaries, philanthropic societies, homes, penitentiaries, reformatories, industrial schools, refuges, asylums, nurseries, relief funds, institutions, charities, almshouses, orphan schools, and other portions of the vast and costly machinery with the aid of which the wealthier classes strive to assist their poorer brethren. Yet, notwithstanding the millions annually expended in these multifarious agencies, pauperism continues to advance with rapid strides. The twentieth annual report of the Poor-Law Board contains many painfully interesting details respecting our increased pauperism. According to that authority, the numbers of paupers (exclusive of lunatic paupers in asylums, and vagrants) at the end of July, 1866, and the end of July, 1867, respectively, were 836,486, and 877,020, showing an increase on the former year of 40,534, or 4·8 per cent. That the rate of increase has not since diminished is shown by the official returns for August, 1868, according to which there were at the end of July, 1868, 913,084 persons relieved, being an increase of 36,064 over the number during the corresponding period in 1867, and 76,598 over the number in 1866. This, too, at a period wherein employment was generally plentiful; with a fine summer and an abundant harvest! Later returns present an even more gloomy picture. The number of paupers at the end of August, in the years 1866, 1867, and 1868, respectively, were 840,388; 871,572; and 920,313; being an increase of 79,925 in two years. As the estimated population of England and Wales is only 19,886,104, it follows that

nearly every twentieth person is a pauper. To aggravate the difficulty, a considerable percentage of our paupers are persons afflicted with insanity. These number 41,276, of whom 30,905 are lunatics, and 10,371 are idiots. This class of paupers are a source of constant trouble and heavy expense to the parochial authorities, whose means of accommodation for such cases are necessarily limited. More than half of the insane and idiotic paupers are maintained in county or borough lunatic asylums; 10,324 are kept in union or parish workhouses, and the remainder are found in licensed houses, or lodgings, or living under the care of their relatives.

The cost of pauperism keeps pace with its increase. During the year ending Lady Day, 1866, no less than £6,439,515 was expended for the relief of the poor, but during the same period ending Lady Day, 1867, the amount had increased by more than half a million sterling, being £6,959,841, or £520,326 more than in 1866. The returns for 1868 are expected to show a far larger increase. The progressive rate of increase of expenditure is indicated by the subjoined figures :—

	£		£
1851 ...	4,962,704	1860 ...	5,454,964
1852 ...	4,897,685	1861 ...	5,778,943
1853 ...	4,939,064	1862 ...	6,077,525
1854 ...	5,282,853	1863 ...	6,527,036
1855 ...	5,890,041	1864 ...	6,423,383
1856 ...	6,004,244	1865 ...	6,264,961
1857 ...	5,898,756	1866 ...	6,439,515
1858 ...	5,878,542	1867 ...	6,959,841
1859 ...	5,558,689		

Here it is evident that although the wave of pauperism may occasionally appear to recede, it progresses steadily and irresistibly onwards. Nor is the cost so largely increased by the alleged high price of provisions as some would make it appear. In 1856, when the average price of wheat per quarter was 75s. 4d., the rate per head of amount expended in relief to the poor on the estimated population was 6s. 3¾d.; while in 1867, when the price of wheat had sunk to 53s. 7½d., the rate per head had increased to 6s. 6¼d. Facts like these speak for themselves.

The greatest increase of pauperism has taken place in the metropolis, where there are at present over 130,000 persons in receipt of parochial relief. The increase is not confined to any one particular locality, or class of labourers, although it is most marked in Poplar, Bethnal Green, and other East

London parishes. The real or alleged causes of this increase of pauperism have been partially inquired into by the Poor-Law Board, who 'think that it may be mainly attributed to the general depression consequent upon the commercial crisis of 1866, which had been preceded by much speculation and overtrading.' The Poor-Law Board appear, however, to have overlooked one most important fact, namely, that the causes, whatever they might be, of the present increased pauperism were in active operation previously to the great financial crisis of 1866. As if conscious that the explanation preferred by them was not wholly satisfactory, the Whitehall authorities proceed to offer a few others. According to them:—

'The cholera, which prevailed in the summer and autumn of 1866, added still further to the distress thus caused, carrying off in the East of London many of the heads of families, whose wives and children were left almost entirely dependent upon the poor-rates. This calamity was followed by a winter of great severity, causing the suspension of out-door employment, and an urgent pressure for relief; and as in such a case an easy and abundant supply actually creates or increases the demand, even the large sums which were so liberally subscribed by the public to relieve the distress, and which in many instances, it is to be feared, were distributed without due discrimination, tended to aggravate the evil. The class of ordinary labourers, many of them already half pauperised, and others only just removed above pauperism, soon learn the advantage of living in a district where the alms of the benevolent flow in to eke out the legal provision from the poor-rates. Lodgings in these districts are comparatively cheap; upon that account numbers flock thither in hard times, and still more when it is found that charitable contributions are systematically advertised for, and alms indiscriminately distributed. The provisions of the Sanitary Acts are not always duly enforced, overcrowding follows, and thus disease and pauperism are generated. Another cause of the increase of expenditure, which has not been confined to the metropolis, but has affected the relief throughout the whole country, has been the comparatively high price of bread. In the year 1865-66 the average price of wheat was 43s. 6d.; in the year 1866-67, 53s. 7½d. It is evident that a high price of provisions not only adds to the cost of maintenance of the existing paupers, but brings additional claimants upon the poor-rates. In the metropolis also the crowded state and condition of the workhouses, which has precluded the application of the workhouse test to the able-bodied, and the difficulty of providing out-door labour on a large scale, have alike tended to increase the numbers of the able-bodied class applying for relief.'

Here, again, the Poor-Law Board have more than once laid themselves open to the charge of inaccuracy. If the cost of pauperism is partly regulated by the price of wheat, it ought to have been far higher in 1856, when this was 75s. 4d., than in 1867, when it was only 53s. 7½d. The reasoning of the Poor-Law Board is, on this point at least, somewhat defective.

The preceding facts naturally lead us to inquire what means should be adopted for staying the further progress of pauperism? The first impulse of the wealthy is to forward the means of relief, both in money and kind, to the destitute poor; but this, while betokening the existence of a kindly disposition, speaks ill for the wisdom of the donors. It is

admitted on all sides that the wholesale system of charitable relief, so long prevalent in East London, has had the effect of largely increasing the amount of destitution prevalent in that part of the metropolis. The Rev. Septimus Hansard, M.A., Rector of Bethnal Green, says :—

'The easy way in which charity has been given without supervision has done most incalculable mischief to us. People look for it as naturally as possible. I have known men who earn in the summer 30*s.* a week regularly, and they never lay by any money. They state deliberately that it is because they know that in the winter there will be this cry of distress at the East End, and they will get charity.'

Mr. Thomas Webster, Q.C., commenting on the great number of relief organisations in East London, observes :—

'That societies should so work as to be a confusion to one another in the same locality is greatly to be regretted, but this fact may in itself be taken as a proof that so serious a matter as the present wide-spread distress cannot adequately be met by partial philanthropic efforts. Indeed, their discordant organisation is in too many cases proved to be a stimulus to imposition, and to keep back the flood of public charity from those who are the most deserving.'

The Rev. H. Solly states that :—

'The total sum raised for charitable purposes of all sorts and kinds in the metropolis is estimated at nearly £2,000,000, of which at least £1,200,000 may be considered as raised for the benefit of the poorer classes, and of course considerably relieving the suffering that abounds among them. But it is the ragged schools, reformatories, refuges, industrial schools and homes which alone can be said to be really doing much among all our charitable institutions to prevent and eradicate the enormous social mischiefs which are now the disgrace and danger of our boasted civilisation, and even these are not stopping the evil at its source.'

The present system of Poor-Law administration having admittedly failed to check the progress of pauperism, and the extension of charitable assistance being found to encourage, rather than to prevent the evil, it becomes doubly important that some attempt should be made for the purpose of ascertaining the best and most effectual means of removing this great stumblingblock from the path of our social and industrial progress. The subject has more than once engaged the attention of the Social Science Association, but the result has been more to show the utter confusion of ideas existing in connection with the question, than to evolve any really sensible or practical suggestions. One of the first papers read on the subject in 1868, was by Mr. Thomas Webster, who, alluding to the continued increase of pauperism, observed :—

'Neither law nor public charity appears able to cope with this severe distress which is pauperising whole districts, and every morning brings its fresh tales of woe, illustrative of the shortcomings of voluntary efforts and the weakness of the present legal remedies. There is also a deal of clashing, confusion, and mismanagement among the various schemes of relief, which brings odium upon the cause of public charity, and opens a door for the imposition of the least deserving, while

the average relief after all only just keeps these vast numbers of our fellow-beings above starvation point, and leaves behind it no labour or work done which is worth mentioning, after an expenditure of thousands. Moreover, as the distress is to a great extent localised, the legal means for its relief fall most heavily upon certain districts, and the Bethnal Green guardians report that they are beset on the one hand by an "ever-growing pauperism," and on the other by a yearly increasing inadequacy with respect to the funds which the ratepayers are able to supply. This at once would appear to throw the responsibility back upon the Government of supplementing the inefficient system of Poor-Law provision by some strong and well-considered plan of remedy.'

Mr. Webster insists that increased pauperism signifies increased crime, that it is but a slight transition from the pauper to the thief:—

'How many of the really industrious and well-intentioned classes of society are driven by distress into dishonest courses under those fearful circumstances with which they at present have to contend? We cannot expect men to be more than human, or excluded from the temptations of our common nature, who are to a certain extent perfectly uneducated and find themselves suddenly confronted by hopeless ruin and innumerable temptations. There can, indeed, be no doubt that from the out-of-work paupers, industrious so long as they could earn a living by industry, the ranks of crime are very liberally recruited. To allow them to be exposed to these seductions on the one hand, or on the other to emasculate their industrial energy by forcing them as the condition of a subsistence which will scarcely keep body and soul together to perform some ridiculous task of nearly useless labour is, it appears to me, derogatory to the administrative capacity of a great and Christian nation. We are not only unnecessarily degrading and reducing to a condition of chronic pauperisation whole masses of the people, but we are largely feeding that most costly element in our national expenditure, crime.'

The heavy burden thus entailed upon us, is presented by Mr. Webster in the following painfully significant picture:—

'The criminal statistics of the year 1866 reveal the startling fact that the cost of crime in this country is at least between seven and eight millions a year. Of the criminal classes at large there are known to be no less than 113,566. Our police force costs £1,827,000; our Treasury prosecutions £16,000; our county and borough gaols £614,000; and our convict prisons at home and abroad some £400,000 more. Supposing our criminal classes at large to abstract from the earnings of the honest and industrious classes an average of £40 per annum, which is not at all an excessive estimate, we have £4,500,000 more with which to debit crime, besides a large proportion of the expenses of our Home Office and judicial establishments.'

Mr. Webster's remedy for this state of things is identical with that advocated by the Howard Association, which, according to Mr. Tallack, has been formed with the object of procuring employment for the poor on public works, and for obtaining loans of money from Government for that purpose.

The Rev. Henry Solly, some few weeks afterwards, read a Paper on the same subject; but, although his plan reads well on paper, it would be found ineffectual in practice. Like Mr. Webster, he overlooks the causes of pauperism, and confines himself to dealing with their effects. He recommends five methods—all to be worked in common—for reducing the existing mass of pauperism. These are, employ-

ments, amusements, education, supervision, and social organisation. The first could be found in the cleansing of streets, and the reclamation of waste lands by the utilisation of the sewage of towns. Amusements would be provided by means of concert-rooms or club-houses, to supersede the attractions of the public-house. The poorer classes he considers to be greatly in need of help of this kind :—

'For want of innocent and beneficial recreation, they are continually suffering from grievous temptations of various kinds, and they give way to vice or crime merely because they have no refuge from weariness, vacancy, or the cravings of their lower nature, no gratification for the right and healthy desire of companionship and recreation, except in the public-house, the dancing or music saloon, the street corner, or in dens of infamy.'

Education, he further remarked, should be used in the most extended sense of the word, and be considered as involving moral and scientific, as well as mental culture, all of which, he thought, could be afforded by institutions, planted in the midst of the poor, 'which should partake of the nature both of working-men's clubs and mechanics' institutes.' Supervision, according to Mr. Solly, would involve an adoption of the system employed by King Alfred, whereby one man in every ten or twenty would be made responsible to some extent for the acts of the others. 'We must see,' he observes,

'If we cannot once again get a system of "*Frank-pledge*," by which men, living at present in a disorganised condition, may be brought under wholesome supervision by being made answerable for each other's conduct, with one man in every ten or twenty more responsible than the rest, and exercising some sort of authority over them.'

Under social organisation he includes a combined, and certainly most complicated, system of friendly societies, religious associations, working-men's clubs, and similar organisations. There is no occasion, however, to go into this portion of Mr. Solly's scheme. Anyone who is in the least acquainted with the actual working of large organisations, has but to glance over the details furnished by Mr. Solly, to perceive at once their utter impracticability. Indeed, the whole of his project, kindly intentioned as it undoubtedly is, displays an amount of hesitation and timidity which contrasts forcibly with the enormous magnitude of the evil it is proposed to remedy.

As Mr. Webster's, so Mr. R. A. Arnold's great panacea for pauperism is employment. He does not pretend to trace the causes why employment is not forthcoming. It is sufficient for him that in this country there are thousands of people unemployed. Find employment for them, and they will cease to be paupers. This is the whole of Mr. Arnold's [illegible] and, despite of the attractive manner in which he

has propounded his views, it betrays but too clearly his lack of real experience and judgment in dealing with such matters. He admits the difficulties which have to be contended with, on the part of the State, or of local authorities, in attempting to provide the required employment, and he offers several sensible remarks thereon, especially with respect to productive industry, which he says cannot be undertaken by the guardians of the poor without effecting much harm. 'If they engage the distressed work-people in the particular trade to which they were accustomed, then stock would further diminish the value of those, the too great accumulation of which had been the cause of distress.' Mr. Arnold is not to be gainsaid in this portion of his argument. It certainly is a great mistake, and one which has often been perpetrated, whenever some particular trade or calling happens to become depressed and no market can be found for the articles produced therein, to continue the work of production merely for the sake of affording employment to the destitute operatives. With rare exceptions, such a policy seldom fails to produce results of a character directly opposite to those really desired. Suppose, for instance, that the staple manufacture of a given district is hat-making, and that of the hundred operatives usually employed, only fifty can procure work. In the absence of a legitimate demand for hats, or the prospect of such a result at no distant period, any attempt to furnish the fifty unemployed operatives with work in the shape of hat-making, would but hasten the moment when the whole body would find themselves deprived of employment. As a rule, the rate of production must adapt itself to the state of demand, and any infraction of this rule will inevitably occasion the disastrous results arising from a violation of the laws of economic science. So well known is this to those who have devoted themselves to the temporary or permanent relief of the poor, that, as a rule, they seldom seek to provide employment for them in their respective trades, unless there exists a probability that such trades may prove remunerative to the workers. And here it may be remarked in passing, that one reason why we hear so little of artisan distress in such towns as Birmingham, is because of the facility with which the workmen can pass from one trade into another. To the same fact, perhaps, may be attributed the comparative absence of strikes. The Spitalfields silkweavers, unable or unwilling to leave their trade, although barely remunerative and subject to serious fluctuations, have always remained in a greater or lesser state of destitution. Indeed, the general condition of the London silkweavers is one of chronic

pauperism. The obvious remedy consists in a diminution of the number of weavers; this, however, the weavers practically will not admit, seeing that they are continually training their offspring to the same trade as themselves, although fully aware that in so doing they are dooming them to a life of semi-pauperism. Were the facility with which large numbers of the Birmingham artisans are enabled to transfer themselves from one branch of employment to another, shared by the great body of workers in the kingdom, the supply of different kinds of labour would become more equalised, and the great mass of skilled workmen less liable to be deprived of the means of employment. The very means by which some trades' unions endeavour to protect their trades by placing a restraint on the free action of the workmen, is one of the leading causes of this want of versatility on the part of our labourers in general.

There is the instinctive desire, in all well ordered communities, to employ the destitute poor in the construction of works of public utility, or in labours intended for the public benefit, and in which the labour shall not be degrading nor beyond the power of those to whom it is afforded. The vital defect of the workhouse labour test-system is its frequently useless and degrading character. Stone-breaking, for instance, is an art which requires a certain amount of experience and skill rather than strength, and the hardened and incorrigible tramp, versed in the mysteries of the stone-yard, has no difficulty in rattling through his appointed task, while the poor, but inexperienced mechanic, whose only crime consists in his poverty, vainly strives, with fingers blistered and bleeding, with limbs weary and aching, to perform the same amount of work. Still more objectionable is the digging and re-filling of large pits. Stone-breaking possesses at least one recommendation, the labour is one of utility; but when, as in the case of pit-digging, the usefulness of the labour is not apparent, it exercises a degrading influence on those engaged in it. The parochial authorities are not altogether to blame for this, as they seldom possess any alternatives beyond stone-breaking, oakum-picking, and pit-digging. But were it otherwise, they would find it difficult, especially in the present chaotic condition of parochial management, to devise more suitable and less degrading labour tests without interfering with some branch of industry affording employment to large numbers of operatives. Whatever kinds of employment be resorted to, they must not in any way clash with the ordinary relations of labour and capital. For instance, were the destitute poor to be employed in making shoes, when the

shoe-trade is in a state of depression, it would tend merely to aggravate the existing amount of destitution. The cheap labour of inmates of prisons in mat and basket-making has deprived large numbers of the industrious and deserving blind of the means of obtaining a livelihood.

If, then, employment is to be provided for the poor, it must be of such a nature as not to interfere with other existing employments. Mr. Arnold therefore recommends the adoption of a system based on the Public Works Act, introduced into Lancashire during the period of the cotton famine. His proposal is that an Act of Parliament should be passed, empowering the Treasury to lend money for the construction of public works to the parochial or corporate authorities of any district where a large number of labourers are suffering from temporary distress. He suggests that, for the repayment of such loans, an annual payment of five per cent. shall be required, which at the end of thirty years would cancel both principal and interest. Furthermore, he would entrust the management of the works to the local authorities, although the central Government must, in the first instance, be consulted: and for the more effectual working out of his plan he suggests the establishment of what many other Governments already possess, namely, a special department of public works presided over by a minister directly responsible to Parliament: in default of this, 'the advances for the purposes of the Act should be made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners upon orders bearing the seal of the Poor-Law Board, and the signature of the president of that board for the time being.' It is highly problematical whether Mr. Arnold's suggestions will ever be carried into effect. We must bear in mind the enormous increase of local taxation, to say nothing of the large sums required, under the orders of the Poor-Law Board, for the enlargement of existing workhouses, the erection of others, and the establishment of district schools, asylums, and infirmaries on a large and costly scale. Moreover, the amount of benefit derived from the Lancashire Public Works Act has been greatly overstated. According to Mr. Rawlinson, in Lancashire,—

'There were said to be 40,000 able-bodied men out of employment, but there were never more than 6,000 on the public works there. *Bona fide* work for wages was, in all cases, tendered, and he was not aware of a single instance in which any man or body of men complained that they could not get work, but although they had 6,000 at work, and four or five times that number who were not, some would not stop a week, some would not stop a fortnight, and they found therefore it was only the best men, those who really wished to put themselves into an honest position who would undergo the ordeal of seasoning themselves to labour to which they were unaccustomed.'

If mere employment afforded a remedy for pauperism, we should not hear of paupers in Canada, or Australia, where the demand for labour exceeds the supply. But supposing that the requisite employment were found, the customary rate of wages would have to be given, any attempt at offering less being instantly resented by the labourers, as in the case of the destitute Poplar artisans when offered employment at a lower rate in shipbuilding. And if the full rate of wages be given, the effect would be to attract labourers from less remunerative employment, so that in the end the state of affairs would be exactly the same as at first.

Instead of endeavouring to provide work for the unemployed, the object of all desirous of preventing the spread of pauperism, should be to ascertain, as far as possible, the causes which tend to diminish the means of employment. It needs but the slightest knowledge of the fundamental principles of political economy to perceive that the increasing want of employment is the result of deficient or mis-expended capital. Mr. John Stuart Mill states that 'while, on the one hand, industry is limited by capital, so on the other, every increase of capital gives, or is capable of giving, additional employment to industry: and this without assignable limits.' But for the enormous waste of capital somewhere, there would exist in this country ample means of employment for all able to work. How this waste is occasioned is obvious to all. It is occasioned by the universal passion for alcoholic liquors, the gratification of an acquired appetite at any cost, even of pauperism, sickness, or premature death. Were the many millions of pounds sterling annually expended by the English people in the purchase of beer, wine, and spirits, devoted to the purchase of furniture, clothing, and necessary articles of food, employment would be found in a constantly increasing ratio for all who needed it. Intemperance and pauperism are synonymous, yet neither the Poor-Law Board, in their official report, nor the members of the Social Science Association in their discussions, have ventured to treat the matter from this point of view. The Rev. H. Solly, indeed, is the only member of the Social Science Association who has had the courage to allude to the importance of the Temperance question in connection with this subject, and even he mentions it only incidentally. He says, speaking of the metropolis:—

'There are, taking the whole police district (which includes fifteen miles from Charing-cross, as the returns do not give the number in the metropolis alone), 6,549 public-houses and gin-palaces, and 4,421 beershops, making a total of 10,970 houses, which, if placed side by side, would extend for a distance of about thirty-three miles! There are also music and singing halls, with dancing saloons without number.'

The amount annually spent in these public-houses is, according to the lowest computation, £3,000,000 sterling. One-third of this would suffice to provide work for all the unemployed metropolitan poor. The true cause of our increasing pauperism is the enormous development of our drink-traffic, the very existence of which is in contravention of the soundest rules of political economy. The capital formed by the nation is continually being reduced and deprived of its proper productive powers, merely that a limited class of non-producers—people of no earthly use whatever to their country—may live in comfort, if not affluence. Of all the methods of rendering capital utterly unproductive, its expenditure in the purchase of beer and gin, for personal consumption, is the most effectual and speedy. The amount annually paid for wages in this country has been variously estimated, the lowest computation being £200,000,000. Of this sum, at least £60,000,000 is believed to be annually expended in intoxicating drinks. Have we not here the secret of our increasing pauperism? Does it not tell us how futile is the idea of checking pauperism by finding work for the unemployed, unless we at the same time check the popular craving for beer and gin? Did any doubt exist in the matter it could speedily be removed by a reference to the experience of workhouse officials, who are singularly unanimous in declaring intemperance to have been the predisposing cause of pauperism, in the majority of cases which have come under their care.

Again, take the 41,276 pauper lunatics and idiots now being supported at the cost of the ratepayers. It is an acknowledged fact that many of these are either the offspring of intemperate parents, or have themselves been guilty of intemperate habits. Indeed, the more the matter is inquired into, the more apparent becomes the connection between our drinking habits and the development of pauperism. But our philanthropists will not perceive this. They wilfully shut their eyes, and then declare that they cannot see. It is not pauper colonies, public works acts, or working men's clubs that we most want. Even as mere palliatives these would prove useless. Nothing less than a change in our drinking habits and the greater restriction of the drink traffic will meet the emergency. It may be unfashionable to be a teetotaler, to denounce the public-house system may be considered by many as bordering on fanaticism, but until the principles of temperance are more generally acknowledged and practised, the Poor-Law Board may issue its reports, Social Science theorists gravely discuss each other's hobbies, and the nation

angrily complain that nothing is being done, without in the least staying the onward and desolating march of English pauperism.

ALMANACKS—OLD AND NEW.

TO the inquiry—when and where was the Almanack first devised?—no satisfactory answer can be returned. The thing so called was certainly older than the name, and the name itself, whatever its derivation, marks an antiquity higher than that of any existing European sovereignty, great or small. Whether we find its etymological origin in the Arabic *al*, 'the,' and the Hebrew *manah* and *manakh*, 'to number or count;' or in the Arabic *al* and Greek *meenee*, 'moon,' or *meen*, 'month,' or in the old German *al-mon-aght*, 'the observations of all moons,' corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon *al-mon-heed;* or whether we regard it as slightly modified from an Arabic compound signifying 'the Diary;' we are, in any case, directed to the primitive meaning of the invention, and are impressed with the probability of its connection, under other names, with the earliest civilisation of our race.

Supposing a state of society with periodical festivals, secular or religious, based (as they must have been) on a knowledge, however rudimentary, of the heavenly bodies; and further supposing the use of written signs and symbols, suppositions which apply to the oldest forms of civic life on the banks of the Tigris, the Ganges, the Yang-tze-Kiang, and the Nile—we can scarcely imagine the absence of some recognised register answering to our conception of the almanack in its simplest and roughest state. As to Egypt, indeed, the Abbé Pulche hastily conjectured that the grotesque figures found on the ancient monuments formed a sort of illustrated calendar of the rise and fall of the Nile, and were thus substantially akin to the much later ornamented wooden almanacks of the semi-savage Northmen. But the Egyptian calendar (Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' vol. iv., p. 14) appears to have been agricultural, the year being divided into three seasons of 'the water plants,' 'the ploughing,' and 'the waters.' The Romans, we know, had their calendar with its *fasti dies*, 'marked days,' and as this calendar had ceased, four centuries before Christ, to be a vocal declaration by the Pontifex Maximus of the coming monthly festivals, we may presume that the written calendar posted up in the Forum under his directions would be copied for private use, and thus pass into extensive circu-

lation. Among the disinterred antiquities of Pompeii is a square block of marble, upon each side of which a three months' calendar is engraved, with the signs of the zodiac proper to the season, the information given being astronomical, agricultural, and religious. The Alexandrian Greeks, of the second and third centuries of the Christian era, are said to have been adepts in the compilation of almanacks furnished with astrologic lore; and when the spread of Christianity began to call for a calendar in which the names of saints and martyrs should supersede the names of the heathen gods, major and minor, the 'aching void' (if voids can ache) would be speedily supplied. Inasmuch, also, as a belief in days, lucky and unlucky, was one of the popular superstitions not easily rooted out, other influences besides those of devotion would join to stimulate the manufacture of an article in such general request. Casting a glance towards the Scandinavian tribes, we likewise see that both prior and subsequent to their conversion to Christianity, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes were possessed of calendars cut in wood, in horn, and in metal. The runic lines and grotesque hieroglyphic shapes thus carved-in became treasured, doubtless, as a species of talisman and charm, without which neither weapon, nor tool, nor household vessel could be considered perfect. Walking-sticks, as being easily carried about, were similarly utilised and adorned; and so an almanack, uncouth as the people and the times, was indefinitely multiplied ready to every hand. Where the craftsman was a Christian, saints' days were frequently denoted by significant signs, as a harp for St. David's, a gridiron for St. Lawrence's, and a pair of shoes for St. Crispin's. The Anglo-Saxons borrowed this fashion from their neighbours and rivals; and a specimen of the 'clog almanack,' once widely diffused, has been engraved and described by Dr. Plott, under the title of the 'Perpetual Staffordshire Almanack.'

If we are really indebted to the Arabs for the name, we may reasonably conclude that in the literary blossoming which distinguished the Moorish dominion in Spain, the almanack had a conspicuous place. No specimen, however, of such a production seems to have survived to bring before our eyes the curious mixture of true and false science—of astronomy and astrology—which Saracen philosophers prepared for the entertainment of their Saracen patrons. No almanack-maker earlier than Solomon Jarchus, in the twelfth century, is known by name, and his identification is obscure and doubtful. The earliest almanack MSS. in the British Museum and the National Libraries of other countries do not date beyond the

fourteenth century, though the authorship of one is ascribed to Friar Bacon. The father of the modern almanack, using the term in the most restricted sense as a diary specifying the position of the planets, was the celebrated astronomer Purbach, whose calendars extend from 1450 to 1461. His pupil, Regiomantanus, took advantage of the printing-press to give publicity to his own essays in this scientific line, from 1475 to 1506; and without crediting the legend which makes each copy of his almanacks to have sold for ten crowns of gold, we have no doubt that he was well remunerated for his trouble both by the buyers of his tracts, and by the King of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus, in whom he found a generous supporter. Rivals in this enterprise appeared in Bernard de Granolachs, of Barcelona, and Engel, of Vienna; and as the sixteenth century opened out, first Stoffler, of Tubingen (1526), and then Rabelais, at Lyons (1533), made similar appeals to the curiosity and growing intelligence of Europe. Curiosity, perhaps, rather than intelligence had most to do with the unquestionable demand which prevailed for printed almanacks. Astrology had, to say the least, as strong hold on the popular faith as the Gospels, and the almanack became at this period a special vehicle for the diffusion of prescriptions and predictions based on the supposed influence of the heavenly bodies, through the fame and prophecies of Nostrodamus. This eminent physician and friend of J. C. Scaliger was one of the scientific and philanthropic lights of the sixteenth century; but he was most widely known by his vaticinations, expressed in enigmatic terms, but none the less valued on that account, and circulated by him in the almanacks he published. The pretensions of this extraordinary man have been voluminously canvassed, and it is undeniable that some events, remote from his own day, appear to have been anticipated in his oracular verses; but the more immediate effects of his prophesying were pernicious and alarming, for every man who pretended to be an astrologer, and who was at best nothing more, could prophesy as confidently as Nostrodamus. The agitation produced by these communings with futurity led, in France, to an edict of Henry III., passed in 1579, prohibiting the prophetic element in the almanacks of the day; and if the bishops, who were the licensers of all such publications issued in their respective dioceses, carried out the royal interdict, we may confidently conclude that almanacks experienced a sudden and heavy fall in public valuation and demand.

Manuscript calendars were in use in England before Caxton set up his printing-press in the sanctuary at Westminster; but these were principally of a religious character, and few of

them have escaped the ravages of time. In 1812 a work was printed at Hackney, purporting to be a verbatim transcript, with some omissions, of a manuscript almanack of 1386, and the original was announced to be at the printer's for inspection and sale. No antiquarian has been known to have examined this MS., but, if genuine, its age, to judge from the orthography, appears to have been exaggerated by the modern transcriber. A very early printed almanack, one of Wynkyn de Worde's (and older by nineteen years than his octo-decimo folded almanack deposited in the Pepyseian Library, Cambridge), was accidentally found in an antique oak cabinet, and presented by a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Its dimensions are two and a half inches by two inches, and the number of leaves is fifteen. The only title is, 'Almanackye for VI. Yere' [1506], and on the reverse of this leaf are the words—'Lately corrected and emprynted at London, in Flete-strete, by Wynkyn de Worde. In the yere of the reygne of the most redoubted Sovereigne Lorde Kinge Henry the VII.' Earlier, however, than this curiosity was the 'Sheapeheard's Kalendar,' translated from the French, of which the first edition was printed by Richard Pynson in 1497. The next century (1500-1600) was prolific in these annual visitors, some of which, for reasons not positively known, were printed in the Netherlands. One of them is a large single sheet, printed at 'Antwerpe,' for the year 1530, the work of 'Gaspar Leat the younger.' It is described as an 'Almynack and Prognosticatio,' and begins in this fashion—'The declaratio of this Almynack. The Golden Number xi. Inditio iii. The cicle of the Sunne xxvii. The Sunday Letter B.' Medical prescriptions mixed up with astrological quackery were a prominent element in these productions. A single folio sheet in red and black ink appeared as 'An Almanack and Prognostication for the yeare of our Lord MD. & XLVIII. by M. Alphonsus Laet, brother of M. Jasper Laet, Doctor of Physycke and Astronomy. Imprinted at London by Richard Jugge, dwelling at the North Door of Paul's.' In this almanack certain signs are used to designate the 'chosen dayes' when it is 'good to let blood—meetely to let blood. Good to take medicine—meetely to take medicine. Good to bathe. Good to sowe or plante.' Jugge was an eminent printer of Bibles, and would consider himself kept in countenance by the calendars prefixed to the lawyers' guides, the abridgments of the chronicles, and the translations of the Bible then issuing from the press. In one of these old Bibles the classification of facts is curious. The January calendar runs :—'1. Noah began to see the tops of the mountains.

6. Jesus was baptised. 9. Noah sent the dove out of the ark. 22. The Duke of Somerset beheaded. 27. Paul was converted.' Coverdale put out an almanack to help on the Reformation, and to the same period is referred 'A Spirituall Almanacke, wherein every Christiē man and womā may se what they ought daylye to do or leave undone. Not after the doctrine of the Papistes, not after the lernynge of Ptolemy, but out of the very true and wholesome doctryne of God, shewed vnto vs in his Worde.'

The custom seems to have grown up about this time of printing almanacks in some country town, with the view of getting a circulation in the districts around. One dated 1541, 'practised' by two 'Doctors of Physike and Astronomye,' was published at Worcester. The example was contagious and chronic; and in 1590, 'Walter Gray, gentleman,' published his 'Almanacke and Prognostication,' rectified for the meridian of Dorchester, 'serving most aptly for the West Partes and generally for al England.' Each month's predictions in this almanack were preceded by a few rhymes, describing some characteristics or products of the season. In the plays of Shakespere this species of popular literature receives four allusions, which throw light on its leading features and wide diffusion. In 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' (Act iii., scene 1), Smug asks, 'Doth the moon shine that night we play our play?' And Bottom answers, 'A calendar, a calendar! Look in the almanacks; find out moonshine, find out moonshine.' In the 'Comedy of Errors' (Act i., scene 2), Antipholus exclaims, on the entrance of Dromio of Ephesus, 'Here comes the almanack of my true date.' In the 'Second part of King Henry IV.' (Act ii., scene 4), Prince Henry calls out, 'Saturn and Venus this year in conjunction! what says the almanack to that?' Poins adds, 'And look whether the fiery Trigon, his man, be not lisping to his master's old tables; his note-book, his counsel-keeper.' And in 'Antony and Cleopatra' (Act i., scene 2), 'Her passions are made of nothing but the finest part of pure love; we cannot call her winds and waters, sighs and tears; they are greater storms and tempests than almanacks can report'—a plain allusion to the terrible prognostications by which the almanack-makers of the period roused the fears, while they appealed to the curiosity, of their credulous readers. Yet there were not wanting men able and ready to satirise the tribe of wiseacres and their dupes; and Thomas Decker is credited with the authorship of a parody, published under this title, 'The Rauens [Raven's] Almanacke, Foretelling ye Plague, Famine, and Civill Warre. That shall happen this present yeare 1609.

With certain remedies, rules, and receipts, &c. London: Printed by E. A., for W. Archer, 1609.' This almanack was ironically dedicated 'To the Lyons of the Wood (the young courtiers)—to the wilde Buckes of the Forrest (the gallants and younger brothers)—to the Hartes of the field, and to the whole Country that were brought up wisely, yet proving Guls, who are borne rich, yet dye beggars.' Edward Pond commenced to publish an almanack in 1605, and under that name one was brought out annually for a long succession of years. The names of sixty-two almanack-writers who flourished between 1600-1700 have been preserved, and the actual number was probably greater. The first Oxford almanack was issued for the year 1683, and was ornamented with hieroglyphics, the editor or author being Maurice Wheeler, minor canon of Christ Church. James I., who trafficked largely in patents, gave to the two Universities and the Stationers' Company the sole right of issuing almanacks in England, under the supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, both or either, for the time being. The Universities sold to the Stationers' Company their interest in this monopoly for an annuity, and the Stationers' Company, from their hall off Ludgate Hill, continued to pour forth, without rivalry, for a century and a half, streams of mystical nonsense and indecent jesting, mingled with very moderate proportions of useful information. Lilly, the astrologer, was a confidant of the unhappy Charles I., to whom he might have given homely counsel that would have been of more service to him than reams of astrologic symbols; but Lilly survived the King and the Commonwealth, and died full of years, if not of honours, on an estate purchased with the gains of his art, on the banks of the Thames. But Lilly had a pupil, who developed into a rival almanacker, in John Gadbury, and Gadbury found a competitor in the still better-known John Partridge. In the last half of this century also appeared 'Poor Robin's Almanack,' one of the most popular and longest-lived of the race, whose list of anonymous editors is said to have contained a clergyman of the English Church. Ere the close of the seventeenth century 'Francis Moore, physician,' had started his almanack (1698), and in the present year of grace the old 'philomath' (a favourite cognomen with the almanack compilers) makes, by deputy, his bow on the British stage. 'Poor Robin' seems to have arrived at popularity by a travesty on the style in vogue among the pseudo science-mongers of that day. His humour is of a kind which has been revived of late, consisting chiefly in uttering commonplaces in a grave and serious style. Artemus Ward

drew bursts of laughter from fashionable assemblies when he pointed with a stick to a picture of hill scenery, and said with a solemn, elongated visage, 'That is the top of a mountain;' and so Poor Robin aimed, no doubt, to excite the risibility of his readers by making this entry under the month of June, 1671: 'I can assure ye, upon the word of an astrologer, that we shall have no hard frosts all this month.' And more slily under July, 'Many people now shall be troubled with the Devonshire man's disease; they can eat and drink, &c., woundily, but they cannot work. But for such a sickness, a cartwhip is the best physic.' 'Poor Robin' could cry up strong drink very lustily, but in his 'predictions' he has some fair temperance sallies, *e.g.*, 'More shall go sober into taverns than shall come out. The *falling* sickness will be common with drunkards.' Against Poor Robin, however, must be laid the charge of pandering to a coarseness against which ordinary morality, to say nothing of religion, indignantly protested.

Sectarian bitterness is intensely shown in the almanacks after the Restoration (1660), and a special almanack, entitled 'A Yea and Nay Almanack for the people, called by the men of the world Quakers,' was a libel of the most malignant type. The influence of the almanack on the fair sex of the Stuart times was not agreeable, if Dryden is to be believed:

> 'Beware the woman, too, and shun her sight,
> Who in that study does herself delight,
> By whom a greasy almanack is borne,
> With often handling, like chapt-amber worne.'

We must now briefly advert to that most amusing episode in almanack *notabilia* connected with Dean Swift's attack on John Partridge—by no means the worst representative of his class. Partridge had been a shoemaker, but had found astrology a shorter cut to notoriety and lucre. His 'Merlin Liberatus' had been published for upwards of forty years, when he became the object of attentions more caustic than complimentary from the keenest humorist of the age. Having laid his plan of assault, Dean Swift published 'Predictions for the year 1708,' under the name of 'Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.' This pamphlet opened with a feigned eulogy on astrology, but a depreciation of astrologers, especially the framers of almanacks, and more especially Mr. John Partridge, the Ajax of the throng. After caustically exposing the devices resorted to by the current prognosticators to conceal their ignorance, 'Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.,' asserts that he will deliver, in precise terms, a series of

prophecies, by the fulfilment of which his reputation shall stand or fall; and the first prophecy of this series is directed against the famous Partridge himself. 'Having consulted the star of his nativity by my own rules, I find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of March next, about 11 at night, of a raging fever; therefore I advise him to consider and to settle his affairs in time.' Other 'prophecies' follow, expressed in language equally intelligible and distinct. As the 'prophecy' concerning Partridge was the first, intense curiosity was aroused to see what would happen; and as soon as the fated day had arrived, there appeared a second pamphlet entitled, 'The Accomplishment of the First of Mr. Bickerstaff's predictions, being an account of the death of Mr. Partridge the Almanack-maker upon the 29th instant; in a Letter to a Person of Honour.' In this production the Dean minutely described the circumstances preceding and attending the astrologer's decease, and with masterly tact made him confess that the whole mystery was one of deceit, and that he himself was a poor ignorant fellow. But Partridge, who had not died, yet felt himself incompetent to cope with his assailant, sent out a rejoinder, written for him, it is said, by a neighbour, the Rev. Dr. Yalden, under the title of 'Squire Bickerstaff Detected.' This composition is quite as diverting as the Dean's, for it is chiefly occupied with an account of the tricks played upon him by those who had fallen into the spirit of Isaac Bickerstaff's original 'predictions,' and who zealously co-operated to drive the poor symbol-drawer into a nervous fever. A single extract must suffice—'Nay, the very reader of our parish, a good, sober, discreet person, has sent two or three times for me to come and be buried decently, or send him sufficient reason to the contrary; or, if I have been buried in any other parish, to produce a certificate as the Act requires. My poor wife is run almost distracted with being called Widow Partridge, when she knows it is false; and once a term she is cited into the court to take out letters of administration; but my greatest grievance is a paltry quack that takes up my calling just under my nose, and in his printed directions with N.B., says he lives in the house of the late ingenious Mr. John Partridge, the eminent practitioner in leather, physic, and astrology.' Swift replied by 'A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.,' in which he maintained that Partridge had really died, giving reasons for the assertion, and adroitly turning against Partridge's denial the well-known device of using the names of long-dead astrologers to maintain the circulation of the almanacks they originally produced. Partridge was really so much upset by this attack

that for some years he did not edit the almanack bearing his name, and though he resumed his old work, he died in 1714. Swift did not wholly abandon his assault on the superstitious trickery to which nearly all the almanack-makers were committed, but issued for 1709 a short paper entitled, 'A famous prediction of Merlin the British Wizard.' The Stationers' Company were not much moved by these charges of their polished opponent; to his wit they opposed the prejudices of the populace, and so, year by year, their almanacks, covered with undecipherable symbols, spread their wings, travelling like vast coveys, till they settled down in ten thousands of English homes. Neither the Archbishop of Canterbury nor the Bishop of London withheld his licence, and that licence was a salve to any modicum of corporate conscience the Stationers' Company possessed. Had these monopolists been capable of learning from example, they might have been shamed and schooled into a reformed course of action by the Philadelphia printer, Benjamin Franklin, who in 1732 brought out his 'Poor Richard's Almanack,' and continued its publication for twenty-five years, without resorting to moral garbage to attract a sale. 'Poor Richard,' unlike 'Poor Robin' of London, used no other seasoning but the salt of a humour that evoked no blush, and of a proverbial wisdom that made economy and temperance better appreciated by rich and poor. In one sense the Stationers' Company studied economy—at least they practised it, in its parsimonious guise, towards the men whom they employed to do the necessary work, as is apparent from a letter by a Robert Heath, of Upnor Castle, written in 1753, in which he states:—'The sheet almanack of theirs sells 175,000, and they give three guineas for the copy. Moore's sells 75,000, and they give five guineas for the copy. The Lady's sells above 30,000 (it sold but 17,000 when I first took it), and they give ten guineas for the copy. Mrs. Beighton's is the most copy-money of any other. The Gentleman's copy is three guineas; sells 7,000. This is a fine company to write for!' The 'Ladies' Diary' and the 'Gentlemen's' here referred to were best known for their mathematical problems; it was their distinction to be the only two of the Stationers' almanacks that were a credit to them—(the one commenced in 1705, the other in 1741)—always excepting the 'Nautical Almanack,' commenced in 1767, and edited for many years by Dr. Maskelyne. This truly scientific annual (formed on the plan of the French *Connaisances des Tems* begun in 1698) fell for a season from its high reputation; but for thirty years past has risen higher than ever, and supplies to the educated mariner, three years in advance, all

the materials he requires for determining his position on the waste of waters ploughed by his ship, out of sight of land, for months together. But the Company's privileges were destined to be invaded by a bold bookseller of St. Paul's Churchyard, Thomas Carnan by name, who, without asking their leave, issued an almanack for the year 1771. He was committed to Newgate at their instance, but continued to repeat the offence, suffering a repetition of the penalty, till a case was drawn up by the Lord Chancellor, in 1775, for the hearing of the defendant's plea, challenging the legality of the plaintiff's patent. The Court of Common Pleas heard the arguments on either side, and unanimously decided, first, that the Stationers' Company's patent only covered almanacks bearing the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London; and, secondly, that the Crown had no power to give exclusive rights of printing and publishing publications of the almanack class. The Company's lawyers, Mr. Serjeant Glynn and Mr. Serjeant Hill, men of eminence at the bar, having no standing ground in the nature of the royal prerogative, or in legal precedents, had argued that almanacks were a part of the Prayer-Book, which belonged to the King as Head of the Church; that they contained matters which were received as conclusive evidence in courts of justice, and therefore ought to be published by authority, with similar trains of reasoning of no effect on the minds of the learned judges. Erskine afterwards exposed the unsoundness of this argumentation when he said that a precedent of the kind sought for, though seemingly trifling, 'may hereafter afford a plausible inlet to much mischief. The protection of law may be a pretence for a monopoly in all books on legal subjects. The safety of the State may require the suppression of histories and political writings. Even philosophy herself may become once more the slave of the Schoolmen, and religion fall again under the iron fetters of the Church.' These words were part of a speech delivered by Erskine in the House of Commons, whence the Stationers' Company, defeated in Westminster Hall, had carried their own cause, in 1779, by means of the Prime Minister, Lord North, who stood in need of all the astrological aid the almanacks could render him and his royal master in their war with the American Colonies. A Bill was therefore introduced by Lord North to give to the Stationers' Company the jurisdiction which it had been proved it never lawfully possessed; but Erskine made a brilliant speech in opposition, in the course of which he finely exposed the plea advanced on the ground of 'correctness and decency' required in the preparation of almanacks:—'I should really

have been glad to have cited some instances from the 113th edition of "Poor Robin's Almanack," published under the revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London; but I am prevented from doing it by a just respect for the House. Indeed I know no house but a brothel that could suffer the quotations. The worst part of Rochester is ladies' reading when compared with them.' He acutely observed:—'Their almanacks have been, as everything else that is monopolised comes to be, uniform and obstinate in mistake and error for want of necessary rivalry. In Scotland and Ireland, where the trade in almanacks has been free and unrestrained, they have been eminent for excellence and useful information.' The force of reason prevailed, and the House, on May 10th, 1779, rejected the Minister's Bill by a majority of forty-five votes. It was arranged that the Universities should receive a grant in lieu of the annuity which the Stationers' Company had been accustomed to pay them for their share in the profits of the now-exploded patent. But the Company was not to be beaten yet. The Courts of Law and the High Court of Parliament had wrested from its grasp the weapons of fine and imprisonment, but Philip's 'Golden Key' remained, and too much success attended the efforts of the Company, who used to buy up or overwhelm all private competition. The result was a virtual monopoly, with the usual effects; and it was not till the second quarter of the present century had begun that the Stationers' Company discontinued some almanacks—'Old Poor Robin' among them—and issued others in a more creditable style. But a great change was at hand. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had been formed, and its 'British Almanack for 1828,' with a 'Companion,' was the first of a series, continued to the present year, which broke up the old stagnation, and inaugurated an era of activity and improvement, as delightful as it was novel. The Stationers' Company was very abusive, but it felt the healthy glow of competition, and forthwith brought out the 'Englishman's Almanack,' a wonderful advance on all its previous performances in that literary line. Public enterprise attracted into this channel, both by the success of the 'British Almanack,' and by the timely abolished Act in 1834 of a tax of fifteenpence per copy on all almanacks, soon kept pace with the progress of the book trade in all its other branches.* To peruse all the almanacks that now swarm forth during every autumn

* From 1821 to 1830, the average number of almanacks printed was 499,000, yielding an income of about £31,000.

would occupy an ordinary reader the entire succeeding year. Some are weighty and bulky, like the elephant, others as bright and tiny as the humming-bird. Science has its 'Nautical Almanack' and its 'British Almanack,' with others of lesser name. Mirth and drollery have the almanacks of *Punch* and *Fun*. Choice illustrated almanacks, with letter-press to match, are supplied by Cassell and other publishers of repute. Professions and trades create almanacks of their own—the licensed victuallers among the rest. Active provincial printers furnish special districts with almanacks, mostly charged with good matter; while pushing newspaper proprietors, wakeful insurance societies, and ever-busy traders turn the almanack into a medium for keeping their claims before the public. The cause of Temperance is represented by Tweedie's Almanack, tasteful and concise, and by Graham's, running over with information of general interest and sterling worth. The mere names of the almanacks of every season baffle recollection, and the number of copies issued of them defies enumeration. The ancient astrological phantasy still survives in a half-crown 'Raphael's Prophetic Almanack,' with a sensational picture; in a sixpenny 'Zadkiel's Almanack,' edited by a retired lieutenant of the Royal navy; and in 'Old Moore's Almanack,' with its artfully contrived prognostications of the fates of men and nations. But time and circumstance are occasionally too strong for even astute astrologers. Dean Swift made merry over the almanacks of his day that contained prayers all through 1702 for King William III., though the Orange hero had paid the inevitable debt in the February of that year. A similar *contretemps* has befallen 'Old Moore' in his forecastes of 1869, inasmuch as under May he predicts: 'Great events will arise in Spain this year. The reign of the present dynasty (!) *will be seriously threatened*' (!) Alas! for the lore that could thus interpret the stars of May, 1869, but could not apprehend the almost actual events of October, 1868! We must not forget to remark that in 'Oliver and Boyd's Edinburgh Almanack,' and in 'Thom's Irish Almanack,' our Scotch and Irish countrymen have almanacks of a standard reputation. The 'Almanach de Gotha' is in its ninetieth year, and is esteemed throughout Europe. France has some of the best and some of the worst almanacks at present printed. An almanack was published in Constantinople as far back as 1706, under the patronage of Achmet III. Persia has its almanacks, one of which is minutely described by a writer in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.

Bayle relates a story of a maker of almanacks who, mis-

taking the sense of an abbreviated prefix, converted it into 'Saint Almanachus,' and then proceeded to assign that uncanonised saint the 1st of January as his highday and holiday. We fear that writers of almanacks must look out for some other ghostly patron than the one thus improvised for their service. But though our congratulations must be otherwise directed, they may be very heartily and unreservedly extended. It is only requisite to put one of the meagre, ill-printed (and, it may be, obscene) almanacks of the seventeenth or eighteenth century side by side with one of the present year, pleasant to the eye, and charged with wholesome aliment for the mind, to recognise the progress made not only in art, science, and industrial mechanics, but also in moral refinement and public virtue. In the piles and tons of almanacks for 1869 that have been recently scattered over town and village, what stores of knowledge, what funds of innocent recreation, have been set free! St. Almanack may not have presided over the composition of any; but probably not in one is there a trace of indelicacy, not in one a taint of moral pollution; and this, in itself, is a spectacle on which the eyes of every saint, and of all who prize a nation's honour, may dwell with admiring approbation.

OUR CANVASS.

IT was not for the franchise of women, although we believe all who help to make the wealth of a country should have some voice in its expenditure. No! our canvass was for names to a petition to the Honourable Houses, to repeal the law regarding the property and earnings of married women. We do not believe in making our husbands into 'greedy Dicks,' and vulgarly cry as the farmer did to his rector when seizing for tithes, 'Parson, ahoy there! snacks.' It was just before the last session that we got our petition neatly rolled up in oil case, and sallied forth into the suburbs of the busy Cottonopolis. Such scorching weather, too, with the thermometer at 100°, and the roads hot and dusty as might be. We put on our coolest dress, took a large umbrella, and were fairly in for our first day's work.

We commenced with the private houses, some of those elegant little terraces, with smooth grass before the doors. Conquering all bashfulness, we rang boldly, and were answered by housemaids armed with broom and duster. If these personages were amiable, 'they *would* tell missus,' and

we were asked into the drawing-room; if not, we were dismissed with the awful announcement that 'missus was too much engaged to see anyone, and would be so all day,' a small untruth, for which it is to be hoped they will be forgiven. In the former case we sat in the state-room till the lady of the house came, and then we opened our business, and unfolded our papers with professional ease. If the personage in question had defective sight, we had to wait till her glasses were sought up, and then the scrutiny began, to which succeeded sundry remarks of disapproval. 'It is not women's work to meddle with politics at all. They'd better stop at home and mind the house, and leave altering the laws to their husbands, if they want altering, which I don't believe they do.' 'But if they find the husbands don't do it,' we nervously suggest, 'are we out of place in trying to get our own earnings protected, and the right of claiming them for ourselves in case of need?'

'Why, yes! If a woman's good for anything, she can make her husband do as she pleases, and if she is not, why . . .' The rest of the sentence was inaudible.

'But there are very good women who have improvident, unsteady men, who are willing to work and maintain their children. Are such not entitled to a share of their own industry?'

'I don't know, perhaps they are; I never thought about it; have not time.'

'Then you will not append your name to our petition, and assist your own sex?'

'Not this morning, thank you.'

So we go on from house to house, with pretty much the same success, except that here and there we light on some pretty misses, Nellies and Jessies, a little ahead of mamma, who declare it is really a very good thing. 'They would not like their husbands to have all their money. No! they would like a little to spend themselves in nicknacks; they'll sign, that they will, it will be such capital fun for the young men to see they can't have all their own way.' So the inkstand is produced, pens are tried on the blotting paper, and, finally, autographs are made in the fashionable scrawl of misses in their minority.

Never mind, their names are better than none, and help to make a respectable beginning.

We have received a gentle hint to secure the names of the most popular clergymen at once, so we thought we might now make the attempt.

Now it is no joke to make a morning call on one of these

functionaries, especially without your card, or, what is worse, without a contribution to some charitable fund which the pastor patronises. But as he is too moral to send out the fashionable answer 'not at home,' we are ushered in. 'What can I do for you to-day?' said one of these gentlemen to us. We fear it was not a very proper answer, but we felt an irresistible desire to say '*Nothing;*' and we said it penitently, qualifying our reply by the latter end of our sentence, in which we said, 'Please to give your name to this petition.' The black cloth eyed us suspiciously; read aloud 'amend the law;' was horrified at the temerity of the words; bade us beware of weakening the marriage tie, and conscientiously declined further notice of us. Bad omen! we inwardly ejaculated; but then a comforting thought suggested itself in the form of a question: 'Are not this class of the community often a little behindhand in social progression? Why is it so?' We did not try to solve the problem, but resolved to try another clergyman whose views were said to be liberal and enlightened. A pleasant country walk led to his charming residence, a sweet little nook buried in trees. It was near a beautiful grave-yard, whose rural church possessed a sweet artistic beauty peculiarly its own. As we rang at the bell of the rectory we looked on the quiet beauty of the scene around us, and wondered how so lovely a place could exist so near to one of the busiest marts of Europe. Our appeal was answered by a man-servant, who was polite enough not to keep us standing in the passage, but showed us at once to the library, where sat his master absorbed in books and papers. He looked the embodiment of benevolence, and we explained our mission, unfolding the scroll upon the table. The reverend gentleman had his doubts as to the propriety of giving the fair sex so much extra power; but he was open to conviction, and told us how in his own large parish he had seen what women have to endure, when the head of the family is idle, thriftless, and a drunkard. He listened courteously whilst we ventured a few words rather interrogatively. 'Do not the teachings of the New Testament imply that a nobler and more extended social protection will be accorded to us eventually? Did not the Great Teacher himself honour women specially, and deign to become their friend and guest? Is not the influence of woman in the churches at the present day equal to, if not greater, than that of men; and is not her agency sought and accepted in every great social movement?'

The pen was slowly taken up, but remained passive till counter queries were put.

'Will not such a law as the one you contemplate bring

domestic misery, by making the wife independent of her husband? and will she then, as heretofore, succour and sustain him in case of misfortunes or sickness? Perfect love should cast out all fear; a wife should learn to trust her worldly goods with one, to whom she has given herself.'

'Certainly,' we meekly reply, 'but where a man neglects or starves his family, a true woman's duty is not to trust him, but to arouse herself to work to give her children bread. It is not for the loving, happy wife we are pleading, so much as for her who has found only too late the mistake she made on her wedding-day.'

'Yes, there is reason in what you say.' Down goes the pen, and the autograph of a pillar of the English Church is ours.

After we have passed the green lanes, and the hedges, hung over with garlands of roses, we come into the streets where are shops on either side the road. We enter, and soon get a long list of names.

True, it looks rather democratic, and the paper has got rather greasy on the counters, but the owner of the horny hand that signed it would cheer us up by remarking, 'Yes, I'll set my name to that, with both hands if you like. I don't want a woman to work for me; least ways, I won't touch a penny of her earnings. She may keep all for herself and childer.'

Next we come to a smart grocer's shop, with spruce looking windows, filled with goods of extra quality. We step in, inhaling the odour of spices and fresh ground coffee. Parrying to the best of our ability the usual query, 'What do you please to want to-day?' and feeling real compunction that we want nothing in the grocery line, we modestly request the shopkeeper's signature. With a sceptical air he replies, 'I have made up my mind to give nothing to public subscriptions.' 'Oh! we are not begging. We only want your name to this paper.' The gentleman of the white apron scans it, looks at each name separately, and then, with praiseworthy candour, declares, 'No, I shan't sign that, because I'm a widower, and mean to marry again, a nice young girl with plenty of money, with which I mean to do what I like; so you see I should be a hypocrite to sign.' We fully concurred in this opinion, and took our leave.

A little dark corner shop in a narrow dirty street we next alighted on. It would be difficult to designate it but as a general shop, for all sorts of things seemed there. Without much eye to the æsthetic in arrangement, bread, bacon, herrings, cottons, and tapes were all jumbled together.

We wanted the master, whose hands looked as if he might just have blackleaded the grate. As soon as he comprehended, he assured us he would sign that; that was good! accompanying his assertion with a thump on the counter. Pointing to an old barrel which stood topsyturvy, he bade us be seated whilst he went in search of pen and ink, taking our precious document with him. A considerable time elapsed before he returned, and then with a grin of delight on his face he produced our paper with about a dozen hieroglyphics, each one bearing a large blot. 'See here, I have got you such a many, there's Bill Smith, as works next door, and he can't write, so I's set him down, and Tom Pedlar, and Jim and Jack Jones, and——.' 'But, stop,' we said in chagrin, 'these names——' 'No, I be'ant going to stop; there's a sight more a coming yet, our missus is a better *schollard*, and she'll set you down plenty.'

'But, my good fellow, we cannot take names in another person's handwriting, it is illegal.'

'Ill what?' We explained. 'I don't care for that, if them Parliament men won't take honest working folks's names, they may go without, they may,' and down came the fist upon the counter, thump, thump, thump. We were glad to beat a speedy retreat without divulging to our earnest friend our intention of cutting out his names on our return home.

Our next venture was to a shop with the three golden balls; and, as it was thronged with men and women, we hesitated at first to enter it. But the hope of success prevailed, and we quietly waited our turn. The pawnbroker approached us, and heard our errand. 'Ah! I know plenty. I see every day what it is for women to be tied to brutes as won't work, and as makes 'em give them their earnings to buy drink; but I won't sign for all that.' 'Why not?' we ask in a tone of surprise. 'Hadn't Bright something to do with it?' Should we plead ignorance, and say we did not know? No! Truth is always best, so we said proudly he was on our committee.

'I thought as much; you may sign it yourselves. I wish Bright and all such like were smothered,' and sweeping our papers from the counter, he left us to retire as best we could.

We entered next a large establishment whose master approved our undertaking, and recommended his six assistants to give their names. Whilst they were writing, a young woman who had come in for some tea stood an interested listener to the remarks going on. When we left the shop she was waiting outside to speak to us—'O, did I understand you right? do you want to get a law to take care of women's

earnings?' We answered affirmatively. 'Can I sign.' 'Yes.' 'Then let me. I have good occasion.' 'Indeed! it's a pity.' 'I married very young, and soon found out I had done badly. My husband could earn good wages, but he spent them all at the public-house or the gin-shop. I went out to-day's work, and so managed to keep things a little together, but latterly he has left of work, and insisted on taking from me all my earnings. So I have left him, to go out as a cook. My friends are kind, and would make me a home and furnish me a little shop; but what good would it be? for he will surely take all as soon as it is done. Have not I need, then, to sign for a law which would protect me from such a man?' So she added her name with eagerness.

This was a practical witness for the truth of our purpose, and encouraged us for the difficulties which loomed for us in the horizon of the coming day, when we should again go forth amongst all the varieties of the *genus homo* that populate the vast Cottonopolis.

A CHAPTER OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

HOW are we to treat our criminals? The subject of prison management occupies just now a considerable share of public attention; and there are not wanting plenty of answers to the inquiry. Unfortunately the most prominent are utterly irreconcilable with each other; and in arguing the point upon abstract grounds merely, there does not seem much prospect of an agreement being speedily concluded. Under such circumstances a few well-established facts have their value. The question in dispute has a twofold character. It is upon the one hand moral and judicial; on the other it is economical. All are agreed that the ultimate object of the existence of criminal laws, and of the actual embodiment of their provisions in gaols and convict establishments, is the prevention of crime. Punishment is only partially retrospective in its character. We send our criminals to prison, not merely because they have broken the law in the past, but that the law may be less frequently broken in the future. The chief problem to be solved is this,—by what means can the imprisonment be rendered best fitted to produce that result? One party holds that the term of incarceration should be rendered as obnoxious to the offender as possible by the adoption of stringent punitive measures. The opposite view is that no means by which a reformation in the criminal can be produced should

be left untried. That the latter is the sounder theory of the two does not, to our mind, admit of a doubt. Let the punishment inflicted upon criminals be as severe as it may; if it is the fear of punishment alone that keeps them from crime, that fear will lose its power whenever the temptation to offend outweighs in the mind of the offender the chances of detection. Besides, we have to deal not with occasional violaters of the law only—they are the exception—but with criminal classes. It is their business to prey upon society. If retribution invariably overtook them on each act of their nefarious careers, severe punishment would undoubtedly put a stop to their misdeeds. Notoriously the fact is not so. The immense majority of offences carry no punishment in their train; and under the merely punitive system of prison discipline, the professional criminal and the police are engaged in a perpetual trial of skill—one to detect and the other not to be detected. While the motive and the inclination to be criminal remain, crime will remain also; and by putting punishment in the place of reformation we only make our thieves and swindlers more skilful mal-practitioners. As to casual offenders, they, we take it, come within the criminal ranks just because at some particular moment circumstances present the advantages of crime in a stronger light than its disadvantages, a wide margin always being left for the possibility of not being found out.

Closely allied with this, the moral and judicial aspect of the question, is the economical. The advocates of the merely punitive system contend for the use of unproductive labour, as being a very severe form of punishment. Those who believe that all prison discipline should be reformatory in its tendency, hold that remunerative labour, whilst sufficiently punitive, is best calculated to inculcate habits of industry, and consequently to produce the great end of criminal legislation. The management and direction of prison labour has, therefore, an importance far beyond the direct pecuniary results. If experience proved that unremunerative labour had the best effect in the prevention of crime,—if it was found that punishment pure and simple was the best deterrent,—there would be no choice, we must put up with things as they are, and maintain our criminals as well as correct them. But if, on the contrary, remunerative labour works most successfully; if, the less the net cost of our gaols the more preventative does the discipline prove, there is a double reason for its adoption. Then the more we reduce the cost of our criminals, the less formidable will those criminals be.

It will be a long time before the differences between the

advocates of the productive and non-productive labour systems will be settled, if we trust to argument alone. There are, however, such great variations in practice in the management of our county and borough gaols, and of the large public prisons, that some appeal to experience on behalf of the newer, the remunerative theory, is possible. In the abstract, everybody admits that it will be a very fine thing if we can reform our criminals either wholly or nearly at their own cost, instead of maintaining them at the public charges in idleness, or, what is practically the same thing, in unproductive labour. The opponents of the productive system do not accept it, simply because they doubt its power to realise its promises. If, then, it can be shown by the test of actual facts that their fears are groundless, their more or less speedy conversion may be anticipated. There would be no difficulty whatever in deciding the controversy by the experience of American and continental prison management; but there are many reasons why illustrations drawn from within our own borders must in the long run prove more generally satisfactory. The object of the present Paper is to state what has been effected in one of the larger towns of the West of England;—to make the public acquainted with the system of management adopted in the borough gaol of Devonport, and its results.

The Devonport gaol is a modern structure, planned in conformity with the principles of prison arrangement now generally received. It contains 81 certified cells, and there is attached to it a large walled-in garden. The staff of management consists of nine persons—a governor (Mr. Edwards), chaplain, surgeon, matron, female warder, schoolmaster-warder, two second warders, and a porter. It has been Mr. Edwards's constant endeavour to reduce the cost of the prison as much as possible; and he has succeeded so far that he has effected a saving, as compared with the management of his predecessor, of about £250 a year, the total charges now averaging rather over £1,000. This is, of course, a very substantial benefit looked at from the merely pecuniary point of view; but, when we come to inquire further, we find that the good effects of the system now in force at Devonport are by no means confined to the pockets of the ratepayers. Since Mr. Edwards has held the office of governor, the number of re-committals has very largely decreased; and concurrently with the economical, the most satisfactory reformatory results have been attained. This fact admits of the very clearest demonstration. The system of management adopted by Mr. Edwards, and concurred in by the local authorities, who,

instead of throwing any impediments in the way of his reforms, have aided him to the utmost of their power, is based upon three principles. First, that nothing shall be done for the prisoners that they can do for themselves. Second, that all labour shall be remunerative. Third, that from every prisoner capable and willing, a certain amount of work shall be exacted. In many respects, of course, the Devonport gaol resembles other establishments of a similar character, and, in the details which follow, it is not to be understood that in every particular its arrangements are quoted as exceptional.

The work done by the prisoners comprises all that is usually performed in gaols, and not a little that is unusual. All the clothes—including shoes—required for prison use are made, washed, and mended in the establishment. The prisoners also cultivate the prison garden, pick oakum, make mats, brushes, and sacks, and moreover do what carpentry, masons' work, and painting may be needed. The garden produces all the vegetables required for the use of the prison, absolutely free of cost. Enough extra produce is grown to buy such vegetables as the garden cannot yield, and to purchase seed and other things necessary for cultivation. The prison itself furnishes all the manure, and indeed more than is wanted, the overplus having been sold. Oakum-picking is not generally considered profitable employment, nor is it particularly so at Devonport, where, however, it pays far better than is usually the case. Mr. Edwards has contrived a very ingenious machine, which prepares the oakum for picking in such a way that twice or thrice the usual quantity can be got through in a given time by the prisoners. The brush-making is not of much importance, as it chiefly consists in refilling with hair the old heads of the brushes used about the prison, the wooden parts of which thus last ten or a dozen times as long as they would under ordinary circumstances. However, it helps to inculcate habits of industry, and effects some little saving. Sacks are made by the dozen, and pay about as well as oakum-picking. The mat-making is the most profitable form of labour adopted, and many of the prisoners turn out excellent work. Mr. Edwards has never, indeed, any difficulty in finding a market for his wares at thoroughly remunerative prices. What has been done in the way of masons' and carpenters' work by the prisoners, is really extraordinary. Under the direction of the governor, a soldier who had been discharged with disgrace—a shoemaker by trade—built and fitted up sixteen new cells in the basement of the prison, the additional accommodation thus

provided costing the borough the price of the materials only. Additions have also been made to the main building, an oakum shed erected, and other work of a similar kind executed, entirely by the prisoners; and in every respect the masonry, carpentry, painting, slating, &c., will bear comparison with that of ordinary work. The actual money value of the prisoners' labour is estimated at from 3d. up to 2s. 6d. a day; and Mr. Edwards has found the men who work in the garden to do more than free labourers. In the list of the staff of the gaol, given above, it may have been noticed that there is no mention of a cook. The fact is, that under the new *régime* a cook has been dispensed with, prison labour being found quite equal to all culinary duty.

Care is taken that the prisoners shall never want remunerative employment. In many prisons, where oakum-picking constitutes almost the only form of directly profitable labour in vogue, there is often no oakum to pick in consequence of no orders for oakum-picking having been received. This never happens at Devonport. Oakum is bought and picked on the prison account, and if there are no immediate customers it is put in store until there be. 'But,' it may reasonably be asked, 'seeing that by recent legislation every prisoner sentenced to hard labour must be employed at first-class (*i.e.*, unproductive) labour for at least the first three months of his or her term, how can all labour in the Devonport gaol be remunerative?' When prison after prison is re-adopting the treadmill, in obedience to this worse than useless mandate, the question is a very natural one. The answer is very simple. As compared with the unproductive, the remunerative system has been found to work so well at Devonport, that in order to continue it, prisoners committed to that gaol are not sentenced to hard labour at all. There are cranks at Devonport, and there is a shot-drill ground, but practically they are unused. The experience of the prison proves that many prisoners prefer shot-drill to oakum-picking; moreover, that remunerative labour, as there applied, is at once more punitive and more reformatory in its character than ordinary prison discipline. It is so strictly the rule at Devonport not to sentence to hard labour, that not only is this practice observed by the magistrates and Recorder, but the local heads of the military and naval departments, being convinced from personal knowledge of the wisdom of the system carried out by Mr. Edwards, deal in a similar manner with the prisoners convicted by court-martial who are commonly committed to the borough gaol.

But for the third principle of management, it is impossible that the satisfactory results of which we have been speaking

could have been attained. It is not enough to provide work of a remunerative character for the prisoners, adapted to their separate abilities. The work must be done, and had not Mr. Edwards hit upon a thoroughly successful way of making each prisoner do the amount of work of which he or she is capable, his labours to a great extent would have been in vain. His rule is, that every prisoner capable of work shall earn at least the cost of his or her food. Upon their entry into the prison, therefore, he tells them what he expects them to do, and the consequences of failure. If they do fail, punishment invariably follows, and this punishment consists,—not in confinement in the dark cells, for these are never used at Devonport —but in cutting off an adequate proportion of the daily allowance of food, the full amount of work being nevertheless exacted. Mr. Edwards proceeds, in fact, upon the Scriptural precept, 'He that will not work neither shall he eat,' and he records with reasonable satisfaction that he has never known this plan of management to fail. And here it may be mentioned that the Government scale of dietary, which is that in use at Devonport, is believed by Mr. Edwards to be peculiarly calculated for the reclamation of dissipated characters.

These are all facts that speak for themselves, and therefore this 'Chapter of Prison Management' may safely be trusted to serve the object for which it has been made public without any further comment. It may be as well to add, however, that with an average of 57¼ prisoners, the net annual cost to the borough of the Devonport gaol during the last four years has only been £250. Some allowance, however, is to be made for the fact that the Government payment for naval and military prisoners is greater than that for ordinary prisoners. The average annual cost per head of the prisoners has been £17. 18s. 1½d. No definite estimate has been formed of the total value of their labour, but the money receipts average about £150 per year.

LIFE AT THE TAIL OF COMMERCE IN LONDON.

THERE is no adage more true than that which informs us that one-half of the world does not know how the other lives. Although there are three millions of human beings in London, the great majority of them are as much strangers to each other's ways of obtaining a living as if they lived in opposite hemispheres. The members of each of the numerous bodies who live by trading are thoroughly absorbed in their

own duties, and have neither time nor desire to trouble themselves about the affairs of neighbours who may be either above or below them in the social scale. Each of the different sections into which the great trading population of London is divided is fighting the battle of life upon its own account, and although hundreds are daily falling out of the ranks by death or failure in business, the battle goes on, and the fallen members are either not missed or not cared for. In this Paper we design to introduce to our readers sundry classes in the trading community who live from hand to mouth, and who, as a general rule, have a constant struggle to keep their souls and bodies together.

Strangers from the country upon visiting London cannot have failed, while passing along her busy thoroughfares, to have seen dirty, cadaverous-looking men creeping along the streets, swathed in rags which are frequently insufficient to cover their nakedness, with old hampers slung over their shoulders filled with plantain and groundsel, or, in lieu of these, ferns and other wild plants, which they bring in from the country, to find a market for them in the great town. These poor creatures have no homes, and never enjoy the luxury of a bed. If they are ever washed, it must be with the rain from the clouds; and if their stolid minds ever feel a pleasure, it must be one that is common in kind alike to themselves and the parasites who feed upon their bodies. A bellyful of food, and perhaps after that a smoke of tobacco, constitute their greatest earthly enjoyment. The savages who roam the woods and prairies of America are gentlemen compared with these wild denizens of London. All the other classes of society who live down in the valley of poverty in the great metropolis are gregarious in their habits, but these creatures, as far as we have been able to learn, are solitary wanderers; they have none but themselves to commune with, and if ever they reflect at all, it is not likely that they can find much pleasure in their own thoughts. The past must soon become a blank to them, and their hopes, no doubt, will be confined to the immediate future.

There is another set of nomads who belong to the same family, but who are several grades higher in the social scale. These men supply the wholesale flower-dealers with mosses for garnishing purposes, and when there is not a market for these things, they bring hamper-loads of wild fern and such green leaves as are used for decorating fruit-stalls. The leaves most in use from early spring to far on to the end of autumn are those of the horse-chestnut. It would scarcely be credited by strangers to the trade that several descriptions

of mosses supplied by these men are brought, in many instances, from a distance of thirty and even forty miles. Indeed, we have heard of some particular kinds which are fetched from the neighbourhood of Dover. These mosses having been carefully plucked up, are cleaned from earthy matter, sorted, and tied up into small bundles, and then they are closely packed in a hamper. We have been told that a man will occasionally carry from ten to fourteen shillings' worth at a time. This class of men do make something like a living; but the labour is exceedingly hard, and as the business depends upon the weather and the seasons, it is very precarious. Many of the most suitable mosses are found in woody dells and shady glens, and as the people who gather them are botanical poachers, they are continually making themselves liable to be prosecuted for trespass.

The common, every-day street dealers in London are a very numerous class. In a walk from Chelsea to the Victoria Dock, the same sort of itinerant merchants will be met with over the whole distance; and the like would be found in whatever direction we might go in this great conglomerate of towns. The juvenile street match-dealers are perhaps the most numerous in the present day. Their business is, however, not confined to the young; there are numbers of adults in it, and many old and infirm persons manage to drag out a living by it. Boot laces, leather purses, toothpicks, hat guards, combs, dolls, song books, finger rings, rush bags, and microscopes are articles which have all the retail value of one penny; and few of the hawkers deal in more than one class of goods. A small amount of capital will, therefore, set a person up in trade, and as the wholesale market is on the spot, the stock can be renewed without trouble.

The button-hole flower-girls of late years have become a very numerous class of street dealers, and daily frequent all the leading thoroughfares in the city. Although theirs is not a laborious business, there is no class of street dealers who ply their trade with more industry; and, as may be supposed, the more tidy in dress, and the more good-looking the girls are, the better chance they will have in doing business. The flowers are purchased in Covent Garden market, in small bundles. Each class of flowers in season is sold by itself; and out of a collection of these the girls make up their nosegays. There is another set of flower-girls who deal in bouquets, ranging in price from a penny up to sixpence. This business, however, is not so profitable as the other.

The next class of female street dealers are the basket girls, and they are more numerous than the other two put together.

Their business is a very laborious one, inasmuch as the girls are every now and then obliged to change their beat at the command of the police. The business of these girls is generally confined to the sale of home and foreign fruit in their seasons; there are some, however, who live by hawking hot-house plants, which can be purchased in Covent Garden market all the year round. To those who know what a pride London people of all grades take in their window flower-gardens, it will not seem surprising that this business should be a very important one. There are a few women who make a living by hawking vegetables, but as those are both bulky and heavy, this business, as a general rule, is confined to the costermongers who have donkey carts.

The street-stall dealers are a very numerous body, and certainly there is no other class among all the industrial poor of London who are subjected to such an amount of suffering. They are exposed to all sorts of weather, and as their bodies are without sufficient exercise in winter to keep the blood in circulation, their condition is truly pitiable. Many a time we have felt heart-sore when passing the end of Newgate in the cold, frosty days, as we have looked upon the poor blind man who sat shivering in the cold, with his blood evidently almost congealed in his body. This man's stock-in-trade consisted of a few brass dog-collars, wire chains, and other trifling articles. Many a time as we passed him we thought we should see him no more; and at last the iron rails, on which his merchandise was wont to be suspended, were bare, and his seat by their side was gone. We knew, then, that God had called him home, and we were thankful that it was so. There must have been an amazing vitality in that poor man's constitution, for we are certain he must have suffered as much as would have killed half-a-dozen ordinary men. We often see fresh faces at old stalls, and we know that the former occupants have passed away. It is only the hardy, human plants that can bear for any considerable length of time the blighting influence of cold and want on the streets of London.

The market-stall people in London number many thousands. These people, too, are exposed to a continual round of suffering and privation. In many instances a week of stormy weather involves them in ruin for the time being. Nothing can be a more pitiable sight to a person of right feeling than the condition of this class of people when overtaken by a rainy Saturday. Such an occasion paralyses them with disappointment and blights their hopes, it may be for weeks together. This is not to be wondered at when it is known that their whole worldly wealth consists of a few shillings'

worth of small articles, and these, probably, of a perishable nature. It is quite a common thing for the stall fish-dealers to have their whole stock-in-trade perish during the occurrence of weather in which it cannot be exposed for sale. Some little time ago we were passing along Leather Lane, one of the most active and bustling markets for the poor in London, when we heard a woman, with a hand-cart covered with fruit, telling her neighbours that unless the weather should clear up (it was then raining smartly), she would be ruined, as the fruit she had would not keep till Monday. When it is known that large quantities of the eatable articles which form the stock-in-trade of this class of people, are of such a character that they will not be sold by respectable dealers, and that in many instances they are in a condition in which they are really not fit for human food, it will be plain that unless a ready sale can be effected, the dealers will suffer loss. Much of the fish which is exposed in such markets as Leather Lane is in an active state of decomposition, and ought not be allowed to be sold. It would be a difficult matter to enumerate all the different kinds of goods exposed for sale in the London markets for the poor, but we are not far wrong in saying that a poor person, whether married or single, cannot fail to find everything he may require for food, clothing, or domestic use. And, what is of no small consequence, he can get a greater bulk for a small sum of money than can be had elsewhere. Some of our philosophers might learn useful lessons in the common humanities by an occasional visit to Leather Lane or Golden Lane on a Saturday night, between the hours of eight and twelve o'clock.

There is one poor man's market which is unique in London, and may be said to be the most extraordinary emporium of traffic in the world. Petticoat Lane is pretty well known by name, but there are hundreds of thousands of people in the metropolis who really know no more about it than if it were a bartering locality in Jeddo. Houndsditch and the congeries of narrow, dirty, dark lanes, courts, and slums bounding it on the north, is the Jews' quarter, and as these people are solely a trading community, the whole of this region is a wonderful place for all sorts of traffic. Petticoat Lane market is held once a week, but instead of being on the seventh day, it is held on the morning of the first. The principal open business is done in the lane, Gravel Lane, and the various covered-in markets bordering on Houndsditch.

From ten to twelve o'clock on a Sunday morning this market presents a series of scenes which defy description. In each the battle of life is going on under all the phases of

chicanery, meanness, and deceit, hope, fear, and anxiety. There is really nothing that saint, savage, or civilised man can require for either use, ornament, or amusement but may be purchased in this market. There is scarcely a square foot of space in the whole region that is not occupied by some dealer. Men, women, and children compete with one another for elbow-room. Hundreds of people, old or young, stand in the lanes with their little stocks of merchandise in their hands, and numbers make shop counters of the ground in the thoroughfares. Large quantities of the goods exhibited by the dealers are manufactured by themselves or families. The mind of a thoughtful person, while watching the struggle for existence in this market, must naturally pass from the small manufacturers to their miserable homes, where work is being done under great privations and suffering of mind and body. Thousands of these people can scarcely be said to live. The majority of them do little more than creep over the short distance of space that divides their entrance into the world from their exit. The character of society in this human hive is well calculated to sharpen the wits of its members. A large number of the dealers are without anything inside them that can enable them to draw the distinction between right and wrong. Conscience is a thing of education, and education, in any good sense of the word, they never received. In passing along any of the thoroughfares in the market, a stranger will be caught hold of every few steps he moves onward by vigilant shop-touters, and he will have all sorts of things held up to his sight by the street dealers, while his sense of hearing will be outraged with a confusion of sounds more intolerable than those of a lunatic asylum let loose. The aroma of this lane is, as far as our experience goes, peculiar to itself. We have had our olfactory organs excited by the odour of Chatham and Water Streets in the empire city, but we never met with any perfume of the kind equal in pungency to that which sheds its fragrance over this lane. The dirty Jews, more particularly those who are natives of Germany, are, we believe, first among all the civilised families of men in the exuberance of their filth. This market has a polyglot character about it which no other centre of trade in Great Britain possesses. Germans, Prussians, Poles, Hungarians, Austrians, Russians, Swedes, Norwegians, Laps, Italians, French, Spaniards, Greeks, and natives of Turkey from both sides of the Bosphorus may all buy and sell in Petticoat Lane, each in his own language. The natives of the Western Highlands, the Cymrians, and the boys from Connaught, can barter for what they may want in this modern Jewry, each in his own peculiar ancient

dialect. A great variety of articles can be purchased in the lane at a cheaper rate than they can be had for elsewhere. This arises from two causes. In the first place, the price paid for the labour of manufacture is often very small, or, not unfrequently, necessity obliges the dealers to dispose of their goods at a sacrifice. In the second place, large quantities of various articles of commerce find their way into the market without the consent of their legitimate owners. Of course these goods can be sold at a good profit at less than half their wholesale price. There are a goodly number of people, young or middle-aged, who do business in this market without the trouble and anxiety consequent upon buying and selling, and there is no class of people in that busy region who ply their trade with greater industry. These gentlemen have a wonderful faculty in discerning the proper objects of their attention. They know the daisies from the tulips, and they seldom make a mistake. If a stranger in the lane should detect an artist relieving him of any of his property, twenty to one the discovery will not tell in his favour. Every case of robbery is well covered, and if the person being victimised will not allow his property to be taken from him quietly, he runs a fair chance of being maltreated for his imprudence. Generally speaking, men do not like to be divested of their property against their will without a protest in some shape, but unless the person who is being operated upon in this manner in a crowd in the lane, or elsewhere in London, can see a policeman within easy distance, it will be best for him to bear his loss with stoical indifference and pass on. The humbler class of street dealers in Petticoat Lane labour under the same liabilities to loss through change of weather as their fellows do in all the other markets for the poor in London. A wet or stormy Sunday involves thousands of them in serious difficulties for the time being. It is curious how the business character of localities in a town like London is liable to change with the shifting events of the times. Nearly sixty years ago the Petticoat Lane of that date was Rosemary Lane, off the Minories, and the 'Fells Market' of the present day was then represented by Rag Fair, which was then held in the open space on Tower Hill. Since those days many new markets have sprung into existence, and numbers of old rookeries have been swept away;—among the latter both Saint Giles's and Saint Catherine's have been blotted from the map of London.

The costermongers are by far the most numerous class of street dealers in London. They haunt every street, lane, court, square, crescent, and alley over a radius of at least

sixteen miles, and their unmelodious voices are heard amid the noise and bustle of the busy thoroughfares in the city, and startling the echoes in the quiet streets in the suburbs. We know of no class of people, either in London or elsewhere, who ply their business with such indefatigable industry. They are at their work late and early, and are out in all weathers. No life can really be more laboriously slavish than that of the costermonger, who often drags a heavy-laden hand-cart about the great city from early morn to late at night. As a general rule, the business of the costermongers may be divided into four different branches; according as the articles dealt in are vegetables, fruit, hot-house plants, or fish, whether shell or otherwise. These people seldom deal in more than one class of goods at a time, and there is a policy in doing so, inasmuch as they have a better chance of laying their money out to advantage in purchasing large than small quantities of such goods as they require. When the costermonger is successful in disposing of his stock, he is obliged to attend the wholesale market daily, and this of itself is attended with no little labour. In the East End of London he finds in Bethnal Green a market in which he can purchase vegetables and home-grown fruits in their season. The Borough market supplies the transpontine dealers; and Farringdon and Covent Garden those of the great centre and West End of London. As Billingsgate is the only wholesale fish market, the dealers, in many cases, have to come a long distance; and as the business of this market commences early, time must be taken by the forelock by customers who wish to have a choice of such goods as they may wish to purchase. A large quantity of the fish disposed of in this market is sold in boxes and hampers, and it is a condition of the sale that neither quantity nor quality is guaranteed by the seller. The price of fish each morning is regulated by the simple principle of supply and demand. It may be observed that the fish which is brought to the market in the holds of sailing vessels from the North Sea does not fetch as good prices as that which comes by steamboats or by rail. The best fish of all descriptions are bought up early in the mornings by the fishmongers, many of whom come from a distance of thirty miles. When the supply is large, fish may be bought good and fresh for considerably less than the original cost, and the same may be said of all classes of food of a perishable nature.

The people who have not seen and mingled in the motly mob of which Billingsgate is composed, can form no conception of its true character. Lower Thames-street over its whole length is full of all sorts of vehicles, from the hand-

cart of the costermonger to the light spring-van of the fashionable fishmonger of the West End. The market itself is bustling with humanity in all possible stages of excitement. Men, women, and children are pushing, crushing, bawling, brawling, laughing, chaffing, cursing, swearing, moaning, and groaning. Human nature shows itself here under all its various characteristics, and, as in the battle of life elsewhere, the weak and the timid are sure to go to the wall. The lowest class of dealers are those who speculate in periwinkles and other mollusks. These are bought in the under-ground cellars of the market. From sixpence to a shilling's worth of this class of goods frequently makes up the stock-in-trade of one of these poor struggling fish-retailers. The genius who presides over this piscatorial Babel is Mr. Deering, the market-keeper. This gentleman keeps a record of all the fish brought into the market, and his duty is to see that none is exposed for sale if unfit for human food. Since the advent of steam, the increase of fish in this market has been almost beyond conception. Instead of the London market being supplied merely from the coasts on the east and west of England, as was formerly the case, fish is now brought from the north of Scotland, from Norway, France, and the west of Ireland. Although the London market has been well supplied with salmon of late years, the demand for this fish has increased at so great a rate among the middle classes that the costermongers seldom or never are able to do anything with it. The fact is, this fish can scarcely ever be bought in the market under fourteenpence a pound, and at that price it is out of the reach of the poor people. Salmon, therefore, although much more plentiful than it was a few years ago, may be looked upon as a luxury only within the reach of the well-to-do members of society.

The costermongers of London are a class of men who are characterised by social peculiarities of their own. Their mode of living, amusements, and social arrangements are all special to themselves. In a place like London, the Costermongers' institution may be looked upon as a great public advantage. Through them the humbler members of society are served at a cheaper rate with many of the articles in daily use than they could be in shops, and that, too, without moving from their own doors.

Many of the itinerant dealers are well-to-do in a worldly point of view. All the more thrifty members of the class have pony or donkey carts, and not a few of them in the course of time settle down in shops as green-grocers. Take them as a whole, they are a sober and an industrious set of

men. If they spend their money imprudently, it is in their amusements, and these they will have, come what may. Those among them who have ponies or donkeys rarely miss a fine Sunday's drive into the country. On such a day we have seen hundreds of them driving home, joyous and light-hearted, but seldom the worse for drink.

From what we have said of the people who live at the tail of commerce in London, it will be seen that they present many social features of a highly interesting character; and when we think of the hard struggle many of them have to keep soul and body together, we cannot but respect them for their industry and determined perseverance under great and trying difficulties. If what we have said in this Paper shall help to induce the public to think kindly and speak charitably of these humble human bees, we shall obtain our chief end in writing it.

HOW ENOCH STYLES CHANGED HIS MIND.

THE village of P., in ——shire, is a quiet, far-away place. Set on one hill, and surrounded by others, troublesome enough to climb, but very lovely to look upon, with their fringing beechwoods, and hollow combs, and winding mill-crowned water-courses, that peep out here and there from among clumps of alders and birches, and appear and disappear like children playing at hide and seek, among the curves of the valleys. By the side of one of these water-courses or rivulets, for they are never large enough to be called by a grander title, was, not long ago, a pleasant old mill-house, built of stone, whose grey walls diapered with moss and gold and silver lichens, stood beside a broad mill-dam, and were reflected morning, noon, and night in its sleepy waters. A high pitched roof, four gables, mullioned windows, stacks of lozenge chimneys, and a wide porch, gave the house a look of dignity, though it was old and time-worn, and its best days had long been over. The mill had ceased to weave cloth, its first and honourable employment, when cloth-weaving brought wealth and pride to the little village perched on the hill above, and was now, in its humbler days, content to turn raw beechwood into rounded walkingsticks, or ornamental bedposts; and the mill-house no longer sheltered the family of a man of wealth and standing, but crumbled away silently and slowly over the belongings of a hard-working carpenter, who had never been

able to gather together much of this world's money. On one side of the house was a garden, quite as ancient and respectable-looking as the house, with long, straight walks, bordered by high overgrown box, and a great yew-tree arbour, thick and dense, at its further end. In this arbour two young people were sitting one summer's evening, far too busy in talk to notice the setting sun, though he made the western sky glorious with colour, and threw long golden beams into the arbour to their very feet, as though to give them a parting embrace. The two people were a young man and a young woman, at that period of life when love and a light heart generally go together. Just now, however, they were both looking grave enough, and the young man was saying, in a very earnest tone, 'But you *will* go with me, Mary?'

'Yes,' replied Mary, thoughtfully. 'I've promised I would, but it's a very serious thing, and so soon, too!'

'Of course it's a serious thing, and the sooner it's over the better. I can't see why we shouldn't be married next month, and sail in a fortnight or so after. And yet, I don't half like taking you so far away from those you love. Sometimes I think I'm very selfish; but then, you see, it can't be helped; can it? There's my uncle says, "Come, and I'll make a man of you!" He's no children of his own, and I should be his next of kin; he has a large farm, plenty of cattle, and land that the railway is passing through, rising in value every day. There'll be quite a city there very soon, and it's a regular healthy place, couldn't be better, he says. We're to have a nice new frame-house that I'll get put up in the spring; and in the winter we're to stay at uncle's. It really is a chance that I can't let slip, no how; and I am sure you wouldn't wish me to slip it, would you, Mary? Here, I may work and work all my life and never get beyond journeyman's wages;—there, I shall be a master man at once. I've always been fond of farming, and it's just the life for me, just the life for *us*, for you will like it as well as I shall, I know. Aunt will be a second mother to you. She's a nice, motherly body. I used to like her well when I was a lad. I've told her all about you in my last letter, and I'm sure she'll make you welcome as flowers in May!'

'What a queer name the place has,' remarked Mary, after a short silence. Her heart was too full of thoughts of the old friends to talk much of the new ones.

'Well, it has a rather. But then you see it's an Indian name, called after an Indian girl, *Milwaukee*, a wild woman of the woods, I suppose; I don't know what else it means. There are a many queer names in the States, but they're no worse

for that. Ah! it's a fine country, is America; there's no country like it for an active young man to go to, so uncle says, and I'm sure he's right. There's no taxes, like we have in England, to pull you down, and people can afford to be independent there. They haven't to cringe and bow to get work from their betters. Yes, we'll be rich people some day, and come back to the old place and the old folk, just to show 'em what's what, and take them home with us again, if they like. You'd like that, Mary?' And as he said this, he pressed her hand affectionately.

In this way Samuel Halliday was coaxing his intended bride to leave her father and mother in their old age, and to go away with him to another country. Twelve months before he had wished to go, but on naming his desire to Mary's father, Enoch Styles, he had been told peremptorily that Mary must not and should not accompany him, and Mary had said *no* also. Very reluctantly he had given up the thought for awhile, but his uncle had became more urgent, and had made more tempting proposals to induce him to settle for life at Milwaukee, and Samuel had been unable to resist. This time he employed himself in winning over Mary to his side so decidedly, that she was now willing to wander with him over the whole world. Father and mother were dear and kind, but Samuel was dearer still, and what he wished became her wish also. It was painful to be parted from the friends of her youth, but it would be much more painful to lose her lover in a foreign land. Her decision was made; for better for worse, in England or in America, she was prepared to spend her life with him. There was many a pang to be gone through, however, and Mary, much as she was pleased at the prospect, could not speak with all the enthusiasm of her lover about future prosperous days and coming wealth. Her heart felt sorely the anticipatory rending of the old home ties. 'Let us go and tell mother,' she said, at last, 'now you've decided when you'll go. She ought to know all about it. *She* will tell father; I can't!'

'I'll tell your father, if you like.'

'No, no, best not. Let mother do it. He'll take it more kindly from her. She knows his ways best. Oh, I am—I wish it were over!'

'So do I, dear; but wishing won't make it so. Don't fret. You'll see your father will take it quite quiet after the first brush. When he knows it is to be, it'll all come easy.'

Mary could only wish it might, but she shrank from the trial. It was fortunate, she thought, that her father was out, and would not be home till a late supper. She would go to

bed before he returned, and then he and her mother might have the secret out together.

While Mary and Samuel were talking in this way in the arbour, two men were seated in a small room overlooking the village churchyard on the hill above, in conversation also. The room was the reading-room of the Temperance House, lately opened, and though small and plainly furnished, was very light and cheerful, and suggestive of quiet study and rest, with plenty of books and papers, and pens and ink for those inclined to make use of them. A few pictures were on the walls, comfortable chairs were not wanting to draw up to the long table in the centre, and the great sun that forgot none in his blessing, entered the room with warm farewell rays, as he did in the yew-tree below, and lit up the careworn face of Enoch Styles, while he argued with his friend the secretary of the Temperance Society. The two friends were not much alike in person or in mind. Enoch Styles was tall, and thin, and pale, with iron grey hair smoothly brushed over his head in thin swathes, with well wrinkled forehead and cheeks, and with a face that, when at rest, expressed nothing so much as a stern sort of melancholy, uninviting to disturb. Strangers would have passed him by as an undesirable acquaintance, but they would have done wrong if they had believed that sternness formed any part of his character. That stern look was only the result of long years of contest with the hard world, that had furrowed and moulded the outer skin, but had not been able to touch the heart with any hardening process. None of his walkingsticks, when completed, could well be smoother than his temper, and perhaps it was on this account that he was chosen as librarian to the little society, his patience and kindliness assisting very much towards the demand for books, a desirable end to be attained where a love for reading needed to be cultivated amongst men and boys whose only amusements had been hitherto of a sensuous kind. Mark Greythorn, the secretary, was a much younger man, short of stature, and strongly built, with rough wiry hair that had been suffered to have its own way so long in his boyhood, that now it refused all persuasion of comb and brush, and grew stiff and wild, here in sloping tufts like shocks of corn blown about by the wind, and there in prostrate layers like corn under the flail. There was much strength and endurance about him, both of body and mind. He had made his way through heaps of difficulties, to use his own phrase, having had to fight his way upwards from the most absolute poverty, as the son of a drunken father, to the position he held now—the keeper of the largest

grocer's shop in the village. He could speak well in public, kept the books of the society with great accuracy, and was perhaps the most active man in it. But he was looked upon as one that was apt to go too fast in his notions, and he and Enoch Styles had many a friendly controversy on this head. Moral suasion was Enoch Styles's stronghold; prohibition was the goal to which Mark Greythorn tended. They were talking on the relative merits of these two, at the time we are speaking of.

'Prevention is better than cure,' Mark Greythorn was saying, as the two were waiting for other members of the committee to join them, at the usual fortnightly meeting of the society.

'Prevention?' returned Enoch. 'Does not our Temperance Society prevent as well as cure? Does not moral suasion speak to the young and sober as well as to the old and drunken, and prevent much future evil? What is the meaning of our Band of Hope, if it is not prevention?'

'Yes; but, as I've said fifty times before, you might prevent much more than you do at present, if you shut up the temptation to drink that is perpetually standing open. Think of more than a dozen such temptations in our little village. How are John England and Matthew Roper to resist such temptations long? They've signed the pledge, and are teetotalers now, but what will they be in a year from this time? Tell me that, Enoch?'

'As good temperance men then, as they are now, I hope and expect. Why, man, you and I would never go into a public-house to drink, if there were a hundred of them in P——.'

'No, for we've a pleasanter fireside at home than the public-house can give us, and our wills are stronger towards good than those of many poor fellows who haven't had our teaching. The temptation isn't half as strong for us as for them, who have often to be out in the wet and cold when they're far from home, and don't know where to shelter, or when they're near home, and expect to find nothing better there than a dirty house, and a tribe of noisy children. I'm sure I don't wonder when I hear of this person and that going back to the drink and the public-house; nobody knows what a strong draw they have towards the bad, who haven't lived as they live! *I* know, for I remember old days, and my father's miserable cottage, and I say that man's a hero that can keep his feet out of the public-house, when it stands before him so bright and cosy, and his own poor bit of a place is most likely just the opposite. Do you know how many of our members we have lost this last year?'

'No, not exactly; but we must always expect backsliders. If there were no public-houses you would have those.'

'Not so many of them, no, not by one-half.'

'The good seed will get among the thorns, sometimes.'

'But what if there were no thorns? If they were stubbed up, and the ground dug over and made ready for the seed? If the drink-houses were all shut up, done away with; and, instead, we were to have temperance-houses, where men could get what they wanted without the poison? There wouldn't need to be so many of them, I hope; for I would rather a man should try to improve his own fireside, than sit away from home every night in the week at the best temperance reading and refreshment-house that could be. He'd have a pleasanter fireside when he'd more money to spend there, and so the benefit would act and re-act. Only let us get Parliament to allow us to put those nuisances down!'

'That will never be done. It's a fine theory, but it wouldn't answer.'

'It will be tried some day, mark my words.'

'Your words are always *marked*,' said another individual who had just entered the room. 'How can they be anything else, Mr. Secretary?' and with a smile at his own pun, the new comer held out his hand for his friend to shake. More hand-shaking had to be done presently; one member after another of the committee dropped in, and soon there was a quorum, and the night's proceedings began. The chief business to be done was to make arrangements for a public meeting to be held the next week, at which a well-known lecturer was to give what was expected to be a telling address, and it was hoped that a number of new converts would be gained by his efforts. There had been a number of such meetings, and the names signed in the secretary's pledge-book made a long list, a list to rejoice over, to exult about, were it not for the sad reflection, that already, within a year, more than one-half of these names were worthless, the signers having gone back to their old evil habits, some silently, some with public shame exhibiting their want of faith to all the world, and throwing open discredit upon the band of temperance reformers, who were attempting to do good to the neighbourhood. Mark Greythorn was no desponding man, he was sanguine rather than desponding; but when he crossed out one after another of the names of persons he had been so hopeful about a few months or weeks ago, he became more and more thoughtful, and said louder and stronger things against the drink-tempters, the public-houses. Could he but get these done away with, he might have more hope of his

new converts. It was disheartening to think of the losses that were taking place every week. Now a young lad from the Band of Hope, who had been tempted with a cup or two of cider at the Falcon, and now a grey-headed man, who had been unable to resist the allurements of a pipe and a gossip at the Golden Heart, to be followed by ale, as his wont had been in former days of unpledged licence. Everywhere the public-house, like a ravenous wolf, was tearing and devouring the carefully-gathered sheep and lambs of the fold. Moral suasion had done much, but it had not done enough. With moral suasion must go prevention, as far as prevention was possible. He proposed on this particular night to add a few words to the end of the lecturer's address, on the imperative necessity for the abolition of all drink-houses.

But the rest of the committee were comparatively timid men. The population of P—— was small, trade was small also, and no man could afford to lose one customer. If they proclaimed war upon their neighbours the publicans, the publicans would in return proclaim war upon them; publicans' wives, and daughters, and sons would go somewhere else for their goods, than to tradesmen who talked of prohibiting their traffic, and not only these, but the friends of the publicans would go elsewhere too. A strong feeling of animosity would be raised against the Temperance Society, and especially against its officers, the committee, and who could tell where such an inconvenient and dangerous fire would stop?

'Better not, friend Mark,' said Enoch, after the daring proposal had been made and succeeded by a short silence. 'We should have the publicans about our ears.'

'So much the better,' replied Mark, boldly. 'That's exactly what we want, we want to make them feel that their trade is in danger. Till they feel that, our labour is labour in vain.'

'Better not,' again iterated Enoch Styles. 'On any other subject we should only be too glad to hear you. Cannot you be content with moral suasion?'

'No, I cannot be content while there is so much immoral suasion that manages to preach louder than we do.'

'We should lose much more than we should gain,' said another member. 'Remember, that three out of our fifteen public-houses belong to the squire, three of the largest, too. The squire is friendly to us now, and subscribes to our funds, but we should never see another penny of his money, and, what is more, we should lose his countenance altogether, if we talked of closing all the alehouses.'

'The whole town would be against us,' said another, de-

spondingly. 'And then consider the harm that would be done by raising a feeling of ill-will. We have now five publicans' children in the Band of Hope; publicans know that temperance is best for their children, as well as we do. Of course, we should lose them, and lose all hopes of ever getting a permanent hold on the parish. We should go out very soon like the snuff of a candle.'

'You mean that we should shine brighter than ever,' said Mark, rising in courage and in strength of voice as the opposition increased. 'Do you like sin so much, my friends, that you would fain have it about you all your lives? Are you such poor friends to temperance that you are afraid of what intemperance will do if you oppose it? Do you think you can walk well with both God and mammon? That isn't possible, let me tell you. The publicans don't oppose us openly just now, because they see it is to their interest to be quiet, it wouldn't be reckoned respectable not to help on temperance in appearance, but total abstinence they don't like, as you all know, and while we are trying to save drunkards, they are busy making them. And they're not much afraid of us, as long as they see we don't go to the root of the evil. It's just like saving at the spigot and letting out at the bung-hole to try to make people temperate by moral suasion alone, while the public-houses are enticing young and old every day to evil habits and destruction. Show your colours, don't be afraid! Let our temperance cause be thorough, not a half-and-half sort of thing. Only yesterday, Daniel Webb was carried home shamefully drunk, and he was the member over whom we were all holding such a jubilee three months ago, looking upon him as a brand plucked out of the fire. I called in at his house this morning, and he wouldn't see me, he was so sham'd; but his wife cried when I spoke to her, she knew the old bad days were coming again, when Dan would beat and starve her to get his beer. Now, I say, shut up the public-houses, or, rather, prohibit the drink, and you won't have to complain of such snarls in your work as this; we shall keep our members when we've got them.'

Everybody's eyes turned towards Enoch Styles to answer this speech. He was 'in the chair' at this meeting, and looked quite a man of importance and authority, as he said, gravely, 'I remember in the old fable of the sun and the wind, that the sun had the best of it. The wind of total prohibition will never remove the drunkard's cloak, but the sun of moral suasion may. Smoothly and softly wins the day. Don't you see that we are gradually making way?'

'One step forwards, and more than half a step backwards,' *interrupted* Mark.

'That the whole place will soon be thoroughly with us. When everybody has given up drinking, the publicans will be obliged to shut up their doors.'

'That's as much as to say, when the river has passed by we may walk over dry-shod.' Mark said again, 'How can you ever expect to get your work done, when it comes unravelling like Penelope's web that I've read about?' But there was a call of 'order,' and 'listen to the chair,' and Enoch Styles went on. 'We shall always be losing a few; human nature is human nature, and when I've said *that*, you know what I mean; it's a poor weak thing, always ready to fall away. Let us go on in our peaceful endeavours to do good, and we shall win the day at last, without stirring up needless opposition.'

'That's it—that's just it,' exclaimed the greater number of those present, well pleased to get this dangerous, unneighbourly subject put on one side. It would not do for Mark to have his way, certainly, for if such war to the knife were proclaimed, no end of trouble would arise.

'I wish it, nevertheless, to be put to the vote,' said Mark, sturdily.

But the votes were against him; only one member of the committee thought as he did, all the rest were for moral suasion only.

This public meeting was well attended. The lecturer's subject was the 'Battle of Life,' and showed the necessity of fighting against bad habits and weaknesses, if we would succeed in anything that is noble and good. Especially against the evil habits of drink it was necessary to fight, and he gave a witty account of one particular battle fought against this habit, by a poor dyspeptic moderate drinker, who had half-ruined his constitution, but who had at last resolution enough to make a firm stand, and fight a fierce battle with the enemy, coming off victorious after many wounds and bruises. Six new converts were the result of this lecture, and as Mark went home with his book of pledged names in his pocket, Enoch came up to him, and said, smilingly, 'Where's your faith now? Don't you think in this way we shall conquer?'

'If I were only to use my left hand when I was at work,' was the answer, 'I know what my master would say, or at least what he would think, that I was a poor creature. Now, to-night, we've done a deal for the left hand, but then it's only the left, and you pat me on the shoulder and want me to say it's *all* we can do; but I can't say that. It's good as far as it goes, that's all!'

Enoch made a little grimace, as much as to say, 'That's

what I get for asking a grumbler!' and, after a friendly 'good night,' went on his way. He met Daniel Webb coming home with his little cart from G——, where he had been selling fast and spending fast, so that he was little better in pocket, and much worse in mind and body, for his day's work; he was quite tipsy. A few weeks ago, he would have been at the lecture, pleased to hear, and to show his washed and sober face, and ready to testify that he was quite another man from the unshaved, unwashed drunkard of times gone by; but now he would rather avoid all temperance lectures, they were a reproach and trouble to him. He was singing, in a thick voice, a song that expressed a wish to be with some one of the name of Dinah. But as he passed Enoch Styles he ceased singing, and stared at the well-known figure of the man who had persuaded him to sign the pledge only three months ago. It was twilight, but he knew him perfectly well, and, with the familiarity of the drunkard, put out his hand, and said in what he meant to be a hearty voice, 'How be you, Mr. Styles? Won't you shake hands with 'un? Come, now, I shan't poison you! I be a pledged tee-tota-ler, I be!'

'And a fine one you are! Aren't you ashamed of yourself, Dan?'

Daniel steadied himself a moment, and stared fixedly at the reproving friend; he was trying to collect his confused thoughts, and he did it in some measure. He looked conscience-stricken for a moment, and his eyes sank.

'How is it you've broken your pledge?' Enoch asked in a severe voice. 'Call yourself a man! Why, you're worse than a child to break your word in this way! What do you think's to become of you?'

Again Daniel made a great effort to steady himself, but he was not now abashed. A bold, saucy light had come into his eyes, as he replied, 'It's all the publics, sir! You should go to them first, they be bound to sell the drink, and I be bound to take it!' And giving his donkey a blow with a thick stick, he passed on, and was soon singing again his drunken wish to 'be with Dinah.' Enoch Styles felt disheartened. Those new converts, might they not also return to their bad habits and become six stumblingblocks, instead of six helps to the temperance cause? Daniel had seemed very sincere in his reformation. Very thankful to be saved, as he expressed it. And yet, there he was! He did not meet his wife at the supper-table with quite such a glow of satisfaction as he had felt upon leaving the lecture-room, and he talked more moderately of the success of the meeting than he would have done. Mrs. Styles listened to his account with a serious face.

She, too, had a trouble upon her mind, and rather too hastily she proceeded to unburthen it.

'And who do you think's going to America, father?' she asked abruptly in the first pause.

'Nay, how can I tell?' was his reply. But his heart misgave him as he spoke.

'Mary's Samuel!'

Enoch put down the knife suddenly with which he was eating, and, turning pale, exclaimed, 'Don't tell me that. I won't hear it, wife!'

'But I must tell you. It's all settled, and Mary's bent upon going quite as much as Samuel is, so who's to hinder them?'

'Who, indeed?' Enoch felt that he could not exert fatherly authority enough to give a positive *no* to Mary's going this time. He had allowed her to become engaged to Samuel Halliday, and this was to be the end of it. Why couldn't young men be content in their own country? How could daughters leave fathers and mothers for a foreign shore, to go with a young man they had known perhaps only a twelvemonth? It seemed unnatural, till he remembered his own youth, and the complacency with which he had taken his wife from her kith and kin in Scotland, as great a separation in those days as was this one proposed for Mary. But it was all very painful! So painful, that he ate no more supper that night, but retired to rest with a heavy heart.

A few days afterwards, Enoch and his daughter were sitting talking together in the little sitting-room that had been made to look so ornamental and pretty by Mary's taste and industry. Curtains, chair covers, even the very table-cloth had been put together by her skill. Here was the glass of flowers she had just gathered from the garden; there the hand-screens she had manufactured from curious feathers that she had been collecting for years. The whole room seemed full of Mary, and her face, as it looked up earnestly to her father, seemed to belong to and to form part of the inalienable furniture of the room. It ought never to go away; never! never! Enoch sighed as he thought of the vacancy there would be when that face was far away.

'One thing you won't have to be afraid of, father, dear,' Mary said presently, with eyes that glistened with half-suppressed tears, 'neither Sam nor I shall ever be drunkards, *that* you know! We shall keep our pledge-cards, and hang them up in our parlour when we get one, and talk of you whenever we see them; and we shall try to make all that belong to us teetotalers too.'

'That's a good girl,' said Enoch, huskily.

'You should say, That's good children!' replied Mary, smiling. 'Don't leave poor Sam out of your love, father, though he *is* carrying me away. I'm sure he's fond of *you*.'

'Perhaps so,' said Enoch, rather unwilling to confess anything but his grudge at Samuel's obstinacy in preferring Milwaukee to England.

'And you must love him, if you love me, father!'

'*If you love me, father!*' Enoch repeated the words to himself. How could she put an if to such a speech at all? Had not he loved her morning, noon, and night, every day and every hour of the day for twenty years, as a father could love, and now she could say, '*If you love me!*' But Mary did not mean to cast the least doubt upon his love; it was only her way of pleading for Samuel's share of love, and her father knew this the next moment. 'Well, well, dear!' he said, putting his hand on her head and stroking her hair.

'Yes; but it won't be well, well, if you don't love *him!* Remember what I say. And you must love him as you love me while we're away, and some day, in a dozen years or so, perhaps, we shall come over again rich folk, and take you and mother back with us. And Sam's a rare temperance man, father, and will be preaching it up; and we shall have quite a gathering of teetotalers round us for you to see and to visit, mind if we haven't.'

And thus Mary Styles strove to draw the tendrils of her father's love and hope round the future in the foreign land that she thought was in store for herself and her Samuel. Enoch smiled faintly at the idea of the teetotalers at Milwaukee, but some way the hope of such a very distant future did not gather brightness with him. He broke down suddenly, and murmured in a hoarse voice, 'I shall be in my grave before then, my lass!'

Mary rose up and put her arms round his neck. 'No, no, there is to be no talk of the grave; I can't bear that! No grave for any of us for a long, long while. We're temperance people, we are; and temperance folk live long, they say. You will live long, and I shall live to see you again. If I didn't think so, I'd never go away; I wouldn't, indeed! Kiss me, father, and promise me not to think and talk of the grave.'

He kissed her, but it was sorrowfully. Sad thoughts would return now they had risen up, though he strove to put them away.

In three months Mary and Samuel Halliday were married, and set sail soon afterwards for America. Enoch accompanied them to the port from which they were to sail, and saw them

on board. He had to say good-bye at the same time to his friend Mark Greythorn, who was visiting New York to gain information about machinery for his master's firm, and who sailed in the same ship, the George Washington. Many heart-breaking farewells were being said around him, but Enoch was too much engrossed with his own sorrow to take more than a slight notice of that of others. There were many parents in the same position as himself, taking leave with tear-blinded eyes of children they could scarcely hope to see again; friends grasping hands for the last time in mute anguish; lovers parting in despair, while inconceivable hurry and bustle were everywhere. His heart felt like one great sore, as from the little boat in which he returned to shore he took his last look at Mary standing by the vessel's side, between her husband and Mark Greythorn, waving her handkerchief in farewell, and it seemed to him that the sun would never shine for him any more.

'We shall see her again, happen, father,' said Mrs. Styles, with a brave attempt at cheering her husband when he reached home. 'The ocean isn't so wide but she may cross it again some day.' It was their great hope, that, and the prospect of many letters from the beloved one, when she should have reached her second home. In the meantime they must wait, and pray that no wild tempests might meet the onward-bounding vessel. They scarcely dreamt of any other evil.

But before the surging waves of the Atlantic touched the vessel's prow, before it was well away from our English coast, an accident happened that was fatal to the George Washington. Another steamer came across her path, a collision took place, and in a very short time she went down with the greater part of those on board. A few escaped in the boats, only ten out of four hundred emigrants were saved, and it became a time of agonising suspense to friends and relatives till the names of the saved were published in the public papers, only to overwhelm the greater part of them with grief. Enoch Styles read over the list with eyes all but blinded with the intensity of seeing, but there were no names of Mary and Samuel Halliday. The terrible truth almost broke his heart, and he was only saved from madness at first by that beneficent incredulity that comes to relieve mourners suddenly bereaved. He felt an utter incapability to believe the extent of the catastrophe. Mary was alive, had escaped unknown to others, on some rock or little known coast, and she would come again to him some day; or her name had been omitted, or changed in the list. She *must* be alive! It was utterly impossible that he should have lost her so soon! But as the days went

on, and no further tidings came, his hope became fainter and his heart sadder. At last came a letter from his friend Mark Greythorn; he had been among the saved, and though ill for some time after the catastrophe, was now well enough to write some particulars of the death of Mary and her husband. We cannot give it all, but we will give some extracts from it. 'After you left us,' it said, 'the pilot came on board to take us safely out of the channel, and all went right till the evening came on. I was standing on the deck, not far from your daughter and son-in-law, for I had just been talking to them, when we saw the light of another steamer coming towards us. We watched it very calmly, for we knew the pilot was at his post, and we did not doubt that all would be right. But presently it came so near as to alarm some of the sailors, and there was a noise and hubbub, and a great shouting. Some one said that the pilot was drunk and did not know what he was about, but before we could well look round, the collision took place. It was an awful crash, and when we got clear of the other vessel, I heard the captain say that the vessel must sink, water was pouring in below in torrents. Two boats were got out, and I tried to reach one of them. There was no time to spare, so shouting to Samuel and Mary to follow my example, I threw myself into the sea, towards one of the boats that was just being cleared away, and was fortunate enough to reach it. Your daughter was too terrified to leap overboard, and Samuel would not go without her. We had but just time to get clear away before the vessel went down, and all on board of her were drowned. I besought the men in the boat to row a little way back, in hopes of picking up some poor creature or other, but they said we were too full already. * * * How shall I comfort you, my dear friend? These are sad tidings for a father's heart; but God will comfort you. * * * If there had been no drink-house in S——, the seaport, the pilot would, no doubt, have been sober, and we should have been saved. They say he had been drinking at a public-house, close by the water-side, for the best part of the day, and I have no doubt that this was true. At the inquest, it was proved that he was confused and not himself; indeed, it was proved that he was far from sober. Now, what safety is there for human life, when a pilot has a public-house set open for him, close by the water-side, to entice him to drink and lose his faculties?'

There was much more in the letter, stating, amongst other things, that Mark was sailing for America by another steamer, which, it was to be hoped, would have a sober pilot on board; but Enoch, when he read and re-read the letter, in the days

after the first great shock, attended most to the remark about the open public-house. A new light dawned upon him with his great sorrow, and he saw that if the drunkenness of England is ever to be seriously checked or reformed, it must be by stern prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks, as well as by moral suasion. Hand in hand the two may change the moral aspect of our country, and that before this generation has passed away; singly, they can only meet with defection and discouragement.

When Mark returned from his American visit, he found a warm helper in Enoch Styles; and the two worked with a will at the task of enlightening the villagers of P——, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, on the necessity of removing temptations to drink, as well as persuading them to self-denial. Enoch Styles is not now ashamed or afraid to be called a prohibitionist.

SELECTIONS.

IN GAOL.

The late Mr. Samuel Hall, of nefarious memory, is supposed to have passed through every phase and stage of prison experience before surrendering his life on the halter of his country. We propose to select such passages of his eventful biography as will fit well together, and, when so fitted, form a representation or picture of gaol life in England. Some interest cannot fail to be awakened in connection with such a theme, if it is considered how large a portion of the vital energy and working strength of the nation is at all times under penal restraint; how indispensable as safety-valves in these high-pressure times our Houses of Correction have become; how costly, and yet how unsatisfactory in result to society at large, our system of punitive discipline is; or, finally, if with due humility of mind we reflect how easily and how soon in this world of temptation and suspicion and falsehood the great iron doors may separate ourselves from the sunshine, sweet air, and free life of the virtuous and the fortunate.

Improvidence (as some called it) or misfortune (as he persisted in styling it) brought Mr. Hall acquainted with the Sheriff very early in life, or rather with the officers of the Sheriff, for the original Mr. Hall's personal interviews with that distinguished functionary were postponed to the day when he was tried at the assizes, and the early misty morning, when he paid his last great debt—the Sheriff being there present *in propriâ personâ* to give him a quittance. Arrested by the authority of her Majesty's immediate servant and representative, Samuel found himself suddenly, and for a lengthened season, deprived of that liberty which he had already begun to turn into licentiousness. He became an inmate of the debtor's ward of the county prison, with nothing in the world to do, and precious little to eat. Time hung heavily on his hands, and his little soul, ill supplied from without, devoured its scanty store of virtue as the fevered body devours its own fat. He had a few friends who remembered him in his retirement, but it would have fared better with him in the long run if they had forgotten him.

Their small kindnesses to a brother in adversity had the effect of making that brother a slave to vice for life. Once free of the debtor's ward, he appears to have entered forthwith on a career which was to be interrupted only by intervals of retirement within the same prison, but in other wards. We will follow him through one or two courses of imprisonment; but as the Sam Hall of fiction is vastly more amenable to the beneficial effects of discipline than most of the hundred thousand Sam Halls who continually do crowd our gaols, we shall present him to our readers, as we should wish all real criminals to become — penitent, reformed, and even thankful.

Sam has been to sea. Sam has come home to his black-eyed Susan, and has given her a black eye which Nature never gave and none but womanly nature would endure without revenge. He has spent all his money in frolic and folly. He finishes up by running his ship and breaking his articles. Hunted out in pretty quick sticks, he is hauled before the bench and sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment in the House of Correction. He does not much like it; he thinks the county gaol is preferable. When free he takes to an amphibious trade—say that of a rigger. Riggers appear to require many, very many more 'goes' of rum than men in other occupations; at any rate, Sam finds it necessary to spend all his wages in that one article of consumption; and the upshot is, that he loses at one and the same time his appetite for food and the means of supplying that appetite if he had one. The craving for drink rages within his poor wasted body, and destroys his soul. He becomes sly as well as cruel. He sells everything he can lay his hands on in the shape of furniture; then his own clothes, then his wife's, then he robs the little ones of theirs, stealing the Sunday jacket, cape, boots, cap, gloves, prayer-books and Testaments, with which little Sam and Susy were wont to figure as choristers and Sunday scholars. When he has 'spent all,' his wife and children leave him. Dismal delirium seizes him. He resolves to tie himself to a stake in the tideway, and await his doom. But a chum hails him, tells him he is a glass too low, forbids him ever to say 'Die,' and stands a large quantity of the favourite beverage. Emboldened thus, Samuel resolves to exert his conjugal authority. He ferrets out his wife's hiding-place, surprises her in the diligent pursuit of her new calling as a washerwoman, snatches up a flat iron, and lays her head open. Now, any man is at liberty in this glorious country to break his wife's heart. Policemen themselves, and even magistrates, have been known to do it. The head of a poor woman belongs to the parish, though her heart is her own or her husband's, and the consequences to the head-breaker are highly inconvenient. Next morning, while doing his best to hoist a main-yard into its place, a gentleman in blue (B 4, in fact) comes behind him, and in serious tones informs him that he his 'wanted.' Remonstrance is in vain, resistance is not to be thought of. He is conducted to the cells of the police station, to ruminate on the romance of wedlock, and to frame special pleas of defence ready for the next morning. At ten o'clock on the following day he is ushered into the court, and gainsays the eloquent testimony of the gory bandages on Susan's brow by allegations that she has a tongue of her own and knows how to use it. When he finds the Bench obdurate he begins to bubble, and Susan melts and pleads, and believes as on their bridal day in the sincerity of her husband. But justice is blind, except to gory bandages, and deaf to all promises of amendment. The offender must be imprisoned for two months in the County Gaol. His commitment is speedily made out by the clerk, and signed by the presiding magistrate. Sam goes back to his cell until the business of the court is concluded, and then, with others in the like case, he is handcuffed and marched off to the station. A huge rabble of woman-folk follow hooting. He winces under their bitter taunts, and his manacled wrists ache from the spasmodic twitches of his clenched fists. He would willingly take another month in exchange for five minutes' immediate liberty of hands and feet amongst the gabbling, chattering crowd. The more willingly because he knows that an extra month or so would entitle him to a better dietary scale. Arrived at the castle gate, his application for admission is promptly responded to. He is introduced into the office, where his name, description of personal appearance, nature of offence, and terms of punishment according to the sentence

are accurately set down. Here, too, he is questioned as to loose cash, trinkets, watch, or other personal property of which poor Sam has long ago dispossessed himself, as we have seen. Then a bell is rung and a turnkey appears, to whom the prisoner is handed over. The policeman in attendance heaves a sigh of relief as he pockets the receipt for the body of Samuel Hall, misdemeanant, and adjourns for beer and tobacco till next train. Samuel is conducted to the bath-room, where he undergoes compulsory ablution; much needed, no doubt, and typical, we trust, of the thorough cleansing he is about to experience in his moral nature. He exchanges his ragged wrap-rascal, his villanously unclean under-linen, his brimless old beaver, and clouted shoes, for the prison livery of melancholy grey, with an Aberdeen bonnet for a head-piece. His own apparel is ticketed and stored ready against the day of his release. He is known no more as the Christian Samuel Hall, but as No. 260, in the sad rank and file of evil-doers, and when he has traversed the whole range of the corridor, he mounts a winding iron stair to a gallery, which runs outside the doors to a higher storey of cells. When about to mount the staircase he casts one swift glance from the central hall, along the sides of which, and above, the various ventilating and smoke flues are collected into a common shaft. Is there a chance of escape? Four long corridors branch off from this centre, and a watchman stationed there can command a sweeping view of all the corridors, which are glistening with cleanliness and light, so that if a mouse were to cross the line of vision it would be seen in an instant, and an alarm with a rattle or bell would bring a score of warders, brave and strong, to capture the sly runaway. There is no hope, then. Here is No. 260. There is an iron door secured from without by bolt and lock; in this door there is a little trap which cannot be opened from the inside, but readily enough, though not quite noiselessly, from without. Formerly meals were furnished through this aperture, and espionage was maintained. In the trap-door itself is an eyehole, which is covered with a sliding button, and through this chink the warder on duty can peep, and often does peep, without the inmate knowing anything about it. Several times in the course of each day, and oftener in cases of suspicion, the prying eye of the turnkey takes cognisance of the state of matters in the cell.

Next morning, at half-past five, the bell rings long and loud, and Mr. Samuel remembers the rule of his new abode, leaps from his cool and narrow couch, draws water from his little wooden keg on the shelf into his tin hand-basin, and washes away the small modicum of dirt that has accumulated since his initiatory bath the night before. He then addresses himself to his task, if he arrived in time to have his work allotted to him, or he waits, lugubrious, till the breakfast bell is heard. Then he is all alive. He stands beside the door ready and hungry. In a few minutes after eight his door is flung open, and he pounces on his breakfast, which is placed at the threshold. A little allowance is made at first, perhaps, but he soon finds that it is altogether a touch-and-go manœuvre, for the second turnkey is close behind the first, and he loses very little time in closing the door. Breakfast consists of a mess of oatmeal porridge and a small quantity of milk, served in a tin with two compartments. This portion of his daily duty is by no means onerous, but it is a new sensation for poor drunken Sam to be uncommonly hungry—it is the first sign of recovered tone and rudimentary stage of sobriety—the full belly is a reward that is reserved for steady perseverance in virtue. He of course acts as his own chambermaid, and besides making his bed and hooking it up against the wall, that it may offer no temptation to indolent indulgence in the course of the day, he has to perform all the minute operations which are necessary, including, we are glad to know, the obvious one of opening his well-barred window for a volume of fresh air. After breakfast his cell door is thrown open, and he is taken to the yard for a spell of walking exercise. Here he sees his brethren in bonds, but is allowed to speak to none. When he has moulted a few times as a gaol-bird, which will never be Sam's case, and become expert in the wiles of the devil, he will be able to ventriloquise a few observations for the edification of those nearest him. Turnkeys are trained lynxes, and if so much as a lip is moved the offence is noted down, and if often repeated will end in the refractory one spending a day and a night in the dark cells on bread and water. In some prisons the exercise

was, and perhaps still is, almost a part of the punishment. The men were stationed at intervals round the yard, and they had to play at 'keppy-ball' with a twenty-four pound cannon shot. This was play to the stalwart rogue, but it was terrible task-work for the feeble. Here, however, there is nothing but the regular walk round and round till the bell rings for chapel, at about twenty minutes past nine. Elsewhere, the separate system is carried even into the chapel, and the auditorium has a comical appearance, something like a honeycomb with grey worms in every cell. Here the only separation is between the sexes. The good behaviour of a congregation of criminals is proverbial, and the silent, fixed attention to the service might be studied as an example by many fashionable audiences that we wot of, with palpable advantage. After chapel, they march back to the yard. During their first visit to the yard, the governor, probably accompanied by the chaplain, has inspected their vacant cells, but now he meets his whole family and asks if any of them wish to speak to him. If anyone has a request or complaint to make he steps forth from the rank. Every man brings with him into the yard his breakfast panakin, and holds it bottom up for inspection, and as he marches round drops it on an appointed tray. Each man also produces from his inner-breast pocket (his only one) his spoon, his small-tooth comb, and ridding comb, displayed on his pocket-handkerchief.

The next stage is the calling out of those who, being under sentence of hard labour, are to take their turn on the mill. They will have two hours of it, with a rest of twenty minutes in each hour. The crank system was intended to supersede the treadmill. By this method each cell was provided with a crank and a tell-tale, and the prisoner had to pump three thousand or more strokes a day; originally all this power was collected by connecting machinery with the prison water-raising apparatus, but in some cases this power was wholly wasted. The exertion was considerable; indeed, where it has been tried and abandoned, it has been found to be cruelly injurious to health, besides being absurd as part of a discipline which is to fit men for useful, honest toil. Shams are immensely demoralising, but nowhere are they so deleterious as in the society of the already degraded. Those who are not sentenced to hard labour have, nevertheless, their daily tasks assigned, which must be done, or the governor will endeavour to know the reason. Tailors and shoemakers may often be set to work patching and cobbling. Cocoa-nut matting is woven in a proper loom by some. The majority, however, are employed in making ship fenders or in teasing oakum. There is oakum and oakum—wet and dry. The former has been steeped and beaten with mallets, and now eight pounds of it is given to each to take with him to his cell; only four pounds of dry tarry rope, cut in short lengths, is given out. Men do say they would rather do eight wet than four dry. Away back to the cell with the bundle of task work under his arm, and thenceforth, from about ten to twelve, he teases his rope-ends into oakum. At twelve the welcome bell peals forth the dinner-time. Three times a week he gets a dry dinner, that is a mouthful or two of good meat, ox cheek for the most part, with bread and potatoes. Three days he gets soup, which in some prisons is better than in some workhouses. On Saturday there is a change, generally boiled rice with treacle. At one o'clock the bell rings to work again, and the busy fingers untwist and pick till half-past five, when supper is served, consisting of porridge and milk. From six to seven work again, or even later if the tale is incomplete. At seven there is a general knock-off till bed-time at nine. This must be a dull time for some. If they do not go to school, and have no taste for reading, they walk up and down their narrow habitation till they weary for bed. Each cell has a gas-light. The turnkey comes round at dusk, turns on the gas outside, and hands a light in through the trap. Books are provided, especially the Book which it most becomes the convicted criminal to consult. But it is a weary time for many. When the nine o'clock bell begins to toll the hour of rest, down comes the bed from the hook in the wall, out goes the gas, and Samuel pops under the counterpane with almost indecent hurry, to dream that Susan had flung a flat-iron at him, and that she, poor soul, was serving her time for the same, while he was boozing in all jolly good-fellowship with his mates and friends.

So on, day by day, unless a fit of the cholic brings him under the doctor, or

a fit of the spleen brings him to the dark cells, the dreary regularity of prison life drags on. Every morning the turnkey makes a pioneering round, calling out 'Anybody wants the doctor?' and if Samuel is really bad, or wants to try the game of old soldiering or malingering, he must promptly make known his wants. The doctor visits him, and, as a rule, orders him to have a daily dose from the cure-all mixture, known, *par excellence*, as the Doctor's Bottle. If he is taken ill in the night, his voice, in the deep silence, will easily reach the warder on night-duty. Each ward has one such watchman; and to ensure his vigilance or to record his negligence, he has to visit a tell-tale clock of curious construction once every hour. There is not much chance of fire in a stone-jug, but there are abundant appliances in the shape of engines, buckets, and hose in case of danger. But very insignificant as a rule, are the interruptions to the dull routine of the gaol. On Saturdays there is a weekly change of linen, and a fortnightly change of flannels. On Sundays there is chapel twice; and upon the whole, the worship is an acceptable holiday to most, if nothing more. To our Samuel, however, it proved something more. It made him a praying Samuel. The kindly chaplain never wearies, never faints, though much discouraged. He knows that he is speaking to the offscouring of the earth, to the chief of sinners, to the hardest-hearted of men, the most shameless and profligate of women, but he has too often witnessed the mighty victories of truth and love to furl the banner of the Cross and lay aside the golden trumpet of the sanctuary before any form of evil, however dire and deadly. Samuel listens, as one making the best of compulsion, trying to persuade himself that he is at church because he likes it, and the very contrast between the gentle remonstrance or pathetic pleading of the pulpit and the harsh tones of command or rebuke in which his task-masters and gaolers address him, bends his mind favourably to the 'ways of pleasantness and peace.' He secretly resolves that he will amend his ways when once he gets out. He will come there no more, by God's good help, but he will never regret coming once. Poor Samuel! he has not been accustomed to the manufacture of good resolutions, and he has yet to learn how frail they are; but a good resolution in a wicked heart is like a draught of sweet air in a loathsome den. There is a window or door that will open, and it is a door of hope, and there is good pure air somewhere about. Good resolves are the first steps in the right direction. Samuel nursed his young purposes of good by reading, reflection, and prayer, and when a thoughtless turnkey asked him how soon he would be back again, he even wept to think that such a thing was possible. On the last day of his term, when the governor called on those who had anything to say to him to stand out, Samuel stretched himself to his full height, and with the manliness of a man all but free, he gave the governor to understand that he too had a tell-tale clock inside his brain, and could check the prison calendar on occasion. His request was that he might be allowed to leave as early as possible. A natural wish, in any case, but a sensible one in Samuel's, as he had a long walk before him. There is a slight tendency towards giving the screw an extra turn on the last day, as regards work, or it may be only the fancy of the impatient prisoner. Bright and early, and with the first kindly smile seen in the gloomy building, the turnkey unlocks the cell-door for the last time, and conducts S. No. 260 to the office, where after getting, as best he can, into his old rags, which he prizes more highly than the comfortable woollens of his house of bondage, he is formally dismissed with a gratuity of sixpence, into the wide, wide world, free to fling flat irons once more at his wife, if so minded, unless bound over to keep the peace for a term; free, also, to starve, or beg, or steal, or perchance work, if he can persuade anyone to employ him.

As our friend Sam has thoroughly made up his mind that the next time he goes to prison it shall be in the capacity of a visiting justice, he has no complaint to make on the score of severity. On the contrary, he is busied just now with some crude speculations about a proper classification of crimes and criminals, a pre-established harmony between offences and punishments. He thinks, moreover, that gaols should be nearly self-sustaining. He would have it understood that a man should work longer hours in prison than out of it; that he should work for his ordinary wages at his ordinary trade (when practicable), that he should pay for his board, lodging, and washing, and the balance should be equally divided into a weekly fine for the main-

tenance of the prison staff, and a weekly instalment towards a fund for setting him up in an honest way when he comes out. Very crude, of course, but we may some day show from the experience of a most excellent society for giving aid to discharged prisoners that there is room for reform in this direction, and we have only to appeal to the frightful increase of habitual criminality to support our Samuel's notion that crimes must have punishment weighed and measured to meet them, instead of criminals being incarcerated for a longer or shorter period, under penal conditions which are exactly the same for all. There is, indeed, a classification of felons and non-felonious criminals, but that is far from sufficient, and we shall never get a comfortable garotting grip on crime till we have more consideration paid to the proportion, in kind, between crime and its penalty. We pooh-poohed friend Sam's suggestion, of course, for fear of making him proud; but if he comes to be a visiting justice or member of Parliament, he will prove a second Sir Joshua Jebb. *Experientia docet.—Newcastle Weekly Chronicle.*

THE EMPLOYMENT OF CLIMBING BOYS.

The master chimney-sweepers of Bradford have formed themselves into a kind of vigilance committee to put down the practice of employing boys to sweep chimneys by some of their number, contrary to the provisions of the Act of Parliament, which specially interdicts boys being employed for this purpose. Section 6 of the Act enacts that no child under the age of 10 shall be employed about the premises of any person following the business of a chimney-sweeper, the penalty in this instance being imprisonment. Section 7 specifies that a master sweep shall not allow a boy under the age of 16 to enter a house with him when he is going to sweep a chimney; an infringement of this section rendering him liable to a penalty not exceeding £10. Section 10 throws the onus of proving the age of a boy employed on the person accused of committing the offence. Mr. Henry Hibbert, chimney-sweeper, of Abbey-street, Bradford, wrote to the Earl of Shaftesbury on the subject, and his lordship, in reply, dated November 25, 1868, alludes to the two Acts he had got passed on the subject, the last Act being the result of the report of the Children's Employment Commission, 1863. He continues, 'The provisions, I regret to say, have been much evaded. There is a difficulty in obtaining adequate evidence, and the evidence, when obtained, is frequently rendered of no avail by the strange decisions of the magistrates before whom it is brought. I will take care that a copy of the Act shall be sent you, and you may rely on my giving you all the aid in my power. I am happy to say, for the honour of the country, that Parliament has interdicted the practice with heavy penalties. It is sad and disgraceful in the extreme that people of good condition in life should be found in good numbers, wantonly, knowingly, and wilfully to break the law, and to perpetrate, perhaps, the lowest and most degrading form of cruelty among all the devices for torturing mankind. Bradford, I regret to say, is not the only town guilty of this offensive conduct, it having been seen at Nottingham and many other places, while London, with its three millions of inhabitants, is free from the stain. I would recommend the presentation of petitions to both Houses of Parliament.'

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S ADVICE TO WOMEN.

[The subjoined letter has been addressed by Miss Nightingale to an American gentleman:—]

London, September 13, 1866.

To Lemuel Moss.

My dear Sir,—I could not do what [redacted] me to do in your kind letter [redacted] viz.: give you information about my own life: though if I could it would be to show you how a woman of very ordinary ability has been led by God—by strange and unaccustomed paths—to do in His service what He id in her's. And if I could tell you all, you would see how God has done all, and I nothing I have worked hard

very hard—that is all—and I have never refused God anything; though, being naturally a very shy person, most of my life has been distasteful to me. I have no peculiar gifts. And I can honestly assure any young lady, if she will but try to walk, she will soon be able to run the 'appointed course.' But then she must first learn to walk, and so when she runs she must run with patience. (Most people don't even try to walk.)

1. But I would also say to all young ladies who are called to any particular vocation, qualify yourselves for it as a man does for his work. Don't think you can undertake it otherwise. No one should attempt to teach the Greek language until he is master of the language; and this he can become only by hard study. And

2. If you are called to man's work, do not exact a woman's privileges—the privilege of inaccuracy, of weakness, ye muddleheads. Submit yourselves to the rules of business, as men do, by which alone you can make God's business succeed; for He has never said that He will give His success and His blessing to inefficiency, to sketching and unfinished work.

3. It has happened to me more than once to be told by women (your countrywomen), 'Yes, but you had personal freedom?' Nothing can be well further from the truth. I question whether God has ever brought anyone through more difficulties and contradictions than I have had. But I imagine these exist less among you than among us, so I will say no more.

4. But to all women, I would say, look upon your work, whether it be an accustomed or an unaccustomed work, as upon a trust confided to you. This will keep you alike from discouragement and presumption, from idleness and from overtaxing yourself. Where God leads the way He has bound Himself to help you to go the way. I have been nine years confined a prisoner to my room from illness, and overwhelmed with business. (Had I more faith—more of the faith which I profess—I should not say 'overwhelmed,' for it is all business sent me by God. And I am really thankful to Him, though my sorrows have been deep and many, that He still makes me to do His business.) This must be my excuse for not having answered your questions before. Nothing with the approval of my own judgment has been made public, or I would send it. I have a strong objection to sending my own likeness for the same reason. Some of the most valuable works the world has ever seen, we know not who is the author of; we only know that God is the author of all. I do not urge this example upon others; but it is a deep-seated religious scruple in myself. I do not wish my name to remain, nor my likeness. That God alone should be remembered, I wish. If I could really give the lessons of my life to my countrywomen and yours—(indeed, I fain look upon us as all one nation)—the lessons of my mistakes as well as of the rest—I would; but for this there is no time. I would only say work—work in silence at first, in silence for years—it will not be time wasted. Perhaps in all your life it will be the time you will afterwards find to have been best spent; and it is very certain that without it you will be no worker. You will not produce one 'perfect work,' but only a botch in the service of God.—Pray believe me, my dear sir, with great truth, ever your faithful servant, FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Have you read Baker's 'Sources of the Nile,' where he says he was more like a donkey than an explorer? That is much my case, and I believe is that of all who have to do any unusual work. And I would especially guard young ladies from fancying themselves like lady superiors, with an obsequious following of disciples, if they undertake any great work.

SCENES IN A NIGHT ASYLUM.

[A correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald* gives an interesting account of the Night Asylum in that town.]

It was Saturday evening, between six and seven o'clock, when I made my way to the main door of the institution. On gaining admittance, I found myself in a wide lobby or entrance hall, where thirty or forty men, women, and children were seated in rows on wooden benches, waiting for the preliminary examination. They were of all ages, from

infancy to threescore years and ten; and of all sorts, from the inveterate tramp to the respectable tradesman out of employment, and without the means of paying for a night's lodging. Some of them were clad in decent working clothes, some were half-naked, and not remarkable for cleanliness, while a few looked for all the world like galvanised bundles of rags! All the children, most of the women, and three or four of the men, were barefooted; and as the day had been cold and wet, the poor creatures were 'drookit,' and apparently thankful to have a roof over their heads. Seven o'clock struck, and then the order was given to begin. The door opened, and in came a middle-aged woman with a dirty face, bare arms, and a mutch on her head the colour of saffron. She was accompanied by three children from six to ten years of age, and the poor things were wet, dirty, ragged, and shivering with cold. The mother lived and supported her progeny by washing stairs and odd jobs of that description, but sometimes the work failed, and she sought shelter and a supper of porridge in the Night Asylum. She was admitted, and then came several single women poorly clad, and of various ages from 25 to 40. One of them had been in the Infirmary, and was out of employment; a second had newly arrived in Glasgow in search of a situation; a third had an infant in her arms about three weeks old, and its face was not much larger than the dial of an ordinary watch. A family party came next, consisting of the father, mother, and two girls aged five and seven years. The father was a decent-looking English mechanic, from Cumberland; the mother was a Dundee woman; and the little girls had faces that would have adorned any fireside in the West End. There they stood, wet and weary, cold and hungry, that family party of four; but they were not without hope. The man had succeeded in finding work, and he only wanted shelter and a little support till Monday morning, which was granted. They passed in, and were followed by a pale, attenuated woman and three small children. She had lost her husband about six weeks before, and now she had neither a bread-winner nor a home, and yet she could not bear the idea of entering a poorhouse. She was very thinly clad, while the children were literally half-naked. They had some kind of 'orra duddies' round the middle, but head, feet, legs, and arms were bare, and fully exposed to the bitter blast. The mother had a melancholy, careworn expression of countenance; the two youngest children were crying, and altogether the group formed a picture of poverty and destitution which might have melted the heart of a whinstone. Pass in the poor widow and her three fatherless children; and whom have we next? A burly Englishman, from Lancashire, in search of a job as a miller of malleable iron. He was stout, black as a negro, and nearly fifty years of age. He had worked for a long time in Lanarkshire, when the iron trade was roaring, and had earned three or four pounds a week as easy as winking. 'Them was the times,' when beef and beer were going in 'rounds' and buckets, and when he could afford to swallow his two bottles of whisky per day. But now, alas! he was left without a morsel to eat or a drop to drink, or a hand's turn to do, and his suit of seedy black was so dilapidated by age and ill-usage that it scarcely served to cover the nakedness of the wearer. It was a sad change, indeed, and yet the heart of the iron-miller was proof against fate. He was evidently a 'happy-go-lucky' fellow—one of the careless, improvident tribe who make the day and the way alike long, and who comfort themselves by singing, 'Then let the world jog along as it will, I'll be free and easy still,' and so on till the end of the chapter. Wet though he was, he could not restrain his jocularity; and as his pockets were innocent of her Majesty's image, either in silver or bronze, he was handed a ticket, and passed in. Next came a 'character,' in the shape of an elderly maiden, covered with a coal-scuttle bonnet, a shabby-looking shawl, and a gown of a dingy colour, considerably the worse for wear. Her face was bronzed by exposure to the weather, and rather long, wrinkled, and hatchet-shaped to be considered homely. She carried in her hand a battered tin box, about the size of a family Bible, in which she had hawked, ribbons, lace, and 'gum-flowers' in her better days. She was now a confirmed 'tramp,' however, and had lately travelled to London and back again on foot, lodging and feeding by the way in the casual wards of workhouses, and knocking out life in a strange species of freedom, beggary, and independence. The old lady had lived a fortnight in London, free-gratis, by shift-

ing her quarters to a different workhouse every night. She expatiated on the treatment she had received in the various houses on the route, and gave the palm to Birmingham Union for its 'broth and its breed.' I got so interested in the old lady's adventures that I quite forgot myself and asked her what business took her to London, and she shut me up in a moment by saying—'Aweel, sir, ye're there, and ye'll no find oot the secrets o' my business!' She passed muster. After the London traveller came a sailor—a fine young man about five-and-twenty, with a face the very picture of simplicity and good-nature. He had landed at Leith from New Orleans with £17 in his pocket, got upon the 'spree,' and was cleared out in three or four days. Then he sold his 'kit,' and set off on the tramp to South Shields to look for a ship. On reaching North Berwick he changed his mind and made his way to Glasgow, where he arrived on Saturday night, without a penny in his purse and nothing in the shape of property except the clothes in which he stood, and a sheath-knife. Poor Jack saw and admitted his folly with a blush, which was half a smile, and then he got his ticket. A grey-haired grandmother came next, and her daughter, a young good-looking girl of seventeen, at her side. The girl was the mother of the infant, and she, I am sorry to say, had been first betrayed and then deserted. The old woman had seen better days as a wealthy farmer's daughter in Galloway, and even now, in wretchedness and tattered clothing, she had the undeniable look of honesty in her face. When questioned upon her early history, the poor woman fairly broke down and cried like a child, and I am candid enough to confess that I was also getting soft in the head by such an accumulation of misery. "'Twere long to tell and sad to trace' the various bits of broken history that were narrated in the Night Asylum on Saturday evening. In the space of three hours, 139 persons—men, women, and children—passed before me and were admitted; and all, except the very young in charge of adults, had to give an account of themselves. They came from different parts of the three kingdoms, save one seaman—a hearty little black-a-viced fellow, who hailed from the island of St. Helena. There was a heart-broken weaver from Ayrshire, in search of a web; and an engine-fitter, who had travelled on foot all the way from Preston, in Lancashire. There were two colliers from Newcastle, who had walked barefooted from Sanquhar in one day, and their feet were so swollen and lacerated that the poor fellows could scarcely stand. There was an old woman of seventy, with a pair of specs across her nose, and a young girl of thirteen, with the face of a fairy, left to battle with the world alone. There was a grey-haired man, between seventy and eighty, from Edinburgh, and a tousie-headed young fellow, a labourer, from the city of York. I was much struck by the appearance of a young woman, who had travelled that day from Dumbarton, through dub and mire, in a pair of thin slippers which were almost worn out. She was extremely good-looking, well-bred, and tastefully dressed, and yet she was following the occupation of a street singer. I was still more struck by the appearance of a powerful-looking Irishwoman, with a bare head and tatter-demalion clothes, who had crossed the Channel from Belfast in search of her runaway husband. She had scoured every lodging-house in Greenock without getting her eyes upon him, and I can assure the reader that there was mischief in those eyes. She meant to continue the chase through Glasgow, and if the culprit happens to be caught, he may look out for something more than squalls, or I am no judge of feminine 'human natur.' It was altogether a sad and sorrowful sight; and I could not help feeling thankful that such an institution was open in Glasgow to mitigate, in some measure, the sufferings of the houseless poor in winter. No doubt the reckless, the depraved, and the undeserving are sometimes fed and sheltered as well as the deserving poor, but even in the former case, when the applicants are really destitute, it is surely better to give them the shelter of a roof and a supper of oatmeal porridge, than to have them sleeping on common stairs, and perishing with cold and hunger. In this manner 41,400 persons were relieved during the year ending on the 12th September last, and since the opening of the institution, thirty-one years ago, it has given occasional food and shelter to 887,682 men, women, and children, while the meals supplied can now be numbered by the million. What an army of miserable mortals

What an amount of destitution do these figures disclose! What a blessing that such an institution is open in Glasgow to mitigate, even in the smallest measure, such a burden of human misery!

WHAT TO DO FOR THE APPARENTLY DROWNED.

As winter advances risk of drowning increases; no time, therefore, could be more appropriate than the present for drawing attention to recent modifications of the late Dr. Marshall Hall's well-known directions for restoring the apparently drowned. In 1863-64, the Royal National Lifeboat Institution instituted extensive inquiries among medical men, medical bodies, and coroners throughout the United Kingdom, resulting in the adoption of certain directions in cases of drowning, founded on the principles of the Marshall Hall and Sylvester methods. These directions were plainly given, but very long, and hence not likely to be remembered by any but professional persons. Some correspondence in two or three late numbers of the *Lancet* has, however, resulted in the production of a short set of simple rules, purposely expressed in the language of the imperfectly educated, and hence calculated to be of universal service. They are as follows:

1. Lay the drowned man at once flat on his stomach with his face to the ground, and a folded coat or bundle under his chest.

2. Place your hands flat between his shoulder-blades and make firm pressure, so as to squeeze the air out of his chest; then turn the body slowly on to one side and a little beyond. Replace him quickly on his face. Count four, to mark four seconds of time, and then repeat the process, commencing by squeezing the air out of the chest again.

3. Wet clothes should be removed and dry ones substituted, each bystander contributing. The body to be rubbed dry briskly, and the face kept from contact with the ground by an assistant.

4. Do not squeeze the air out of the patient's chest if he is breathing, but wait and watch, merely drying the body and changing the clothing.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Life in a Lunatic Asylum: An Autobiographical Sketch. By John Weston, Author of a small Treatise on the Treatment of Insane Persons in Pauper Lunatic Asylums.—Second Edition, Enlarged and Illustrated.—London: Houlston and Wright, Paternoster Row.

Mr. Weston tells us that having a wife who unfortunately acquired habits of intemperance, he placed her in a lunatic asylum, in the hope of curing her. Soon after her admittance she, naturally enough, began to recover; and, ere long, appeared to be so far restored to health that Mr. Weston resolved to have her back again to his house. But an unexpected obstacle presented itself. The asylum doctor,—dread power!—peremptorily refused to let the patient go, and would not give any definite hope of ever relaxing the terrible inhibition. *Mr. Weston* saw that he had put his wife into a trap, and that he was not to be allowed to get her out again. Grief at this discovery deprived him at length of power to work, to eat, or to sleep. He was, in short, himself driven mad by the inexorable decree of the mad-doctor; and soon came under the custody and control of the very man by whom his lunacy had been occasioned. He gives, in the book in our hand, rude, inartistic, but evidently faithful pictures, without any malice in them, of the wretched things that he saw and passively took part in, after his admission to the asylum, and describes the slow and harassing steps by which the freedom of himself and his wife was at length recovered.

The following extracts will serve as sufficient samples of the faults he finds with asylum management, and his remedial suggestions:—

'I had the good fortune to sit at the top corner of the lower table; on my

left hand, at the lower corner of the adjoining table, sat the unfortunate tobacconist, before mentioned, whose death will be hereafter noticed. On my immediate right was a chemist and druggist, who through intemperance and indiscretion had lost both his business and his head; but after a course of abstinence he found the latter, and was sent in search of the former!'

'Immediately on my left, at the head of the table, presided a worthy contractor, who had contracted some very severe notions, and who rejoiced in the possession of a good appetite, especially for pudding. He was so religious in his own way, that his grace after meat invariably consisted in parodying with the wickedest leer, the poor Irishman's devotions, and such was his horror at, and detestation of Catholicism and Catholics, that in the frenzy of his hate, he would reiterate to the poor man's face, that he should "see him in hell, hissing and blistering like a sole in a frying-pan!"

'He also very ardently entertained the notion that the quiet, unobtrusive draper and my unfortunate self, were detectives, and bitter and incessant were his persecutions of me on that account. These increased as I ventured to defend the poor Catholic from his onslaughts, and so violent was he sometimes, that I feared he would so far commit himself, as to get put under restraint, but such was the forbearance of the attendants towards those who could defend themselves, that no mere words would provoke them to acts of coercion! (With the *helpless* the reverse was the case.)

'One day we were put to work together in the field by ourselves, and I really quailed at the prospect, but it appears that somehow he had altered his opinion, for I found him on that occasion particularly communicative and entertaining. It would appear that he had been soured in early life, by *ill treatment*. His mother he thought a paragon of goodness, and to her he was indebted for all the good he ever possessed, but his good opinion of the fair sex in general was in a declining state. His master's wife was, to him, the very personification of the devil's better half, for in addition to her *other* ill treatment she starved him as well as made him a slave.

'On one occasion she made two large puddings, of which she and the family ate up one, never giving him a taste, the other she put by, and going out herself, left him to do the cleaning up, and also a mother's duty to the children. The pudding haunted him like a "passion!" Go where he would or do what he would, the pudding was after him; at last, risking all consequences, he took a slice, and it ate so good he could not possibly resist taking another, which only served to whet his appetite for more; so he took a third, when lo! the pudding was half gone! I suppose he thought, never mind, "in for a penny, in for a pound, as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb," for he never left the pudding until he had eaten the last bit.

'All he could do now was to reflect upon the consequences. The mistress came home, and missing the pudding, screamed, "Where's the pudding?" He being naturally of tough material and now otherwise fortified with good inside lining, coolly answered, "I've eaten it."

'His recital of this was so droll, that, delighted with his good humour, pleased with the idea that he had had a good meal for once, and so gratified at the just retribution for the woman's starving propensities, I laughed out for the first time since I had been in the place, and right merrily too, and from that day if anything gave me pleasure, it was slipping half my portion of pudding on to his plate.

'On leaving the hall I thought it exceedingly unfeeling and cruel not to be allowed, even for one moment, to speak to my wife, which, with the fear of our inextricable captivity, transfixed me with horror and filled me with dread.

'One among many instances of dastardly cruelty was exhibited towards an unfortunate fellow who had recently been brought there. He had stopped a man with a horse and cart and claimed them as his property, for which he was given in charge to the police and sent to this asylum. He was a nice, honest-looking countryman, but somehow or other had taken it into his head that such and such things belonged to him, and that such and such persons owed him money. So he was brought here, and in the Airing Court the boobies got round him and persuaded him that one of the attendants had not paid him for some pigs bought of him some time ago, the attendants joining in the game. The poor fellow believed it, and proceeded to pester the man for the money; and as they continued to hound him on, the game was carried on so long that the

attendant seized hold of the poor fellow, and dashed him with great violence to the ground two or three times, and knelt upon him as if he had been dough. He looked dreadfully ill afterwards; but the treatment cured him of his fancies. The imaginary debt was paid, and I never heard that he made any further claim; neither do I recollect ever seeing him again. Very soon I heard that he was dead!

'I had tried to stop the game by persuading him that they were playing upon his weakness and credulity in order to laugh at him, and had partially succeeded in calming him; but it was very unsafe to interfere where attendants were concerned, the interference only inciting them to greater harshness. I was obliged to forbear.

'Were these facts brought to the knowledge of the jury, if inquest there were?

'Did the doctor know what was the matter with him?

'Was there a *post mortem* examination?

'I cannot answer these questions; but his death was so sudden that he was never even brought into the Infirmary.

'This is what is called attendance!'

'Being in the Infirmary as an invalid, I was debarred from going into the hall to meals; consequently I was condemned to the use of the iron spoon, the only implement here allowed to assist in the operation of taking or giving food.

'Here also I was favoured with a sight of the manner in which food was frequently placed on the table, which was by dexterously *throwing it*, so that the hunches of bread and butter came plump down like bricks, and potatoes like tennis balls; this feat being performed by "Mr. Bumble" or his officious scrubbing assistant standing at one end of the table, and the patient who required the extra dole at the other,—reminding me of throwing a bone to a dog or of feeding pigs; and the manner in which the patients frequently grabbed at the proffered morsel did not tend to lessen that impression.

'Why by treating them as pigs make them become as pigs?

'The manner of feeding the patients, the language used, the filthy allusions, the disgusting and obscene retorts—attendants vying with patients in *exciting* the loudest laugh; the attendant's coarse bawl, the obstreperous shove, the stamping on toes; the pitching about the ill, the unruly, and the helpless patients, heedless of the result: these shameful scenes tended *then* to strengthen my preconceived impressions that I was accursed of God; *now* they fill me with grief, that they should occur in the *Infirmary* of all places.

'Surely such attendants are unfit for their post.

'The night attendant just named, clever though he was, and kind, as above stated, *could*, I grieve to say, be very cruel. On one occasion I saw him, at the instigation of the scrubber, take a little harmless muttering preacher by the arm, twist him out of bed, and punch and kick him, for a slight delinquency.

'A poor man was now brought here as a patient who had been a stone cutter. His manners were very quiet; but he was childishly opinionated of his abilities, and rather assiduous in trying to show them off. Having much talent, he had taught himself to carve the human figure; and the admiration he had already gained seemed to give promise of future eminence. This success turned his brain. He called himself the greatest sculptor in the world. His childish conceit cost him many an ugly cuff, and his resistance brought down upon him the most cruel handling from the scrubber. I have seen that fellow hoot him out of the room; and, because he resisted, catch hold of him and throw him heavily to the ground, and after repeating the cowardly operation two or three times, stamp upon him—a proceeding in which he dearly delighted to engage.

'The sole cause of this treatment was that the poor fellow had strayed into our day room from the adjoining corridor. The scrubber commenced his operations by throwing up his right hand and bawling out in a most discordant voice, "Be off-f," which of course would be resisted with a corresponding reply, when without more ado he would lay hold of the intruder; and the result would be the discomfiture and torture of the poor demented object of his spite.

'His deceit and treachery were equal to his dastardly tricks. He would take a leaf from any book, wherewith to light his pipe, and when the master came would bring the very book he had himself torn, and show it as the way

in which the books were served; which would cause the books to be locked up, and the patients to be deprived of their use. He was an apt scholar of his master, the "Bumble" attendant.

'I ask, Are such men fit for their post?

'Would not some of the money expended upon these much vaunted beautiful palaces be much better laid out in securing a better class of attendants, and a more efficient supervision? And when I think of the amount of misery that must have been caused by such hands during the long space of *twenty-seven years*, is it any wonder that I make this attempt to expose the truth, hoping that a remedy may be found?

'The doctor never saw these things—how could he? He was never there, but when like the hands of a clock the appointed hour was come, or when sent for; and *then* all things were straight, the rooms were still, and the speech as soft as any silk.

'*His* rule was regularity; his guide punctuality. To see everything clean and beautiful and trim was his hobby—to make them *appear* so, the attendant's aim.

'If the poor sculptor had been gently taken by the hand, and led away to some interesting object, or been permitted to use his pencil, or chalk, or even a drawer of sand, with which he could have traced, or obliterated, his fancies at pleasure, how different might have been his fate! but, at last, he was not allowed an atom of anything that would make a mark. The cruel attendants would rudely and roughly rifle his pockets, and take away everything calculated to give him pleasure.

'It was very touching to see with what assiduity he would hunt over the Airing Court in search of something to amuse himself with; and how clever he was in constructing in the palm of his hand the most beautiful devices, with bits of stone, wood, leaves, fibre,—anything, in fact, that came in his way—like ornamental clumps of stone and flowers, garden-grotto fashion.

'These he would form as assiduously as a bird would construct its beautiful nest; then show them about, with as much delight as a child would show its toys; and they, as ruthlessly as they would destroy a nest and break the beautiful eggs, would strike from his hand the fragile building which his talented fancy had so tastefully reared. He became for some time thinner and weaker, and then died.'

'In the name of all that is good, let jealous care be taken that while the doors are ever open to receive such inmates, attempts be not made to close the avenues by which they may emerge again into the glorious liberty of self-reliant self-control. Do not scare the mind into madness by the terrible idea of inextricable captivity.

'It is no argument that because some are so weak that they relapse, they should be debarred from making the trial, even though they fail again and again. And this applies also to many a nervous desponding patient, to whom a short residence at these asylums would be life and safety, whilst a long and hopeless one would only confirm the insanity of which they may have scarcely reached the brink.

'For the incurably demented, the idiot, and the helpless maniac, they would indeed be a blessing, if all were carried out consistently with the fair outside, and the professed principles of treatment. That this is not always the case my narrative will, I think, show. They are beautiful buildings, the construction and arrangement all but perfect; but there are canker worms within, which undo much of the intended good; and the chief of all is *unfit attendants*.

'I know that there is much difficulty in this matter. Men of the lowest grade are employed for lack of better; but for other positions of trust and skill—for teachers, servants, sick-nurses—there are systems of *training;* how much more is such needed in the management of the insane!

'If Charles Dickens, with his wonderful powers and philanthropic spirit, could only gain admission as an unknown pauper lunatic for one week, without the risk of his never getting out again, what a tale he could unfold, especially if he could render himself refractory and require the tender mercies of an Infirmary "Bumble!" And Sisters of Mercy, too, if they could gain admission without the risk of detention, what congenial morning and evening exercises for *their* Christian labours!

'The situation of these places may be beautiful, the order and arrangement first-class, the provisions ample, and the cleanliness and appearance delightful; but what is appearance if manners and attendance are wanting? A kind word

and a smile are better than a curse and ill-treatment, forbearance than roughness.

'The asylum alluded to was highly favoured in one respect, in having a master, or what is termed "head attendant," of sterling worth. His order, precision, and promptitude were admirable; and although apparently hard in some respects, he was of a kind and genial disposition. His respectful attention to the doctor was of the first order, devoid of servility and obsequiousness. To him I am indebted for encouraging me to hope; and my admiration of him is enhanced when I call to mind his calm demeanour, never raising his voice nor using any impure or improper word.

'The doctor was a man of excellent parts. His attentions were unremitting, and he certainly was an excellent superintendent, although he sometimes made mistakes. He took his rounds like the hands of a clock, making daily queries of over two hundred patients, prescribing and dispensing for all according to the varying demands made upon his judgment. His dial-like supervision of the whole establishment, his attention to visitors, and the multifarious calls upon his attention, left him little time and less chance of observing what was going on behind the scenes; and the master, with all his praiseworthy assiduity, could not be here, there, and everywhere at the same time.

'It is all very well for the doctor once a day to pace the beautiful corridors, the spacious dormitories, the ample day rooms, the splendid dining hall, the handsome stone balustraded staircase, etc., of this really beautiful building, and to see that everything is in apple-pie order; also for the committee of visitors to come over once in two or three weeks, thinking, too, everything beautiful, no doubt. But there is *behind the scenes!*

'I write not to disparage individuals. I wish not to injure anyone; but I do desire heartily to mitigate the miseries and to mollify, if I cannot heal, the wounds of those unfortunates who can neither help nor defend themselves. For the furtherance of this object I most strenuously advocate, so far as my humble powers will permit, a few modifications in the present arrangement of these otherwise orderly and beautiful establishments.

'*First*, and of primary importance, the appointment of respectable, well-informed, and, if possible, religious persons, as *supervising attendants* in the refractory and infirmary wards of every asylum, whose duty it should be to overlook all the proceedings and to be responsible for the due and proper performance of all duties appertaining to the ordinary attendants, especially in the dressing, undressing, bathing, and feeding of patients; to conduct the reading of prayers and singing; to check all improper language, and to read to, instruct, and amuse the patients.

'Secondly, that every reasonable facility be given to patients in all the wards, to follow their harmless bents in amusing themselves *in their own way*. It is better to see the artist draw, the writer write, the calculator make figures, than to sour them into sullen indifference or mischievous spite, merely for the sake of seeing the place perfectly free from every speck or spot or scratch, which a little paint or whitewash or soap and water would entirely obliterate.

'Thirdly, greater facilities for discharging patients that are not dangerous (if only on parole) on their own petition. Let them try. Hopeless captivity is terrible.

'My own trying circumstances make me suggest in addition that surely it may be *possible* to make such exceptions to standing rules as shall enable a husband and wife (if such sad cases arise) to see one another oftener; and to be more comfort to each other. I know there *must* be rules; but rules to which no exception can be made, cannot but be mischievous.

'My motive is to call sympathy and healing to those who need both. May many hearts and hands help in this work, and unmistakably prove that "the law of kindness is the cheapest law, and the most powerful for good!"'

Brothers-in-Law. In three volumes. London: Hurst and Blackett, 13, Great Marlborough-street.

Commencing to read this new novel, as in duty bound, we at first felt sorry for ourselves, having the impression that we were getting into the society of a set of very disagreeable people. Never, for instance, were we in real life amongst sisters who appeared to be so needlessly and provokingly lying on the catch for, and snapping at, each other. But matters improved as we went on. The

persons of the drama, so cleverly discriminated, and so vividly presented, began to be acquaintances in whom we were compelled to take an interest, and this continued to grow as we got farther into the tale. Villanous though one or two, sharp-tongued and ill-governed though several of them are, hopes and fears for them, and many pleasant sympathies and profitable reflections, are awakened as their story progresses; and we close the third volume recognising that we have not only been amused by character-painting of no mean skill, but also instructed by teaching of no ordinary wisdom.

The first volume mainly occupies itself with the necessary introductions to the personages of the story, and with the development and culmination in marriage of the love of Horace Vane and Mildred Curtis, who, on the whole, are the hero and heroine. This preliminary narrative is beautifully told, and the interest it elicits is due chiefly, as is that of the whole of the work, to the presentment of mental character in its œstivation and growth. We consider this to be high praise, because it not only is the most rare quality in novels, it is also the only really valuable one for any purpose ancillary to the reader's actual instruction in the art of life. The book that exists only to beguile the flying hours is worthless, however clever, and however exciting. If it avails to leave the reader's mind on a higher plane of thought and feeling than he occupied on commencing it, and gives him, besides, for his help in life, some precious droppings from the ripe grapes of the vine of spiritual wisdom, it is, like the 'Brothers-in-Law,' a noble work, for which readers of true discernment will heartily thank the author.

Horace and Mildred being at length married, they might 'live happy ever after,' for aught the reader sees, were it not that they have a brother-in-law, who is the evil demon of the play. Highly gifted with outward personal advantages, Walter Harewood is shallow-hearted, showy, luxurious, and extravagant. Large spending necessitates large getting, '*si rectius*' all the better, of course, but if not, then otherwise. And so ensue peculation of cash, and falsification of the books of the firm in which Walter and Horace are partners with Mr. Curtis, their father-in-law. Which peculation and falsification are discovered by Horace, who thereupon insists on the retirement of the villain from the firm, and having thus stopped the growing mischief, works hard thereafter to restore the damaged interests, while he collaterally does all he can to induce in the culprit penitence and reformation and final recovery of some position of honour.

This is what ought to have occurred; and had it done so, there would have been a strong embankment well maintained against the inrush of a terrible flood of misery upon almost everybody in the book. But Horace took another course. Moved by the entreaties and reformatory promises of his peccant brother-in-law, Horace promised to make no exposure of the discovered guilt; yet feeling conscientiously bound not to remain connected with the firm, after having become thus an accessory after the fact, he abruptly retires from the concern, to the great disgust and mortal offence of Mr. Curtis, his wife's father, and enables the villain Walter not only to continue his abstractions of money, but also to charge them upon Horace, whose sudden migration from affluence to poverty is, indeed, explicable to the world, on no other theory than that of guilt,—from whose stain he cannot vindicate his fame except by violating his promise to his brother-in-law.

On this odd dilemma, almost all the rest of the tale is poised. What misery ensues to Horace, to Mildred, and to the whole family of the Curtises, not omitting, by the necessary Nemesis, the rascally brother-in-law himself, and how matters at length come right, although life can never be to any of the actors in the drama what it was before the inrush of the misery, the author ably proceeds to develope.

Besides all this, she deserts none of the persons to whom she introduced us in the outset, but carries them all equally along with the rest, allowing us to see, in the progress and ultimation of their different destinies, the necessary dependence of these on their character and conduct, and thus she instructs whilst she deeply interests her readers, not with any moral to her tale obstrusively presented, but by leaving the simple rhetoric of facts to do its own natural suasion.

Altogether, then, this effort of creative art has our cordial commendation.

Poems and Ballads. By Janet Hamilton. Authoress of 'Poems and Essays,' and 'Poems and Sketches.' With Introductory Papers by the Rev. George Gilfillan and the Rev. Alexander Wallace, D.D. Glasgow: James Macklehose, 61, St. Vincent-street.

Observing that we have here a volume of poems by a peasant woman now in her seventy-fourth year and blind, we take up the book with very moderate expectations indeed, and are disappointed. But the disappointment is on the pleasant side. Here is the vivacity of movement and freshness of feeling of a girl in her teens, rather than of an aged pilgrim on the edge of the grave; in addition, here is the wisdom that comes only with 'years that bring the philosophic mind.' Janet Hamilton is one of those natural queens who live in dignity and honour, let their training and advantages be what they may. Opportunities of mental culture, few and limited, produce results surpassing those achieved by average persons with the run of all the academies; as healthy, hardy bodies, fed on salt, potatoes, and buttermilk, sometimes develope into perfection of grace or magnificence of proportion, putting to shame the average results of the most various and ample dietaries. We do not mean to say that Janet Hamilton is one of the few great poets of her sex, but she sometimes rises well above mediocrity, whilst the wonder is that in her rank of life and with her aids, she should not always lie far below it. Her ballads especially are simple, natural, and effective.

Report of the Free Labour Registration Society, July, 1868. London: Spottiswoode and Co., New-street Square. Head Offices of the Society: 43, Parliament-street, Westminster. Liverpool Branch: 3, Cable-street, Liverpool.

We reprint with pleasure the circular of this excellent society:—

Free Labour Registration Society, a Chamber of Conciliation and Arbitration. Formed June 1867. It is the belief of the majority of all classes of the community that the present practice of Trades' Unions is working injuriously for the interests of both workmen and employers, and for the productive prosperity of the country. That they form a barrier between employed and employers, and prevent the association of interests which should be identical. That they needlessly protract trade disputes, and make the operative class discontented and suspicious; while the employment of capital is rendered hazardous and uncertain. That they deny the undoubted right of employers and employed to make their own terms. That they tend to prevent a man raising himself in the social scale, by trying to reduce all workmen to a low standard of mediocrity. That they make contracts, and all prospective calculations of cost and profit, impossible, and thus tend to drive capital and trade out of the country. That in many instances their accounts have been improperly kept, and their funds wasted and misapplied; the benefit element reduced to a minimum or altogether ignored. That even in those cases in which their accounts are properly kept, they promise benefits to their members which their rates of contribution do not warrant. That, by the severity of the laws by which they restrict the number of apprentices, a large proportion of British youths is prevented from learning a trade, and thus the numbers of the idle and criminal class are largely increased.

This society has been formed to check those evils, by affording a rallying point for non-unionist workmen and employers, and by giving increased facilities for the calm and kindly discussion of the questions affecting capital and labour; by uniting the interests of employed and employers; by arranging by arbitration the disputes that will occasionally arise in all trades; by removing the suspicions of workmen; by re-assuring capital, and encouraging its outlay in the various industries of the country; by freeing employers and employed from coercion and terrorism; by asserting the sacred right of every man to make the best use he can of the talents he has, and of putting his own price upon his industry in the free market of labour. This society secures to its members the most economic and advantageous distribution of the funds for the benefit of the sick, &c. With this latter object, the highest authorities in the kingdom have assisted with their counsel and experience. Noblemen and gentlemen of undoubted probity have consented to serve upon a committee with the members themselves. The 'Benefit Society, composed of a union of all trades, pos-

sesses thereby considerable advantages.'* Each of the insurances is separate and optional; each of them will be guaranteed by Government, except the sick fund, which is managed by committees composed jointly of working men and employers. The appeal made to the better feelings of the working class has been nobly responded to by them, and an organisation of non-union labour has been perfected in London. The rules which they have drawn up will repay careful scrutiny, and prove alike the intelligence and moderation of their framers. During the first twelve months more than thirteen thousand workmen were enrolled, and more than one thousand members provided with permanent employment. A branch, supported by all the leading firms, has been opened in Liverpool, and, as funds admit, will be formed in other great towns. Very many strikes have been arranged, and others averted, through the operations of the society.

Noblemen and gentlemen are entreated to allow their names to be placed upon this little Parliament of Free Labour. Working men are registered gratis; a fee of half a day's wages is charged only when a situation is obtained through the society's means; subscription for members 1d. per month. The scale of subscription for employers becoming members is fixed at £1 per annum, for each fifty persons usually employed by them. Employers are particularly requested to employ as many of the society's members as possible. The objects of the society may be briefly stated thus:—1. To obtain employment for those who want it, and hands for employers. 2. The free discussion of all questions affecting capital and labour. 3. The peaceful settlement of such questions by arbitration. 4. The protection of the interests of members by strictly constitutional means. The committee are convinced that when the operations of the society are understood by all classes of this country, the pecuniary assistance so much needed will not be withheld.—F. C. Maude, Honorary Secretary.

Form of declaration required from members:—I , will not at any time, while I remain a member of this society, aid or assist, by word or deed, in preventing any person from making his own terms with his employer, or from peaceably following his employment under such terms or contract.

Topics for Teachers. A New Work for Ministers, Sunday-school Teachers, and others, on an Entirely Original Plan. By James Cowper Gray, Halifax. Author of 'The Class and the Desk.' Illustrated with over 200 Engravings and eight First-class Maps. Section I, Nature. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The author states that the very favourable reception of 'The Class and the Desk' has induced him to prepare for the use of Sunday-school teachers and others, a work in which all the matters of interest in the Word of God relating to biblical science, history, geography, biography, morals, and religion, will be systematically arranged and presented in 288 condensed summaries, illustrated by over 200 well-executed engravings, and a series of eight first-class coloured maps. Each of these topics will consist of some biblical subject, around which will be grouped the whole of the most important Scripture references, scientific facts, historical incidents, and other things therewith connected, and followed by suitable moral and religious suggestions as hints for practical use; so that a teacher taking up any subject for class preparation will here find all the information that he needs upon it, whether from the Word of God or from secular writings. A copious index will be appended, and will, the author thinks, render the complete work more serviceable than most biblical dictionaries and concordances combined.

In the number before us, the new work opens well and promisingly.

Letter to the Right Honourable William Chambers, of Glenormiston, Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh, on the Aims and Practical Working of the Association, More Especially in Reference to the Employment of the Poor. By David Curror, Convenor of the Employment Committee.

Mr. Curror's aim in this pamphlet is to commend to general consideration and approval the organisation, objects, and operations of the Edinburgh Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. In 'considering the poor,' he distinguishes between three classes:—

* See Report of Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone's Answers to the Trade Union Delegates, in Papers, February 19, 1868.]

first the 'Bible poor,' as he calls them,—those whose poverty is genuine, unavoidable, and permanent, including the maimed, the sick, and the weak, whether in body or mind, from age or from any other irremovable cause; second, the poor who are such from temporary accident or loss of work; third, the sturdy beggars, who are so by choice. In preserving the second class from the pauper-roll, the benevolent are saving the sufferers, the ratepayers, and the nation; whilst they are securing the non-occurrence of conflicts or cross-purposes between the legal poor-law administration and the action of the hand of Christian charity. The third class of poor Mr. Curror would hand over bodily to the tender mercies of the Apostolic law, that he that will not work neither shall he eat; work is to be found for them in manner pointed out in this pamphlet, and they must be compelled to do it by methods which he also takes care to indicate. Objections to this very sensible scheme are duly met by Mr. Curror as he goes on; and his pamphlet, on the whole, is one which we can heartily commend to the consideration of all who take an interest in the great question of pauperism. The present poor-law deals with these three classes together, generally under one roof, with one *régimen*, and one employment, if employed at all. But enlightened humanity must recognise that each of the three classes requires a treatment of its own. The first, being worthy, should receive all the care and attention which can be shown to them by Christian philanthropy. 'They are God's legacy committed and commended to their more prosperous brethren.' They, and they only, Mr. Curror thinks, are the proper objects of in-door parochial relief, and for their sakes the existing workhouses should be converted from pauper keeps into imbeciles' homes, where they may have such ministration as in family circles is bestowed on an imbecile relation. The second class are, he says, the proper objects of the care of societies like the one he represents; so that in their temporary incapacity, through illness, accident, or other cause, they may be provided with whatever is necessary to secure their recovery, preserve their homes, and prevent them from becoming permanent paupers.

Scriptural Testimony against Intoxicating Wine. By the Rev. William Ritchie, Dunse. A New Edition, much enlarged. Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League.

THE first edition of Mr. Ritchie's work having won an extensive circulation, it has been thought worth while to give 'a broader and more complete treatment' to the subject of the wines of Scripture, so as to enlarge the work to about double its former bulk. 'The Scriptures under the lists of different words are now printed in full, brief notes are inserted on the leading texts, for the elucidation of the topic on hand, and a new chapter of considerable length is added, on Scripture side-lights for abstinence. Every important passage in the Bible, where wine or strong drink is mentioned, is, in the course of the treatise, considered and explained, so as to furnish a commentary on each, in its bearing on the question at issue.' The book consists of eleven chapters, in the course of which the different wines of Scripture, Tirosh or vine-fruit, Yayin or wine, Shechar or sweet drink, and all minor words for wine in the Old Testament, and all words of like meaning in the New, are carefully examined. 'Scripture Side-lights for Abstinence' are also looked at, and 'The Scripture Testimony to Abstinence' is expounded. To those who have no time to read the larger and fuller Bible Temperance Commentary of Dr. Lees and Mr. Burns, or who desire something at a lower price and of a more popular character, Mr. Ritchie's volume will be found acceptable and serviceable, as it is written in plain and simple style, printed in large type, and sold at a small charge.

The Philosophy of the Bath; or Air and Water in Health and Disease; containing a History of Hydro-therapeutics, and of the Hot-air Bath from the Earliest Ages, with an Introductory Chapter illustrative of the Present Condition of the Medical Profession. By Durham Dunlop, M.R.I.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., Stationers' Hall Court.

A SERIES of papers contributed by Mr. Dunlop to a public journal with which he was connected were so much approved of, that their separate publication was suggested. The work of revision gradually drew him on, until he had not only re-cast the old matter, but expanded the papers into a goodly volume. Accordingly we have here, in 465 pages, if not all that can be, yet certainly all that

needs be said about the therapeutic use of hot air;—in short, the Turkish or Roman bath finds here its most elaborate exposition and advocacy. An introductory chapter treats of the value of health, the ignorance of the 'educated classes' concerning the science of life, the opposition of the medical profession to new discoveries, the present condition of that profession as borne witness to by medical authorities, the value of medical opinion, and other kindred matters, all tending to discount the value of the healing science and art in as far as it holds itself apart from hydro- and thermo-therapeutics. In subsequent chapters are given histories of Hydropathy and Warm Bathing, accounts of the Hot-air Baths of Greece and Rome, descriptions of those of Russia, Finland, Egypt, Africa, China, Japan, North American India, Europe during the middle ages, &c., &c. After this we have a series of chapters on the physiology of life, followed by others on the Bath as a curative agent; and then the author returns to the medical profession and its opposition to the Bath, and concludes with a copious variety of considerations and statements calculated to create a perfect *furore* for hot-air bathing in all and sundry. We feel ourselves longing for a Roman Bath as we read, and only sorry that our birth was not held back and ourselves reserved for the next century, when, according to Mr. Dunlop, every respectable house will have its hot-air chamber. In default of the hot-air bath, a copy of Mr. Dunlop's learned and well-written volume may, in the meanwhile, find its way into every household; and although its allegations against the doctors might well throw the whole faculty into a violent perspiration and so render the bath unnecessary in their case, yet amongst the general public, we are persuaded, the book will be acceptable in proportion to the intelligence and good sense of the reader. It is dedicated to Mr. Richard Baxter, the great reviver of the hot-air bath amongst the western nations.

Ways and Means: A Story of Life's Struggles. By Clara Lucas Balfour. Authoress of 'Morning Dewdrops,' 'Women of Scripture,' &c. London: W. Tweedie, 337, Strand.

THE name of this new tale by Mrs. Balfour has nothing to recommend it; for the tale itself a good word may be said. It introduces us to Job Tufton in the outset;—a cripple, a cobbler, a man that hath had losses, and a philanthropist. Also to Martin, a boy whom Job has picked out of the mire, and who becomes, by honesty, industry, and other good qualities, master of other men, and husband of the heroine. This last we see at first under very pathetic circumstances, as a child, the sole guard and nurse of a bankrupt, sick, and suicidal medical man, who, however, in the end, after some narrow escapes, recovers health, and retrieves his character. There are sundry other personages in the tale, who conduce to the working of the plot, and in whom the reader learns to take an interest. The great object of Mrs. Balfour in this, as in most of her previous productions, is to guard her readers against the seductive properties of intoxicating drinks.

John Oriel's Start in Life. By Mary Howitt. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 54, Fleet-street; and S. W. Partridge and Co., 9, Paternoster Row.

A PLEASING story of a poor boy's struggles, inculcating incidentally the value of truth and honesty, and trust in God. It is told in Mrs. Howitt's well-known charming manner, and is sent forth in a neat and becoming attire.

Luda: A Lay of the Druids. Hymns, Tales, Essays, and Legends. By John Harris. Author of 'Shakspere's Shrine,' &c. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

MR. HARRIS, who tells us that from his thirteenth until his thirty-seventh year he toiled for his daily bread as a miner, has strong poetic instincts, and has evidently done his best to acquire in his very limited leisure the art of expressing them. For this he deserves praise. 'Luda, a Lay of the Druids,' is a metrical tale in the style of Sir Walter Scott, and is the most pretentious and least valuable part of the collection. 'Caleb Cliff, a dramatic fragment,' has the merit of telling a true tale, and enforcing a temperance moral. The minor poems are the best,—especially those that are expressive of the domestic affections. There are a score or more of hymns of good average merit, and some Cornish legends, and other pieces, which, we hope, will be found more readable in the county of their origin than we find them to be here.

Jack the Conqueror; or, Difficulties Overcome. By C. E. Bowen. Author of 'Dick and his Donkey.' London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 9, Paternoster Row.

A CAPITAL tale, well planned, and no less well told. The Conqueror is a boy devoid, at first, of almost all aids and appliances to culture, except such as are not withheld from the children of barbarous tribes. In spite of extraordinary disadvantages, he bravely works and clears his way; step by step he advances to cleanliness of person and neatness of attire, to a handicraft, to means of education, and finally places himself in a position far above that from which he sprung. How he effects all this, and more, is narrated in detail, in a manner well adapted to interest and please young boys. The book is got up in superior style.

Clever Dogs, Horses, &c., with Anecdotes of other Animals. By Shirley Hibberd. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 9, Paternoster Row.

MR. PARTRIDGE for several years past has contributed to cultivate in youthful minds feelings of admiration and kindliness towards the animal creation, by publishing in handsome bindings, on superior paper, in noble type, and adorned with many admirable productions of the art of the graver, books having that good end in view. He does not fail in the present season to keep up the custom. He has obtained from the facile and vigorous pen of Mr. Shirley Hibberd a capital collection of anecdotes of animals, put together with taste and skill; and many of these are made to speak to the eye still more expressively, by beautifully designed and finely executed engravings. A better present for a boy or girl needs not be looked for.

Sure of Heaven: A Book for the Doubting and Anxious. By Thomas Mills. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

THIS little book is addressed to 'The Doubting and Anxious Christian,' and is intended to convince him that a full assurance of salvation is not only desirable, but attainable, and not only attainable, but necessary. After introductory matter, follows the body of the work, in three parts; the first having to do with the question, 'Can I Be Sure of Heaven?' the second, with 'What is Full Assurance?' and the third with 'How can I Be Sure of Heaven?' The theology of Mr. Mills is of the evangelical school. The book is written in a plain, earnest style.

Italian Church Reformation. An Occasional Paper. Dublin: George Herbert, 117, Grafton-street.

THIS paper is written from an Anglican and American Episcopal Church standpoint. It gives some interesting details of the progress of the Reformation in Italy.

A Few Words on 'Life and Death, as Taught in Scripture.' By A. D. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

Wreck Chart of the British Isles for 1867, Compiled from the Board of Trade Register, showing also the Present Lifeboat Stations.

The Lifeboat. A monthly magazine. Royal National Lifeboat Institution, 14, John-street, Adelphi, London.

Old Jonathan, the District and Parish Helper. A penny monthly. London: W. H. Collingridge, 117, Aldersgate-street.

The Hive: A Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday-school Teachers. Monthly. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Church: A Monthly Penny Magazine. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Scattered Nation. Monthly. Edited by C. Schwartz, D.D.

The Appeal. A (Halfpenny) Magazine for the People. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Church of England Temperance Magazine. A Monthly Journal of Intelligence. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, and S. W. Partridge.

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Meliora.

THE BRITISH COLONIES.

1. *The Colonial Office List for* 1869. By Arthur N. Birch and William Robinson, of the Colonial Office. London Harrison.

2. *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries, during* 1866 *and* 1867. By Charles Wentworth Dilke. 2 vols. London: Macmillan.

3. *Another England. Life, Living, Homes, and Home Makers in Victoria.* By E. Carton Booth, late Inspector of Settlement to the Government of Victoria. London: Virtue.

4. *The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III.*, 1760-1860. By Thomas Erskine May, C.B. (Chapter xvii.) London: Longman.

THERE is nothing more remarkable in political geography than a map of the world on which all the British possessions are tinted with one colour. The contrast between the extent of territory covered by the British Colonies and the narrow limits of the British Isles,—between the small parent kingdom and the innumerable and often enormous off-shoots is really amazing. The first is comprehended within ten degrees of latitude and as many of longitude, while one alone of the second stretches through thirty degrees of latitude and no fewer than eighty degrees of longitude. The extent of our possessions is equalled by their variety. They are found in every sea, on every continent, within every zone. English names are found, indeed, even beyond the limits of habitable existence. It was the English seaman Parry who all but reached the North pole; and the English seaman Ross who designated Mounts Erebus and Terror in that far distant southern land, which is still all but a *terra incognita*. Between

these extremes lie island settlements, republics, dominions, and an empire, all owning the rule of Queen Victoria nominally, however varied their forms of government really. Englishmen rule the colony of Queensland, which has just completed its first decade. Englishmen rule the empire of Hindostan, where they are brought face to face with a literature five hundred years older than the Iliad. England, favoured with one of the most temperate climates in the world, has sent her sons into every kind of climate; has sent them to the frozen waters of Hudson's Bay, to the scarcely varying temperature of New Zealand, to the scorching heat of India. Englishmen find themselves the neighbours of the North-American Indian trapper, of the savage negro on the Western Coast of Africa, of the polished Hindu Brahmin, and the clever Chinese merchant, whose ancestors enjoyed all the arts of civilised life, at the time that the woad-stained Briton offered his sacrifices in the Druids' grove. England's possessions are of every kind, and have every conceivable sort of history. Some were planted for trade, some for the maintenance of naval supremacy. Some were peaceably colonised by adventurous voyagers; some were captured in war, or extorted when making peace. They vary from the barren rock of Gibraltar to the spicy groves and plantations of Ceylon; from the crumbling rabbit-warren of Heligoland to the vast continent of Australia.

Sir Walter Raleigh was the first Englishman who conceived the idea of a great British Colonial empire. The discoveries of Spain fired him with emulation, and something more. It must be confessed that his expeditions will not bear scrutiny. The colonist of Raleigh's time was little better than a pirate. Success alone even in that by no means strict age could justify some of the measures taken by the searchers after El Dorado. Chatham, the other English statesman to whom England is, after Raleigh, most indebted for her colonies, also acquired them mainly by force; but he won them in regular warfare, by the aid of lawfully commissioned ships and enlisted troops; not through the lawless attacks of buccaneers. The first colonists were private companies, which, having obtained royal letters patent, took possession on their own account, appointed their own forms of government and rulers, and were virtually independent of their Sovereign. But this mode of colonisation was absolutely disastrous to the aborigines. So covetous, so cruel were the settlers, that they would have exterminated the original inhabitants speedily and entirely if the Crown had not at last stepped in and declared that these had rights which must be

respected. The colonists themselves found the intervention of the Crown advantageous, since it was a guarantee that they would not be ejected by the next new comer. A colony of a few dozen Englishmen was no match for a French squadron; but the second might be defied with safety when the first knew that the British Government would fight in their behalf. Some of the earliest colonies were indeed founded as a protest against British rule, and these preserved an almost entire independence, until an obstinate King and an unwilling minister made that independence complete. But with these colonies, the United States of to-day, we are not concerned. In the others, in those which still belong to us, not only was the connection with the Crown maintained, but the English constitution was adopted as the type of government. There was a miniature Parliament—with king (represented by the governor), lords (represented by the legislative council), and commons (represented by the legislative assembly). The great distance at which many of the colonies were, made them virtually independent of the Sovereign. They were, in fact, self-governed. In some cases where the Home Government attempted to interfere, resistance, either passive or active, was successfully offered. This was done even in those colonies which were not originally settled by Englishmen, but were obtained by conquest from other nations, and as such were called Crown colonies, and governed more immediately from England. It is only, however, within the last thirty-five years that the present degree of independence has been obtained. For a long period anterior to that, the dominion of the Crown in colonies acquired by conquest or cession was absolute, and the authority of the Colonial Office was exercised directly, by instructions to the governors. In free colonies it was exercised indirectly through the influence of the governors and their councils. Self-government, as Sir Erskine May remarks, was there the theory, but in practice, the governors, aided by dominant interests in the several colonies, continued to govern according to the policy dictated from Downing-street. Just as at home, the Crown, the nobles, and an ascendant party were supreme in the national councils,—so in the colonies, the governors and their official aristocracy were generally able to command the adhesion of the local Legislatures. A more direct interference was often exercised, and constant misunderstandings arose about such subjects as the grants of land to the colonists, the church endowments, official salaries, and patronage. The last was especially the source of strife. Infants in the cradle were appointed to well

paid posts, the duties of which were performed by deputies, and the salaries of which were provided by the colonists, but were for the most part spent out of the colonies. The scandal was intolerable, and the Home Government had to make its first concession by surrendering to the colonial governors all appointments under £200 a year. This was but the beginning of the new *régime*. It soon became necessary to grant representative institutions; and, these obtained, it was speedily found essential that the governor should be a constitutional ruler, and should dismiss his ministers when they no longer had the confidence of the people. In this way the British colonies became even more democratic than the United States. The president's fixed tenure of office and large executive powers, the independent position and authority of the Senate, and the control of the Supreme Court, are checks upon the democracy of Congress. But in our colonies the majority of the democratic assembly, for the time being, are absolute masters of the Colonial Government; they can overcome the resistance of the legislative council, and dictate conditions to the governor, and, indirectly, to the parent State. Not content with this degree of democracy, the South Australian colonies attempted for a time to rule with only one chamber. This attempt was, however, soon abandoned, and these colonies now have three estates, as the mother country has, the Sovereign being represented by the Governor, and the House of Peers by the Legislative Council, with this important difference, that the Council is an elected body.

Another cause which led to the independence of the colonies was the adoption of free trade by Great Britain. It used to be assumed as a politico-economical axiom that this country ought to encourage and develope its colonies by levying heavy duties on the produce of other countries; while that of the colonies came in duty free, or, at least, subject to a much lighter duty. Viewed strictly, this was really nothing less than taxing the people of England so many millions a year in order that Jamaica sugar growers and Canadian timber merchants might grow rich. At the very time that this was being done, English taxpayers were called upon to bear a still further burden by having to provide for the defence of the colonies. The semi-paupers of Bethnal Green and St. Giles's have been taxed to pay the cost of the wars brought about by the land gluttony of New Zealand settlers, and the wages of the troops who have been idling on the heights of Montreal or within the battlements of Quebec. With no power on the part of England to tax the colonies, the colonies have had virtually for many years the power to tax England.

It is true, no doubt, that the colonies, being unwillingly involved in England's quarrels, had a claim upon her for protection. In the 'Trent' business, for instance, the dispute was entirely between the mother country and the United States; and yet the war, if war there had been, would have been fought on Canadian ground. In that case England was bound to send the aid she did. It is by no means certain that she was bound to pay for it. It might fairly have been argued that this exposure to war was one of the conditions of the arrangement by which the colonies remained united to England; England being ready to maintain a standing army at her own cost, available for the defence of the colonies, when they required it, only with the understanding that when engaged in the service of the colonies, the colonies should pay for such troops as they required. This, in fact, is the principle which has been for many years in force in India, which has lately been applied to New Zealand, and which the present Government is extending to other colonies. Moreover, it must be remembered that the condition which we have been considering is exceptional. The rule has been that even when there has been no prospect of war, a large force has been maintained in the colonies at the expense of the English taxpayer. The troops so used have really been acting as police, and the first duty of every community, that of keeping order among its own people, has been imposed upon us by the colonies in their own behalf. It is not surprising that among the first reductions effected by a ministry which had for one of the chief subjects of its programme financial reform, should be the military expenditure of Great Britain upon her colonies. The only cause for surprise is that the present system, so grievously unfair to our own population, should have been endured so long. The marvel is all the greater, because the colonies have shown a disposition to take care of themselves at our expense,—a disposition manifested in the protective duties laid upon British produce. On this point we shall presently have to speak more fully.

According to the 'Colonial Office List' for 1869, which of course does not concern itself with India, 'Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions' are forty-eight in number. Of these, three (Gibraltar, Heligoland, and Malta and Gozo) are in Europe; four (Ceylon, Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and Labuan) are in Asia; eight (Cape of Good Hope, Gambia, Gold Coast, Lagos, Natal, St. Helena, Sierra Leone, and Mauritius) are in Africa; ten (Bermuda, British Columbia, the two Canadas, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, British Guiana, and the Falk-

land Islands' are reckoned as in America; there are sixteen separate colonies in the West Indies; and under the term Australia are included seven colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia, and New Zealand). The population of these colonies is very unequally distributed. Queensland, with an area of 675,920 square miles, more than twice the area of any other colony, has a population of less than 90,000; while Ceylon, with an area of only 24,700 square miles, less than a twenty-fifth of Queensland, has more than two million inhabitants. The two may be taken as extreme instances of the widely different types which prevail in our colonies. Queensland was settled as lately as 1859, has little native population, and is so far an almost purely pastoral colony. Ceylon, on the other hand, came to us by capitulation in 1796, and had been colonised by the Dutch many years prior to that date; its population contains but some 3,000 Europeans (1,500 of them soldiers, and 250 civil officials), to more than two million natives, and the country is covered with plantations and forests. In fact, Queensland is a settlement in the strictest sense of the word, while Ceylon is a colony of the old Roman and present Indian type, where the 'colonists' are, though a mere fraction of the population, rulers over the country and the people.

Extensive as our colonies are, it is only very recently that they have formed a separate department of State. It is true that just a century ago, in 1768, a Secretary of State for the American or Colonial Department was appointed, in addition to the two principal Secretaries of State then existing, but this new office was abolished in 1782, for it was in that year England acknowledged the independence of the late American colonies, and the others scarcely needed a special department of State to administer their affairs. These affairs and those of Ireland were handed over to the Home Secretary. There were only two Secretaries of State for twelve years. In 1794 we were engaged in the unjustifiable war with the French republic, which, as Mr. Cobden has shewn, that State did its utmost to prevent. The struggle was a tremendous one, and it was deemed advisable to appoint a Secretary of State for War. To him, in the year 1801, was assigned the superintendence of the colonies. For rather more than half a century the arrangement continued. By the end of that time the colonies had so increased in importance that they demanded the exclusive attention of the Secretary. This he had been well able to give, because for many years his post as [redacted] of War had been almost a sinecure. But when

England 'drifted' into the Russian war, it was found absolutely necessary to separate the departments; so for the first time since we lost our American colonies a Minister sat in the Cabinet to represent colonial interests alone. It was not till four years after this that our infinitely more populous Indian Empire was thought worthy of the same representation. A European war was needed to place the colonies in their proper relation to Parliament, and it required a terrible mutiny to achieve the same result for India. It is consolatory to think that having during the last seventy-five years appointed successively Secretaries of State for War, the Colonies, and India, our next appointment of that kind will be one which England will hail with unmixed satisfaction, one in which, far more than the others, they will be interested, a Secretary of State for Education.

The Colonial Office consists at the present time of the following officers. There is, first, a Secretary of State, Earl Granville; then there are three under Secretaries of State, one of them, Mr. Monsell, representing the department in Parliament, and liable to removal with a change of Government; the others, Sir Frederic Rogers and Sir Francis Sandford, being permanent. With these four chief executive officers is associated Mr. Thurston Howard, as legal adviser. The next class on the establishment contains the clerks, arranged in five orders of gradation, from Mr. Gordon Gairdner, the chief clerk, who has been in the service for more than forty-five years, and Mr. Henry Taylor, the poet, first of the senior clerks, who entered the service at the same time as Mr. Gairdner, down to the assistant junior clerks. This list comprises twenty-four names. There are other gentlemen who hold special offices; and besides these are supplementary clerks, copyists, &c. The total number of officials, from the Secretary of State to the extra office porter, is sixty-eight. The office is divided into departments. The first, presided over by Mr. Gairdner, deals with the domestic and financial arrangements of the Office Commissioners, charters, warrants, receipts, and payments in the colonies, and miscellaneous business. Mr. Henry Taylor, known to the world as the author of 'Philip van Artevelde,' and many other books in verse and prose, presides over the West Indian department; and Sir George Barrow over the African and Mediterranean department. The others are named the Eastern, the North American and Australian, the Librarian, the Parliamentary, and the Registry departments. These shew the work that is done inside the Colonial Office. But there are many other posts outside the office. Without attempting to enumerate

the host of officials in the colonies themselves, there are eleven Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, fifteen Emigration Officers, and two Crown Agents for the colonies. It should be added that all the Foreign Consuls appointed by other countries in our colonies come under the cognisance of the Colonial Office.

The oldest but one of our present colonies is the Bermudas. It was acquired by settlement in 1609. Admiral Sir George Somers was shipwrecked there on his way to Virginia. On his report, the Virginia Company claimed the islands, and obtained a grant from James I. in 1612. This company sold their right for £2,000 to an association of 120 persons, who became incorporated as the Bermuda Company in 1616. The extensive powers conferred by their charter were so much abused that it was annulled in 1684, and the colony has since then been governed by the Crown. Early in the present century the importance of the Bermudas as a naval station became apparent, and a dock-yard was established there. Convicts were kept at hard labour on the public works, but the colony was never made a penal settlement, nor were convicts allowed to be discharged there. The establishment was broken up in 1863. One act of the colonists deserves special mention. On the abolition of slavery in 1834, the system of temporary apprenticeship of the emancipated slaves, permitted by the Act of Parliament in the slave-holding colonies, was dispensed with, and the slaves there obtained their freedom six years sooner than the time prescribed by the home Legislature. The sixteen West Indies include three sorts of colonies, single islands such as Antigua and Barbadoes, groups of islands such as the Bahamas and the Virgin Islands, and continental territory such as Honduras in Central America. The importance of these colonies is to be estimated by population rather than area. Honduras, which contains 13,500 square miles, has but 25,635 inhabitants, while Jamaica, with less than half the surface, has over 440,000. These colonies were obtained in three ways: by settlement, by capitulation during war, and by cession according to treaties usually made at the end of a war. In the possession of the two latter class of West Indian colonies we have been preceded chiefly by the Spaniards and the French, but also in one instance, Tobago, by the Dutch. As a rule these colonies cannot be described as prosperous. Jamaica, the chief of them, has long been in a languishing state, the taint of slavery being here particularly hard to eradicate. Both the imports and the exports have fallen off of late years, and the public debt has increased until it now stands at over £788,000. The

most prosperous of the islands is Barbadoes, which, with a population only one-third of that in Jamaica, imports nearly, and exports more than, three times as much as Jamaica. African labourers were long ago introduced into Barbadoes, and seem much more energetic and capable of working than the Jamaica negro. Mr. Trollope, in his *West Indies and the Spanish Main*, has spoken most highly of the condition and prospects of the smaller islands, while of the larger he takes a gloomy view.

Our three European settlements came to us in two instances by capture, in one by cession. Gibraltar was conquered in 1704, and has a total population of about 22,000, whereof 6,600 are military. Of late an animated discussion has been maintained in the newspapers as to the cession of this famous stronghold. It is a significant fact that this discussion was raised first in the columns of a Conservative paper, at that time an organ of the Government. But after a good deal of correspondence, the conclusion seems to be that we are not capable of so much magnanimity as would be required in surrendering this trophy of our military prowess. Its use as a military and naval station has been gravely questioned by the most eminent authorities. The cost of maintaining a garrison there may well be taken into account in these days of retrenchment. We know also that the port is used largely by smugglers for evading the Spanish customs' duties. Some writers have been bold enough to appeal to our sense of justice, and to ask how we should view the occupation of Portland by a Spanish force. But the leading journal has denounced 'sentiment' in politics, that is, so far as the sentiment of other nations is concerned. The same journal does not hesitate to appeal to British sentiment by asking how we could suffer so glorious a memorial of our military achievements to pass from us. The time is not yet come, it seems, for 'the golden rule' to be applied to foreign politics, for nations, as well as individuals, to acknowledge the duty of doing unto others as they would that others should do unto them. Malta, though obtained like Gibraltar, by conquest, is not like Gibraltar, a badge of conquest, nor a perpetual source of humiliation and annoyance. Malta was taken in 1800 from the French, who had captured it two years before. The Maltese enjoy free institutions, and are on the whole well satisfied with our rule. A large number of government posts are held by the native inhabitants, and the commerce which we carry on with the island is an important source of wealth. Heligoland, the smallest of Her Majesty's colonial possessions, being but one-eighth of a square mile in area, was ceded to

us in 1814. It is ruled on much the same principle as Malta. There is an English Governor, and the natives are associated with him in the council. The inhabitants formerly depended solely upon fishing, but since 1830 the island has become a fashionable bathing place. The old seafaring population is rapidly decreasing. The Heligolanders now devote themselves to building and letting lodging-houses, and they live during the winter on the harvest they have gained in the summer. The only article of export is the oyster, but the bank has become so deteriorated from irregular fishing that it has been found necessary to give it rest.

Our Asiatic possessions, exclusive of India, contain about one-fourth of our colonial population. Ceylon we have already mentioned. Hong Kong is one of the islands called by the Portuguese discoverers, Ladrones, from the number of thieves found there. It is separated from China by a strait of only half-a-mile in width, and the opposite peninsula has been ceded to us by Lord Elgin's treaty of 1861, and now forms part of the colony. Hong Kong itself was ceded in 1841, and has been a costly possession. It offers one of the finest harbours and some of the most beautiful scenery in the world. The English and other European merchants grow rich here, and their substantial houses make Victoria a very handsome city. The tonnage has increased from 626,536 in 1859 to 2,562,528 in 1867. The Chinese population, which is about sixty times as large as the European and American, shares in the prosperity. Labuan, like Hong Kong, is an island settlement, and is off the coast of Borneo. It was ceded to us in 1846 by the Sultan of Bruni. It is valuable to us chiefly for its coal, which is much used by vessels trading between China and Singapore. The population in 1867 was of whites (including military and convicts) 45, of coloured 3,783, the men being twice as numerous as the women. Though so small a settlement, it has had two distinguished men among its governors, Sir James Brooke and Sir William Napier. The present governor, Mr. Pope Hennessy, is notorious rather than distinguished. He receives the sufficient allowance of £1,100 a year for ruling a population equal to that of an English village. This same population rejoices also in a bishop. The Straits Settlements, consisting of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, were transferred from the control of the Indian Government to that of the Colonial Office, April 1, 1867. Singapore is an island at the southern extremity of the Malayan peninsula. Penang is a smaller island off the west coast of the same peninsula. Malacca is on that coast, and consists of a strip of territory 42 miles in

length and from 8 to 24½ in breadth. This last is one of the oldest European settlements in the East, having been taken by the Portuguese in 1511; since then it has been held at intervals by the Dutch and ourselves until 1824, when it was finally ceded to us. Penang was ceded by the rajah of the neighbouring territory in 1786. Singapore was taken possession of by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819. Formerly these settlements used to be the great entrepôts of commerce in that region. There was subsequently a great decline, yet even now the imports and the exports are each nearly ten millions annually.

Queen Victoria's subjects on the continent of Africa are about 1,200,000 in number. The Cape of Good Hope has nearly half-a-million of these. This name, originally applied to a small promontory, now includes a district comprising 188,286 square miles. The colony has been held in turn by the Portuguese (its discoverers), the Dutch, and ourselves. After having been recaptured and restored to us, it was finally ceded to us by the treaty of 1815. The colony is ruled after the English pattern, and, since the Kaffir wars were stopped, has been fairly prosperous. The adjacent colony of Natal has yet to be developed. Recently, attention has been directed to it by the report of gold discoveries. It does not seem, however, that these are of any importance. Natal is a solitary instance of a colony established by Great Britain without use to the Imperial funds. In its early days it had a loan of £10,000, which has long since been repaid. It was taken possession of about thirty years ago, in consequence of the frequent collisions which occurred between the Cape Government and the Dutch Boers. The Mauritius colony comprises the island of Mauritius (so called after Prince Maurice by the first Dutch settlers), the island of Rodriguez, the Seychelles, and a few other islands. This colony is scattered over a wide area; the Seychelles being 940 miles distant from Mauritius. The last mentioned island was captured by us in 1810, and our possession of it was ratified by the treaty of 1814. Mauritius has obtained a sad prominence lately by reason of the fever, which has destroyed a large portion of the population, and which even now is scourging the island. The colony is important to us, as it forms a port of refuge to our ships trading from India to England round the Cape. The population is about 327,000. Our oldest African settlement is Gambia, which came into our possession in 1631. Gambia, Sierra Leone, Cape Coast Castle, and Lagos constitute the group called the West-African settlements. Sierra Leone is the

most important of the four settlements, and is the central seat of government. Each settlement has a legislative council. Originally, the older settlements were established to carry on the slave trade. They are now held to prevent that trade. Under these circumstances it is the more worthy of mention that the civil war in the United States, which led to the abolition of slavery there, has led to the increased cultivation of cotton in the West-African settlements. Besides cotton we derive from them ivory and palm-oil. St. Helena has the same history as most of our African colonies. It was discovered by the Portuguese, colonised by the Dutch, and taken from them by ourselves. It is little more than a port of call, where vessels may water and take fresh provisions, on their way between England and India. We need scarcely remind our readers that it derives its chief celebrity from the fact that it was for six years the prison of the first Napoleon.

Our American possessions are the largest in the world. They stretch from the borders of the United States far into the frigid zone. It is impossible to form any approximate idea of the area. The greater portion, however, is wholly uninhabitable, and even less useful to us than Alaska was to the Russians. The total number of our American subjects is under four millions, albeit they are spread over the whole land from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The oldest of all our colonies is Newfoundland. It is the only one which dates back to the sixteenth century. Raleigh attempted to colonise it, but in vain. Lord Baltimore was more successful. In spite of its age, it was the last of our North American colonies to receive a responsible government. This was granted so recently as 1855. During the last two years an attempt has been made to induce Newfoundland to enter the confederation. This and the adjacent Prince Edward Island still held aloof until a month ago. The papers of March 8th announced that Newfoundland had decided by a large majority to join the confederation, and no doubt Prince Edward Island will adopt the same course. Up to a very late period they were encouraged in their resistance by Nova Scotia; but a post having been found for the clever leader of the Nova Scotian opponents to confederation, he has become converted to the scheme, the opposition has collapsed, and it is now probable that all the British provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Island of Newfoundland to Vancouver Island, will form one enormous association, with power to use the troops of any one in the defence of any other province, and with power to combine for the construction of great public works in

which all are interested. The scheme is at least grand; whether it will prove capable of realisation is doubted by many persons. For instance, it is doubted if the sparsely populated British colonies could successfully defend themselves against an invasion by the United States, and whether they will ever do more than talk of that project, long dreamt of, a line of railway which would unite the two oceans and cause the trade of China to pass through British America on its way to England. On the other hand, their neighbours are realising their own project with the most marvellous rapidity. The railway which will join New York and San Francisco is being laid down at the rate of three or four miles a day, and will be finished in less than a year from this time. There are other considerations which render it questionable if our American colonies would not be more prosperously ruled from Washington than from London. Hitherto the Canadians, especially, have shewn themselves greatly averse from such a transference of sovereignty. They have professed to fear the burden of taxation which would be laid upon them by annexation. On the other hand, it is likely that they would receive more than an equivalent in the stimulus which would be given to trade and public works. England has done nothing for these colonies but keep troops there; and when these are withdrawn we must expect to see a considerable diminution of the 'loyalty' which has hitherto been expressive enough in words, but in deeds has shewn itself by the taxing of English imports. It is a notable circumstance, one which certainly does not speak much for the prosperity of our American colonies, that by far the larger number of British emigrants to America choose the United States, with their heavy taxation, in preference to the 'dominion of Canada,' with its light taxation and close relationship to the mother country.

We come to the last and most important group of colonies, those which we may, for the sake of convenience, compress under the name Australasia, a term, however, unknown at the antipodes, and not used in the Colonial Office List. There are seven of these colonies, with a total population of 1,600,000. The oldest is New South Wales, on the eastern coast of the Australian continent. It was discovered by the Spaniards in 1609, explored by Captain Cook in 1770, and settled in 1789. Until 1851 it included the district then separated from it and formed into a separate colony under the name of Victoria. Tasmania, discovered in 1642 by Tasman, was made an English penal settlement in 1803, and continued so until 1853. Western Australia was settled in 1829, and has been as unsuccessful as Victoria has been successful.

With a fine climate and fertile soil, its population, after forty years' colonisation, is under 19,000, while that of Victoria is about 630,000. South Australia was settled in 1836 by emigrants sent out under the auspices of the South Australian Colonisation Association. The lands were granted by the Government to this company on the conditions that they should be sold at not less than £1 per acre, and that the revenue arising from the sale should be appropriated to the emigration of agricultural labourers. In the last nine years the combined exports and imports of this colony have doubled. New Zealand was explored by Tasman and Cook, and was settled in 1814, but no colonisation took place until 1839. The combined exports and imports have increased from £801,000 in 1853 to about £10,000,000 in 1867.

Concerning these antipodean colonies two books of great interest have lately been published. One is, 'Greater Britain,' by Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke, who in 1866 and 1867 supplemented his university education by a tour round the world. The other is, 'Another England,' by Mr. Carton Booth, who for some years held a post under the Victoria Government. Mr. Dilke's volumes are one of the best books of travel published for many years, and they shew an acuteness of observation and originality of thought not often found in a man on the sunny side of five and twenty. Traversing first the North American continent, then touching the Mexican coast, he travelled by the Panama route to New Zealand. His estimate of this 'England of the Pacific,' as it has been called, is not very high. He doubts greatly if the title will ever be fairly earned. At present there is great rivalry between the different provinces, and even between the different towns. He found a want of energy on the part of the colonists. Business that would be transacted in England in a day, takes a week at the antipodes. The Maori struggle, again and again renewed, has been a great drain upon the resources of the colony, and is likely to continue so for some time longer, according to present appearances. But Mr. Dilke has no doubt that the native race will, as in most other instances, give place to the colonists. He was especially struck by the absence of anything like solidarity between New Zealand and the Australian colonies. He says:—

'Australasia is a term much used at home to express the whole of our antipodean possessions; in the colonies themselves the name is almost unknown, or, if used, is meant to embrace Australia and Tasmania, not Australia and New Zealand. The only reference to New Zealand, except in the way of foreign news, that I ever found in an Australian newspaper was a congratulatory paragraph on the amount of the New Zealand debt; the only allusion to Australia that I detected in the

Wellington *Independent* was in a glance at the future of the colony, in which the editor predicted the advent of a time when New Zealand would be a naval nation, and her fleet engaged in bombarding Melbourne, or levying contributions upon Sydney.'—Greater Britain, vol. ii., p. 4.

Mr. Dilke goes on to shew that, politically, there is little in common between the two countries, for, while New South Wales and Victoria are mainly democratic, New Zealand is essentially aristocratic. Moreover, the distance between them is too great for them to be considered as, in any sense, one. New Zealand and Australia are as completely separated from each other as Great Britain and Massachusetts. The distance between the two nearest points of land is greater than that between London and Algiers. From Wellington to Sydney, the nearest port, is as far as from Manchester to Iceland, or from Africa to Brazil. The sea that lies between the two countries is not like the Central or North Pacific, bridged with islands, ruffled with trade winds, or overspread with a calm that permits the presence of light-draught paddle steamers. It is cold, bottomless, without islands, torn by antarctic currents, swept by polar gales, and traversed in all weathers by a mountainous swell. In climate, ethnography, soil, and physical configuration, the countries are entirely unlike. Nor is it only the native races that differ. The Australian colonist is all energy, in spite of his tropical climate. The New Zealand colonist is all torpor, in spite of his equable climate. After this it seems somewhat contradictory to say, as Mr. Dilke does, that while the second is physically the perfection of the English race, 'burly, bearded, strapping,' the first gives greater promise of intellect, and claims to be the ancient Greek revived. Torpor and indolence are not usually the accompaniments of physical strength. If there are differences thus important between the Australians and the New Zealanders, there are others scarcely less so between the various sections of the Australians. The history of the colonies explains these differences. New South Wales, as we have seen, was born in 1788, Queensland in 1859, and they stand side by side upon the map and have a common frontier of 700 miles. The New South Welsh cast jealous glances towards the more recently founded States. It was long before they would consent to the separation of Victoria from their colony, and for some time the gold diggings of Bendigo and Ballarat had to pay tribute for the benefit of the townsfolk of Sydney. Since the separation, Victoria has become the most flourishing colony in the world. The progress of Queensland is not likely to be so rapid. The climate is different, the products are different. Victoria exports gold, Queensland spices.

Victoria is likely to become a country of large cities. Queensland is not likely to be anything else than a pastoral and agricultural country. Queensland is exposed to a special danger from the fact that in the sugar and cotton culture coloured labour is now almost exclusively employed, with the usual effect of degrading field-work in the eyes of European settlers and of fixing upon the country an aristocratic type of society. Mr. Dilke prophesies that if the neighbouring colonies do not interfere to prevent the importation of dark-skinned labourers into Queensland, as they interfered to prevent the importation of criminals into West Australia, a few years will see Queensland a wealthy cotton and sugar growing country, with all the vices of a slave-holding government, though without the name of slavery. The planters will govern Queensland and render union with the free colonies impossible, unless great gold discoveries take place to save the country to Australia. He adds :—

'Such is the present rapidity of the growth and rise to power of tropical Queensland, such the apparent poverty of New South Wales, that were the question merely one between the Sydney wheat growers and the cotton planters of Brisbane and Rockhampton, the sub-tropical settlers would be as certain of the foremost position in any future confederation as they were in America when the struggle lay only between the Carolinas and New England. As it is, just as America was first saved by the coal of Pennsylvania and Ohio, Australia will be saved by the coal of New South Wales. Queensland possesses some small stores of coal, but the vast preponderance of acreage of the great power of the future lies in New South Wales.'—Greater Britain, vol. ii., p. 17.

Coal is far better than gold. Gold will produce the more rapid results, but coal the more lasting. Moreover, the gold discoveries of Victoria, wonderfully as they have changed the face of that colony, were attended with a terrible amount of misery and an appalling amount of wickedness. The first effect of these discoveries was the invasion of the colony by hundreds of ticket-of-leave and conditionally-pardoned men. They numbered in their ranks (says Mr. Booth) men who had committed every mentionable and unmentionable crime with which the earth has been cursed. They were a terror to all around. Murders were of nightly occurrence. The police were powerless, were indeed hopelessly corrupt, and connived at the crimes which they were sent to repress. Government officials were equally depraved. The successful diggers returning to Melbourne, made that city the high place of debauchery. Other evils followed. The sudden immigration of so many persons led to rash and speculative over-trading. English merchants were told that they might send out anything to Australia, and following that advice they exported so largely that their goods became unsaleable. The fame of the

gold diggings allured emigrants as little wanted as the goods. Those who could do nothing at home went out with the idea that gold was to be picked up by merely stooping for it. Too often, useless men who had never handled pick or spade, broken down doctors, briefless barristers, unsuccessful literary men, their wives and children with them, added to the population of paupers thus suddenly concentrated in Melbourne. The Government did what it could for them, erected tents for them to take shelter in, and thus while the splendid city of Melbourne was rising day by day with the rapidity of a fairy town, though with none of its unsubstantiality—while Melbourne shopkeepers were becoming merchants, Melbourne merchants princes—there was, close by, 'Canvas Town,' a town of tents, containing as much hopeless poverty as was to be found in any part of the world. Even those who prospered gave themselves up to dissipation, and four out of every five children died before reaching two years of age. At length the crisis came. The mad rush of 1853 was followed by the terrible collapse of 1854. A letter written in the December of that year by a Melbourne merchant stated that everybody had either failed, or was about to do so. 'Reckless trading and bad government,' says Mr. Booth, 'had in one short twelve-month reduced the country from a state of unexampled prosperity and riches to one of insolvency and rebellion.' A rebellion was caused by the license fees demanded by the Government from all diggers. This demand led to an armed conflict between the diggers and the military sent out to enforce payment. The result was that the Government had to give way. All the time that the old colonists and the new immigrants were thus hasting to be rich, and in many cases drowning themselves in perdition, one of the most important sources of wealth was culpably neglected. The land was in the hands of a few squatters. They held nearly the whole of the best soil of the colony, and paid for it a rental of only £20,000. In 1867 one-third of the lands produced a revenue of £175,000. The squatters profited little by their covetousness. Insisting that the soil was good only for pastoral purposes, they occupied enormous tracts with a few sheep and cattle. It was in 1860 that the colonial democracy of Melbourne first shewed a due appreciation of this state of things. In Victoria, and also in New South Wales, act after act was passed to encourage agricultural settlers on freehold tenure, at the expense of the pastoral squatters. In the latter colony, the settler may buy a patch of land in the midst of a squatter's run if he commences to cultivate it at once. The squatting license system ends entirely

this year; consequently, amid much grumbling, the squatters have been purchasing the land which they once annexed. The first result of the new system has been that Victoria has ceased to be a wheat-importing, and has become a wheat-exporting country. Another result is, that the term squatter is passing through a rapid change of meaning. In 1837 the squatters were defined by the Chief Justice of New South Wales as people occupying lands without legal title, and subject to a fine on discovery. They were described as living by bartering rum with convicts for stolen goods, and as being themselves invariably convicts or expirees. 'Escaping suddenly from these low associations,' says Mr. Dilke, 'the word came to be applied to graziers who drove their flocks into an unsettled interior, and thence to those of them who received leases from the Crown of pastural land.' The squatter is now the nabob of Melbourne and Sydney; the inexhaustible mine of wealth. He patronises balls, promenades, concerts, and flower-shows; he is the mainstay of the great clubs, the joy of the shopkeepers, the good angel of the hotels; without him the opera could not be kept up, and the jockey club would die a natural death. His period of all but supreme sovereignty is come to an end; yet he will no doubt continue to make squatting in the modern meaning of the word as profitable as it was in its original sense.

There is one subject in which we are no less interested than the colonists. It is one which is likely to become more prominent every year, and to lead to important results. We mean protection. We have already seen that protection in one form was the means originally adopted to foster our colonies, and attach them to the mother country. Protection in another form is doing more than anything else to detach them. Of old we taxed the imports of other nations heavily, in order that colonial imports might have the advantage over them in our markets. That system has long been abandoned, on the ground that we have no right to tax the English multitude for the sake of the few colonists. It has been abandoned also in the full belief that a perfectly free market is best for consumers and producers; yet the colonists have lately taken to laying almost prohibitory duties on British imports. Their return for the help we give them in the shape of British troops, is the discouragement of British trade to their ports. And this is done not by one colony only. It is done in Canada as well as in Australia. It is done, too, in a country which of all others we might have expected to find the home of free trade, the United States. It is done not ignorantly, not through any lingering belief in

the old politico-economical fallacy that the producer, not the consumer, pays the duty; the Englishman, not the colonist. How has this change come about? How is it that in these days, when the doctrine of free trade is taken by us so entirely for granted that we have not the patience to argue the matter, the colonists, who are every bit as enlightened as ourselves, are eager Protectionists? Mr. Dilke tells us that in the Lower House of the Victorian Legislature the free traders formed but three-elevenths of the assembly, and in New South Wales the pastoral tenants are the only supporters of free trade. He tells us that he found colonial shopkeepers exhorting, by advertisement, their customers to 'shew their patriotism, and buy colonial goods;' and that whereas in England unscrupulous traders write, 'From Paris,' over their English goods, in Victoria they write, 'Warranted colonial made,' over imported wares; for many will pay a higher price for a colonial product, confessedly not more than equal to foreign, such is the rage for native industry; such the hatred of the 'antipodean doctrine of free trade.' Shew to the colonists that their doctrine involves them in pecuniary loss, and they will admit it; but they are ready to incur it in order that they may help to build up the colony. Moreover, they believe that though there is a loss on that and similar transactions, protection brings them a profit in the long run. It checks immigration. Wages being 5s. a day in Victoria and 3s. in England, workmen would naturally flock into Victoria until wages fall to 3s. 6d. or 4s. Here comes in protection, and by increasing the cost of living in Victoria, and cutting into the Australian handicraftsman's margin of luxuries, diminishes the temptation to immigration, and, consequently, the influx itself. It might be argued that there is small advantage in maintaining high wages, if money will purchase fewer commodities than in England. In Western America the farmers, who in most countries are the protectionists, while in Australia they are the free traders, admit that free trade would lead to the more rapid populating of their country; but that, they say, is just what they would prevent. They would rather pay a heavy tax in the increased price of everything they consume, or in the greater cost of labour, than see their country denationalised by a rush of Irish or Germans, or their political institutions endangered by a still further increase in the size and power of New York. One old American remarked to Mr. Dilke, 'I don't want the Americans in 1900 to be two hundred millions, but I want them to be happy.' Without protection, it is contended, the United States would have no

manufactures, would be a purely agricultural country in the interior, with a few large cities on the coast. Moreover, the protectionists wish to be defended from the pauper labour of England. They look forward to the time when, having passed through the state of pupilage, their manufactures will no longer require protection—when, local centres being everywhere established, customs will be abolished on every side, and mankind form one family. Time passes quickly in the United States, at all events, and though in 1866 Mr. Dilke found so little variety of opinion as to the advantages of protection, there has within the last few months commenced a strong reaction against it, thanks to the vigorous exposure of the mischief and loss it has occasioned, made by that eminent American financier, Mr. Wells.

We have but very little space for what a preacher would call the practical application of these remarks. The colonies, from the Englishman's point of view, are simply so many countries whither he may betake himself to make the fortune which he has failed to make at home. Or, if he take a larger or less selfish view of them, they are countries on which to discharge the pauper population of England. To a certain extent this latter theory is true. Malthus said truly enough forty-two years ago that 'a comparatively small excess of labour occasions a deterioration of the condition of the labourers in the particular district where such excess exists; or, supposing the excess to be general, the consequences are equally general; and so is the consequent improvement of the whole body of labourers by the abstraction and removal of any superabundant portion.' Mr. Mill has recently declared that 'the exportation of labourers and capital from a place where the productive power is less to a place where it is greater, increases by so much the aggregate produce of the labour and the capital of the world. It adds to the joint wealth of the old and of the new country what amounts in a short period to many times the cost of the transport. There needs be no hesitation in affirming that colonisation in the present state of the world is the very best affair of business in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can possibly engage.' Both Mill and Malthus have well spoken; but their dicta must be accepted with a qualification. Surplus labour can be best disposed of by taking it to the country where it is wanted; but then it must *be* labour. At the present time we are falling into the serious mistake of supposing that pauperism is in itself a qualification for emigration; in other words, that failure in the old country is a guarantee of success in the new. The emigration-aid societies in the East End of London,

excellently well-intentioned though they be, are likely to give rise to much disappointment and sorrow, unless they bear in mind that it is more difficult for the idle or the incapable man to live in the colonies than in England, simply because prices are higher in the first than in the second. The blind, unreasoning longing to get rid of our paupers through emigration, will give rise to serious consequences, such as resulted fifteen years ago from the longing to get rid of our criminals. When the Home Government disallowed the Australian 'Convict Prevention Bill,' large sums of money were subscribed in Victoria for the purpose of paying the passage of convicted Australian bushrangers and convicts to England, so that the mother country might have a taste of the evils she was inflicting upon her daughters. It is to be hoped that no failure on our part to deal with the great problem of pauperism will force Victorians to transmit to us cargoes of Australian beggars. The selection of English emigrants must be made with judgment. Mere poverty must not be considered a qualification. There must be an honest desire to win a livelihood and a certain amount of capacity to win it, if emigration is not to be as lamentable a mistake as transportation. We sincerely rejoice to see an announcement made while these pages are in course of writing that the Victorian Government has instructed its agent in this country to select a large number of suitable emigrants, who are to be sent to Melbourne as promptly as possible. The selection being made by a responsible representation of the colonists, any blunders that may be made cannot be charged upon us. There is every reason to believe that they will be altogether prevented.

BYEWAYS OF ENGLISH.

BYRON speaks of 'Words which are things;' they are at least the instruments and signs of that knowledge which is power. Our ideas and our wants, our personal and national history, our morals and manners, our prevalent forms of thought, and our predominant associations of ideas are all blended with and intertextured in our words. Words contain within them many important and valuable lessons, and to a few of these, gathered in the by-ways of English speech, we would now direct the attention of our readers.

Words are diaphanous, they show the mental state of the

speaker as well as convey a certain meaning in themselves. Pure speech is in itself no slight evidence of a pure spirit, and a slangy style naturally suggests that its employer leads a slangy life. The use of language is very much influenced by the activity of the associative faculties, and he who in ordinary discourse makes much use of the lexicon of 'fast' life as expressive of his common sentiments, feelings, and ongoings, suggests that the associations which rule in his habitual thoughts and inner life are of a 'fast' sort, or are, at least, allowed to range unguardedly in that direction. Language thus becomes a sort of barometer of individual and social life, showing the rise and fall of the nature of man towards good and evil—an outward indicator of that which is most inward and concealed. Hence, the moral value of an examination of the lower strata of conversational speech. It has been truly said that 'some very curious results are deducible from such a process, and we doubt whether it is possible to find a department of literature so new or so promising as regards the information which it is likely to afford us, not only on obsolete facts and conceptions, but on the actual world around us, on which, until we know its secret language, our judgment is at fault, and our speculations are fallacious.' Some of these results we hope to point out in the progress of our paper.

George Chapman, who not only glorified our English tongue with a version of Homer, but added to the poetry of Elizabeth's time (and of all time) many beautiful pieces and several semi-classical dramas, and was moreover 'a person of most reverend aspect, religious, and temperate, qualities rarely meeting in a poet,' saw the evil of using euphemistical terms. 'Honesty,' he says, in *The Widow's Tears* (I. i.), 'is stripped out of his true substance into verbal nicety. Common sinners startle at common terms, and they must, by whole mountains, swallow down the deeds of darkness; a poor mite of a familiar word makes them turn up the white o' the eye.' 'Language is the amber in which a thousand precious and subtle thoughts have been safely embedded and preserved. It has arrested ten thousand lightning flashes of genius, which, unless thus fixed and arrested, might have been as bright, but would also have been as quickly passing and perishing as the lightning.' But it is also, it is sad to state, most truly likenable to a precious stone in which there are many flaws imbedded, and if it has preserved and immortalised 'to a life beyond life' much that is good and brilliant, it has also caught up and absorbed much that is tainted with evil, and so has given to what might otherwise have been

fleeting and evanescent, a perpetuity of influence which such evil would not otherwise have had, had it been, even though thought, unspoken.

There is an art of words by which men represent 'that which is good in the likeness of evil, and evil in the likeness of good, and augment or diminish the apparent greatness of good and evil.' Hence, 'words are wise men's counters, they do but reckon by them, but they are the money of fools.' The former know that their value is only representative, and requires comparison with the truth of things; the latter accept them as intrinsically valuable, and as giving in themselves the measure of truth. 'The use of words,' says the philosopher of Malmesbury, 'is to register to ourselves and make manifest to others the thoughts and conceptions of our minds;' 'for it is evident enough that words have no effect but on those that understand them, and then they have no other use but to signify the intentions or passions of them that speak, and thereby produce hope, fear, or other passions or conceptions in the hearer.' Hence, 'it is custom that gives words their force,' registrative force to ourselves and representative force to others. To know the customs of men in regard to their use of language is to have a gauge of their moral nature, for 'out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh.' The language of literature is, in general, guarded and chosen, and is commonly selected for a given purpose; but the language of ordinary conversation, as it is for the most part extempore and demands sudden utterance, supplies a far more correct index of the underlying moral nature of man than the language of letters. Conversational speech shows the most usual and readiest associations of our thoughts, and the turns we give to the topics of talk not unfrequently reveal the hidden operations of the mind to acute observers. 'The secret thoughts of a man run over all things holy, profane, clean, obscene, grave, and light,' and these thoughts must register themselves with more or less accuracy and frequency in words. The more frequently and readily our thoughts and our words get associated, the greater the aptitude of these thoughts to suggest these words, and of these words to suggest these thoughts interchangeably, and thus our handiest vocabulary will be that which expresses our most habitual, though our most anxiously hidden thoughts. The train of thought in the latencies of mind is unguided and undesigned or aimless, unless in those who have learned self-control. In the hours of wayward unguardedness the ideas most frequently before the mind are those suggested by our prevailing passions, dispositions, and desires, and the words

in which they register themselves, or with which they connect themselves, must become those most readily available when we wish, or are called upon to speak, and, therefore, must reveal the inner operations of our mental nature. Hence, morally, Buffon was not far off the mark when he said, 'the style is the man.'

So deeply ingrained and so prevalent is the habit of perverting language and employing it in other than those honest and forthright ways in which it ought to be used, that special names have been appropriated to the different forms it takes, and in some instances the rhetoricians have incorporated the proper management of this art of speech in their treatment of tropes and figures, and have devoted no little care to the explanation of the means of so employing words as to heighten their effectiveness according to the purpose the speaker or writer may have in view. Some of those methods of concealing the precise meaning of the speaker, or of shutting off the attention of the spirit from the moral considerations which ought to arise in men's minds when considering things and actions, have scarcely attained a place in literature, and, indeed, are sedulously kept out of books, parlour conversation, and general discourse as vulgar and unseemly. To two classes of each of these we intend to devote a little attention, in order that we may endeavour to derive from the facts and instances brought under notice some lessons of value regarding the moral relations of the language of men to the great questions of social science which are engaging the attention of the earnest men of this age anxious to promote and encourage personal reform and moral improvement.

The two literary forms of speech are named respectively Euphuism and Euphemism, and the two unliterary forms are Cant and Slang. On each of these we shall venture to make a few brief remarks.

Euphuism is a word with a history. Though originally derived from the Greek Εὐφυής, which signifies well-shaped, docile, or witty, we owe its introduction and use to an author whose fame has almost fallen out of memory except among literary antiquarians, and to a work which, first published in 1579, about the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, 'passed through ten editions in fifty-six years, and then was not reprinted' till October, 1868, when it was issued as one of the excellent series of 'English Reprints,' edited by Edward Arber, in a cheap, handy form. That author was 'the witty, comical, facetiously-quick, and unparalleled John Lyly,' Master of Arts of both Universities, and the book was 'Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit;' a very clever work upon

friendship, love, education, and religion. When Thomas Watson, in 1582, published his 'Passionate Century of Love,' it had prefixed to it a letter from 'John Lyly to the author, his friend.' Blount affirms that 'our nation are in his debt for a new English, which he taught them. Euphues and his England begun first that language; all our ladies were then his scholars, and that beauty in a court which could not parley *Euphuisme*, was as little regarded as she which now there speaks not French.' For a century and a-half, at least, Euphues was a name to which not one in twenty thousand could attach a clear idea. All that most people know about its author and his work is probably derived from Sir Walter Scott's vile travesty of euphuism in the person of Sir Shafton Percie, whose insipid nonsense disfigures the 'Monastery;' or from stray panegyrics or denunciations penned, it may be, by those who know only at second-hand that which they praise or condemn. They may, perhaps, have further heard that the alliterative and florid nonsense in 'Love's Labour Lost' is designed to ridicule the alliterative and florid Lyly. But all these facts and much more put together will not give so clear an idea of euphuism as the perusal of a few pages of the veritable 'Euphues.' Lyly was imitated by Greene, Lodge, and Nash. Ben Jonson caricatured his style in Fastidious Brisk, one of the characters in 'Every Man in his Humour.' Webbe, Meres, and Drayton praised him, and Shakespeare himself owes not a little of his grace of speech to this stylist of Elizabeth's time. Lyly and Ascham much improved the English tongue, and Wilson's *Arte of Rhetoricke* directed attention to artistic writing. Lyly was also a dramatist of some popularity, although in these as well as in his prose writings the affected sententiousness, the forced antithesis, and the strained smartness read strange to modern ears. Our readers may perhaps like a specimen or two, culled to show that he could speak wise words :—

'Canst thou then be so unwise to swallow the bait which will breed thy bane? to swill the drink that will expire thy date?' P. 77.

'Doth not wine, if it be immoderately taken, kill the stomach, inflame the liver, mischiefe the dronken?' P. 100.

'Learn from Romulus to abstaine from wine, be it never so delicate.' P. 110.

'Lycurgus set it down for a lawe that where men were commonly dronken the vynes shoulde bee destroyed.' P. 422.

'Let us not omitte that which our auncestours were wont precisely to keepe, that men should either be sober or drinke lyttle wine, that would have sober and discreet children, for that the fact of the father would be figured in the infant. Diogenes, therefore, seeing a young man either overcome with drinke or bereaved of his wittes, cryed with a loude voice, Youth, youth, thou hadst a dronken father.' P. 126.

'If the father counsaile the sonne to refrayne wine as most unwholesome, and

drinke himselfe immoderately, doth hee not as well reprove his owne folly as rebuke his sonnes?' P. 151. 'When the father exhorteth the sonne to sobrietie, the flatterer provoketh him to wine; when the father warneth them to continence, the flatterer allureth him to lust; when the father admonisheth them to thrifte, the flatterer haleth them to prodigalytie; when the father incourageth them to labour, the flatterer layeth a cushion under his elbowe, to sleepe, bidding him to eate, drinke, and to be merry, for that the lyfe of man is soon gone, and but as a short shaddowe, and seeing that we have but a while to lyve, who would lyve like a servaunt? They say that now their fathers be olde and doate through age like Saturnius.' P. 149. 'For you well know, that wine to a young blood, is in the spring time flax to fire, and at all times either unwholesome or superfluous and so dangerous that more perish by a surfeit than the sword. I have heardo wise clearkes say, that Galen being asked what dyet he used that he lyved so long, answered: I have dronke no wine, I have touched no woman, I have kept myselfe warme.' P. 275. 'If thou desire to be olde, beware of too much wine.' 'Long quaffing maketh a short lyfe.' P. 229. 'Let not every inne and alehouse in Athens be as it were your chamber, frequent not those ordinary tables where either for the desire of delicate eates or the meetinge of youthefull companions yee both spend your money vainely and your time idly, imitate him in lyfe whome ye seeme to honour for his learning—Aristotle—who was never seen in the company of those that idly bestowed their time.' P. 152.

Euphemism means, literally, speaking well, having good sense enough to employ words of fair omen, and to avoid unlucky expressions; but in a literary sense it signifies a way of describing an offensive thing by an inoffensive expression. Euphemism is a delicate way of saying what might otherwise offend, and is employed to conceal the precise meaning when anything disagreeable requires to be spoken of: *e.g.*, a face bloated by intemperance is thus delicately hinted at by Akenside:—

> 'I see Anacreon laugh and sing;
> His silver tresses breathe perfume;
> His cheeks display a second spring
> Of roses taught by wine to bloom.'

That was a very good instance of euphemism which an abstinent athlete gave utterance to on accepting a silver cup as a reward for his being swift of foot:—'Gentlemen, I have won this cup by the use of my legs; I trust I may never lose the use of my legs by the use of this cup.' 'To go out for a day's enjoyment' is often a euphemism for 'going on the spree,' or (to speak plainly) to go to get drunk. 'Festive season,' 'Saint Monday,' 'merrymaking,' &c., are often mere euphemisms for 'occasions for drinking.'

Slang is that evanescent vulgar language, ever changing with fashion and taste, which has principally come into vogue during the last seventy or eighty years, spoken by persons in every grade of life, rich and poor, honest and dishonest. It includes 'those burlesque phrases, quaint allusions, and nicknames for persons, things, and places, which from long uninterrupted usage are made classical by prescription.' It is indulged in from a desire to appear familiar with life, gaiety,

town humour, and with the transient nicknames and street jokes of the day. 'Slang' is defined by the compiler of Hotten's Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words, as being 'the language of street humour, of fast, high, and low life.' 'In its usual signification,' says a writer in *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, 'it denotes a burlesque style of conversational language, originally found only among the vulgar, but now more or less in use in this country among persons in a variety of walks in life.' 'Slang consists in part of new words, and in part of words of the legitimate language invested with new meanings.' 'Their derivations are often indirect, arising out of fanciful allusions and metaphors, which soon pass out of the public mind, the word remaining, while its origin is forgotten.' This is a field in which men of every age, religion, country, class, and capacity have exercised their inventiveness, where their caprices have had full swing, and in which the results are numerous. The greater part of those terms in which men speak of intoxication constitute slang, as when we designate those who are drunk as 'muzzy,' 'queer,' 'tight,' 'elevated,' 'heated in imagination,' or, as 'not having taken stock of their available condition.' They are said to be 'edged,' 'fringed,' 'over the border,' 'overladen,' 'encumbered,' 'embarrassed,' 'to have all the steam on,' 'to have oiled the engine,' and 'all the machinery a-going,' to be 'off the square,' and 'caught in a shower,' to have 'lost the ticket,' and to be 'off the cue.' So far has this gone that it has been affirmed that to express the idea of drunkenness, metaphor has been nearly exhausted. There are already more than two hundred slang terms for intoxication. The latest of these occurs in a recent New Orleans paper. A reporter, speaking of the arrest of a woman who was 'raising a row' in the streets, says that 'she was deeply agitated with benzine.' Another new colloquialism for 'taking an insidiator' is said to be due to the Tammany Convention, namely, 'retiring for consultation.' Since the volunteer movement commenced, men do not get 'submerged,' or 'engrossed,' or 'write on the margin' so frequently; they 'file off,' 'go to head quarters,' and 'forsake the enfilade;' a drinker soon begins to 'carry an ensign' when he has been engaged for a little in 'shooting right a-head.' Engineering, from its connection with drainage, has lately got into vogue in some circles, and some of those who are fond of porter fresh from the mug profess themselves pewterers. Plumbers and glass-blowers, doctors and cobblers, councillors and bottleholders, are other words commonly employed in semi-jocular talk for drinkers of different sorts; while 'to apprehend

Jack'—in allusion to the nursery rhyme—is sometimes used for to take a gill.

The term *cant*, though frequently employed as a synonym for *slang*, has in reality a special signification of its own. In Wedgewood's 'Dictionary of English Etymology,' it is stated that '*cant* is properly the language spoken by thieves and beggars among themselves when they do not wish to be understood by bystanders. It therefore cannot be derived from the sing-song or whining tone in which they demand alms. The real origin is the Gaelic *cainnt* speech, language applied in the first instance to the special talk of rogues and beggars, and subsequently to the peculiar terms used by any any other profession or community. The Gaelic *can*, means to sing, say, name, call.'

In cant phrase bouse is to drink, *rig* is a 'spree,' and to go *askew* is to get into one's cups; to throw the gauge is to empty a quart pot; nase is to be intoxicated; prygges* are drunken tinklers or people beastly through liquor. Rum-bouse is wine, and a rum cove is a 'jolly good fellow;' stowlinge-kens are tippling-houses; and beargered signifies drunk as a lubber.

After we have heard 'some narrow-brained fellow trolling a ballad in the corner of a pot-house,' we are seldom surprised at the coarseness of the language employed in the conversation that ensues. Pot-house talk is usually a very different kind of speech from drawing-room, or even parlour English.

> 'The Spartans when they strove t' express the loathesomeness
> Of drunkenness to their children brought a slave,
> Some captive Helot, overcharged with wine,
> Reeling in thus:—his eyes shot out with staring;
> A fire in his nose; a burning redness
> Blazing in either cheek; his hair upright;
> His tongue and senses faltering; and his stomach
> Overburdened, ready to discharge her load
> In each man's face he met. This made them see
> And hate that sin of swine and not of men.'

But we are not thus at liberty to bring forward in all its hideousness, the uncleanness, the filthiness and obscenity which the gin-palace roisterer, the beershop haunter, the pot-house frequenter, the tavern parasite, and the hero of the boosing-ken use as speech.

If, however, leaving the prurient, the blasphemous, the profane, and the absolutely blackguardly out of our reckoning,

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*A 'prig' in the nineteenth century is a pickpocket or thief, and in fact, in our higher circles, where they speak slang, not cant, he has grown to be something else, and may be sometimes recognised in a starched neckcloth, with a pretentious, vain, and supercilious bearing, bringing us round nearly to the association of ideas whence the term diverged.

we show that a very large surplusage of language exists which is scarcely admissible into a dictionary, in so far as regards the use that is made of it, we shall be warranted to infer that there is a very considerable amount of human thought given to ideas unsuitable for company-hours and home-speech. The amount of this almost subconscious immorality can scarcely be believed in until we have brought the evidence up to the surface by an examination of some at least of the phraseology of common life. Words are the shadows of ideas, and shadows take their existence from realities, so that if we have words, and many of them too, that are utterly unfit for mention in any literary form, they must show that there is a large amount of extraordinarily loathsome vice in the imaginations of the thoughts of the sinful heart; while if we show that between this horrid sin-suggesting speech and the authorised language of literature there is to be found a large vocabulary of terms which are sin-coloured or vice-glozing, we shall prove that we have much need to consider our words, as well as our ways, and be wise.

'Dictionaries, while they tell us much, yet will not tell us all. How shamefully rich is the language of the vulgar in all lands in words which are not allowed to find place in books, yet which live as a sinful oral tradition on the lips of men, to set forth that which is unholy and impure. And of these words, as no less of those which have to do with the kindred sins of revelling and excess, how many set evil forth with an evident sympathy and approbation, as taking part with the sin against Him who has forbidden it under pain of His extremest displeasure. How much wit, how much talent, yea, how much imagination must have stood in the service of an evil world before it could have had a nomenclature so rich, so varied, and often so heaven-defining as it has.' *

As the authoress of Adam Bede quaintly observes, 'Our moral sense learns the manners of good society, and smiles when others smile, but when some rough person gives rough names to our actions she is apt to take part against us.' This shows the power of words over us, and it makes it an important question in Social Science how far the present prevalence of 'fast' language and slang and cant suggests or indicates the progress of a moral decline in our home-life and its innocence. 'If,' says Locke, 'we knew the original of all the words we meet with, we should thereby be very much helped to know the ideas they were first applied to and made to stand for.' This would be a clear intellectual gain. But a moral gain is also possible; for if we look on our words as the shadowy reproductions of our thoughts, then from the multiplicity of the words used by us expressive of evil, we may in some measure gauge the wickedness of our hearts; and from the

* Archbishop Trench 'On the Study of Words.'

proneness in us to use euphemistic, round-about, and suggestive instead of forth-right phrases, we may learn the fact of how exceedingly cowardly we are in our sinfulness. 'Hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue,' and euphemism is the acknowledgment the soul makes of the need for holiness, because we would not use a cloak for our thoughts if we believed they could stand the light of that true expression which,

> 'Like the unchanging sun
> Clears and improves whate'er it shines upon.'

Words, as the signs of thoughts, are not without their lessons. 'It is,' for instance, as Archbishop Trench has said, 'a melancholy thing to observe how much richer is every vocabulary in words that set forth sins, than in those that set forth graces.' When St. Paul (Gal. v., 19-23) would put these against those, 'the works of the flesh' against 'the fruits of the Spirit,' those are seventeen, these only nine; and where do we find in Scripture such lists of graces as we do—2 Tim. iii., 2; Rom. i., 29-31, of their opposites? Of this singular, and yet easily accounted-for fact, the following illustrations may be given, as supplying a few curious matters on what may be called the statistics of language. They are chiefly selected from the admirable 'Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases,' which Dr. Roget has added to our series of lexicons of synonyms. For positive synonyms of the word *saint*, fourteen terms are given, while its antonym, *sinner*, has a suite of sixty-eight; *temperance* has twenty-seven, and *intemperance* sixty-seven; *chastity* supplies nineteen synonyms, but has as antonyms one hundred and forty-eight words and phrases; *sobriety* has nine paronyms, and stands opposed by ninety-five terms. Of words indicative of *respect* and *approbation*, we have a choice of one hundred and forty-four expressions, but for *contempt* and *disapproval* we can lay hold of three hundred and eighty-eight easily, and yet leave references to a large margin of equally bitter words of taunt and scorn, dislike and reproachfulness. Under the heading *benevolence*, we have an assortment of eighty-eight words and phrases, while under the opposite term *malevolence*, we have ready at hand two hundred and twenty-nine.

Remarkable as these facts are, they are not free from the usual fallacy of statistics. They do, indeed, inform us of the proportions which the terms denoting evil hold with regard to those which refer to well-doing, but they do not, and they can not, supply us with any criterion of the comparative frequency with which the respective sets of terms are employed.

Still, when we reflect that a very large proportion of the language of men is professedly and professionally employed, whether spoken or written, for the betterment of the race, and therefore requires variety and copiousness for literary and artistic grace, and yet that the vocabulary of evil so far exceeds the vocabulary of good, we cannot help fearing that the ratio of frequency of use is even higher than that of researchful interest and inventive ingenuity. What a glimpse into the inner workings of the heart do these facts afford! Do they not show that there is in its ongoings a more frequent need, or at least use, of the language of suffering and of sin, than there is of that of loving-kindness and delight? Language thus bears witness in itself of man's liability to misery, and of the depravity of the human heart whence speech has its issue and spring.

'Another way in which the immorality of words mainly displays itself, one, too, in which they work their greatest mischief, is that of giving honourable names to dishonourable things, making sin plausible, by dressing it out sometimes in the colours of goodness, or, if not so, yet in such as go far to conceal its own native deformity. "The tongue," as St. James has declared, "is a world of iniquity" (iii., 6); or, as some interpreters affirm the words ought rather to be translated, and then they would be still more to our purpose, *the ornament* of iniquity, that which sets it out in fair and attractive colours; and those who understand the original will at once perceive that such a meaning may possibly lie in the words. On the whole, I do not believe that these expositors are right, yet certainly the connection of the Greek word for tongue with our "gloze," "glossy," with the German *gleissen*, to smooth over, or polish, with an obsolete Greek word also, which in like manner signifies "to polish," is not accidental, but real, and may well suggest some searching thoughts as to the use whereunto we turn this "*best*," but as it may also prove "*worst*," member that we have.

'How much wholesomer on all accounts is it, that there should be an ugly word for an ugly thing, one involving moral condemnation and disgust, even at the expense of a little coarseness, rather than one which plays fast and loose with the eternal principles of morality, which shifts the divinely reared landmarks of right and wrong, thus bringing the user under the woe of them "that call evil good and good evil, that put darkness for light and light for darkness, that put sweet for bitter and bitter for sweet" (Isaiah v., 20)—a text on which South has written four of his greatest sermons with reference to this very matter, and bearing the striking title, "On the fatal imposture and force of words." How awful, yea, how fearful, is this force and imposture of theirs, leading men captive at will. There is an atmosphere about them which they are evermore diffusing, an atmosphere of life or death, which we insensibly inhale at each moral breath we draw. "The winds of the soul," as one called them of old, they fill its sails, and are continually urging it upon its course heavenward or to hell. How immense is the difference as to the light in which we learn to regard a sin, according as we have been accustomed to hear it designated by a word which brings out its loathsomeness and deformity; or by one which conceals these *—which seeks to turn the edge of the divine threatenings against it by a jest †—or worse than all to throw a flimsy veil of sentiment over it. Thus, what a source of mischief in all our country parishes is the one practice of calling a child born out of wedlock a "love-child," instead of

* As in Italy, during the time that poisoning was rifest, nobody was said to be poisoned; it was only that the death of some was assisted (*aiutato*). This is the ever-recurring phrase in the historians of the time.

† As, when in France, a subtle poison, by which impatient heirs sought to get rid of those who stood between them and the inheritance which they coveted, was called (*poudre de succession*) heritage powder.

a bastard. It would be very hard to estimate how much it has lowered the tone and standard of morality in them; or for how many young women it may have helped to make the downward way more sloping still. How vigorously ought we to oppose ourselves to all such immoralities of language; which opposition will yet never be easy or pleasant, for many that will endure to commit a sin will resent having that sin called by its right name.

'Coarse as, according to our present usages of language, may be esteemed the word by which our plain-speaking Anglo-Saxon fathers were wont to designate the unhappy women who make a trade of the lusts of men, yet is there a profound moral sense in that word, bringing prominently out as it does the true vileness of their occupation, who for hire are content to profane and lay waste the deepest sanctities of their life. Consider the truth which is witnessed for here as compared with the falsehood of many other titles by which they have been known—names which may themselves be called "whited sepulchres," so fair are they without, yet hiding so much foulness within; as, for instance, that in the French language (*fille de joie*), which ascribes joy to a life which more surely than any other dries up all the sources of joy in the heart, brings anguish, astonishment, blackest melancholy on all who have addicted themselves to it.

'In the same way how much more moral words are the English "sharper" and "blackleg," than the French "*Chevalier d'industrie;*" and, coarse as it is, the same holds good of the English equivalent for the Latin "*conciliatrix*," procuress or bawd. In this last word we have a notable example of the putting of bitter for sweet, of the attempt to present a disgraceful occupation in an amiable, almost a sentimental side, rather than in its own true deformity and ugliness.' *

The same evil tendency of euphemism may be noted in the use of other phrases, as, for instance, in the common term for illegitimate offspring as *natural*, a term which impliedly sets nature and legal usage in opposition, and covertly confers the preference on the natural over the legal. Such children are not natural children in the right and proper use of the word. It is not natural for a mother to bring a babe into the world without due care for its welfare and up-bringing; it is not natural for a father to leave an unshared responsibility upon a mother and brand with bastardy the issue of his selfishness. The indulgence of mere carnality without prevision of and provision for its consequences is not natural in man, but is inhuman—inhuman in the mother who has sought or given a moment's indulgence to passion at the cost of an uncared-for life for her babe, inhuman in the father who has ungratefully requited the confidence reposed in him, thrown his burden on his helpless partner in guilt, and acted worse than an ostrich to his offspring, showing himself to be a heartless monster, an unnatural parent. Law exists for the common protection of mother, father, child, and society. It is natural that all should concur in conferring all due advantage and security on each, and hence we affirm that a vile sophism underlies the use of *natural* as synonymous with *illegitimate*, as having a baser idea at its root than that of love-child used for bastard. It is a spurious term, chargeable with a flagrant *suggestio falsi*. Similarly the use of 'misfortune' for the result of criminal

* Archbishop Trench 'On the Study of Words,' Lect. II., pp. 45-49.

intercourse, 'fall' for sin, 'unfortunate' for vicious, 'paramour' (one held by love) for kept-miss, '*chère amie*' for strumpet, and many other similar terms, shows how anxious the soul is to gloze over matters of this sort and to hide from itself the hideousness of its criminality by the employment of euphemistic words that suggest but do not express disreputable ideas. There is a force of moral reproof in the terms hussey, drab, trollop, trull, harlot, demirep, mopsy, prostitute, &c., which are not to be found in the milder euphemisms of Lady Anonyma, a city madam, a lady of doubtful ethics, a member of the frail sisterhood, a woman of easy virtue, a person devoted to the public service, a Haymarket friend, *Dame aux Camelias*, woman of pleasure, &c., which are employed to slur the moral and suggest the base.

'How many words men have dragged downward with themselves, and made partakers more or less of their own fall! Having originally an honourable significance, they have yet, with the deterioration and degeneration of those that used them, deteriorated and degenerated too. What a multitude of words, originally harmless, have assumed a harmful as their secondary meaning; how many worthy have acquired an unworthy. Thus, "knave" meant once no more than lad, "villain" than peasant; a "boor" was only a farmer, a "churl" but a strong fellow. "Time-server" was used two hundred years ago quite as often for one in an honourable as in a dishonourable sense "serving the time." There was a time when "conceits" had nothing conceited in them; "officious" had reference to offices of kindness, not of busy meddling; "moody" was that which pertained to a man's mood, without any gloom or sullenness implied. "Demure" (which is *des mœurs*, of good manners) conveyed no hint, as it does now, of an over-doing of the outward demonstration of modesty; in "crafty," and "cunning" there was nothing of crooked wisdom implied, but only knowledge and skill; "craft," indeed, still retains very often its more honourable use, a man's "craft" being his skill, and then the trade in which he is well skilled. And think you that Magdalen could have ever given us "maudlin" in its present contemptuous application, if the tears of penitential weeping had been held in due honour in the world?'

Intoxicants have added immensely to our common vocabulary, and have enriched—if we cannot say adorned—our lexicon with many expressive terms. In this case, truly, the *causæ rerum* (causes of things) and the *causæ vocum* (causes of words) are so closely intertwined that but for the existence of the intoxicants the names of their effects would have remained unrequired, and the rich variety of phrases employed in regard to 'the fatal charms, the many woes of wine,' would have been unknown in our English tongue—a tongue which so long as the lexicon of intoxication is incorporated with it can scarcely be called 'the well of English undefiled,' for it must be confessed by all that places of public traffic in strong drink are not the places to go to, to hear 'neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient.'

And now we proceed to our illustration of the degradation of words as the evidence of the degradation of the hearts of those who use them. As cast clothes are passed on to

inferiors, as discarded manners descend from the *élite* to the plebeian ranks, and the fashions of the upper ten proceed by degradation through all other classes, so does the language of the witty become the inheritance of the witless, and that which was a euphemism in its earliest utterance becomes the slang of the imitative mob and the cant of a succeeding generation. The elements of the one are continually passing into the grade below, shifting by natural deterioration, and becoming the worse for the wear until, having reached the lowest depths of conversational slang, they find a lower still in the cant of vagabonds and the *argot* of rascals. As an example, we may quote the phrase of 'the real Simon Pure.' In 1718, Mrs. Centlivre produced her play, 'A Bold Stroke for a Wife.' In this famous comedy, Colonel Feignwell, in order to obtain the hand of Mistress Anne Lovely, adopts the name of a Bristol Quaker, who has been recommended by Aminadab Holdfast to Obadiah Prim as a fitting husband for the lovely young lady. The colonel reaches the scene of action first, and commences operations at once, but is soon commended by discretion to beat a retreat, as the veritable and authorised suitor is advancing. The colonel concocts a letter, in which the genuine Bristolian is represented to be a disguised housebreaker, who, with the design of robbing Obadiah Prim, and, if need be, of cutting his throat, has resolved on passing himself off as 'the real Simon Pure.' The scene in which the *real* and the *counterfeit* Simon Pure confront each other made a deep impression on the public, so that 'the real Simon Pure' became the slang phrase of that day for anything genuine and trustworthy. It has now become the cant for undiluted intoxicating drink.

As another instance of the same fact, we may note that Roger North, author of the 'Examen; or, an Inquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a Pretended Complete History (Kennet's), 1740,' tells us that in the *Green Ribbon* Club, London, in the time of Charles II., the Latin phrase, *mobile vulgus*, 'fickle crowd,' was facetiously abridged to *mob*. Swift, in his 'Art of Polite Conversation,' tells us it had become slang, and it took so amazingly, that Addison thought it would probably become a fixed possession in our language. So it has; but it has also passed into the region of cant, and now two or more 'patterers,' or a few thieves who arrange 'to work a crowd,' that is, either to impose on it by false news-sheets, &c., or to touch and empty the pockets of the lieges as a joint speculation, are said to engage in a 'mob.' A low gambling party, or a set of thimbleriggers, get the same name probably from their mobility of person or of fingers.

A Captain Fudge is said by the elder Disraeli to have been much given to exaggeration and mendacity. His crew taking freedom with English undefiled, instead of using the ordinary word 'lie,' said, 'you *fudge* it.' Goldsmith, in his 'Vicar of Wakefield,' made the word classical, but it has now become the cant term for the liquor got under false pretences in a shebeen, and, more lately still, for that methylated spirit, or French polish, which some determined drunkards procure under the plea of having a 'finish.' It may not be amiss to give here one or two illustrations of the curiosities of drink-speech, and to cull from the vocabulary of the liquor traffic a few noticeable words:—

Not long ago there died in New York 'a character' known by the *soubriquet* of 'the Whiskey Punch King.' He had been apprenticed to a publican and grocer in Dundee, and on the termination of his engagement he started business, in company with his brother, in the same line of enterprise. Success did not smile upon the efforts of the brother-partners, and about the time when George IV. made his exit to give place to his successor William IV., the two brothers sold off their whole stock and emigrated to New York. This time they determined to confine themselves to the sale of liquors, as more likely to ensure success than such a combination of heterogeneities as groceries implied. They resolved to keep in their store the quality of article which held the best character in their traffic, and to do only a wholesale and family trade. Little reward did their efforts earn, and in an evil moment of despondency the younger brother committed suicide. The elder survivor seemed as dull as if he too were contemplating a similar death, when some condoling friends visited him. He, thankful for their civility, invited them to partake of a 'cheering glass,' and they consented. Well up to the method of making punch of the sort for which Dundee had a notoriety in his youth, he brewed the charmed distillation and gave a pleasing sensation to their appetite. On the morrow they returned craving a repetition of the entrancing brewst, and offered payment, but the host refused to take the money until strongly pressed. After the right of pay had been established, the members of the fraternity paid frequent visits to the punch store and brought others with them. Business so increased with the Whiskey Punch King that he had, before long, six men engaged in dealing out the draught to those who liked potations of that sort. The store in New York where this branch of business began and grew, rapidly increased the wealth of the proprietor, who however could never bring himself to act as mixer for the general public,

though he inaugurated the trade and realised from it a fortune of half a million dollars. His store was called 'Cobweb Hall,' and from the peculiar influence produced by the liquor is derived the New York slang for drunk—*cobwebby*. The perhaps unconscious but singularly correct connotation of this drink-word may fairly be enhanced if we remember the origin of the word:—The 'adder' creeps beneath the grass, and was also called '*naedri*,' that is, beneath. In allusion probably to this reptile, poison was called *atter*. The venomous spider was called attercop, a name which is still in use in some parts, and from *cop* we have cobweb, formerly copweb.* The name gathers interest by recalling the well-known fact regarding strong drink, that 'at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder,' as well as the fate of those who become captivated by it so as to earn the name of drunkard, 'whose hope shall be cut off, and whose trust shall be a spider's web.'

'We have a very common expression to describe a man in a state of ebriety, that "he is as drunk as a beast," or that "he is beastly drunk." This is a libel on the brutes, for the vice of ebriety is perfectly human. I think the phrase is peculiar to ourselves, and I imagine I have discovered its origin. When ebriety became first prevalent in our nation, during the reign of Elizabeth, it was a favourite notion among the writers of the time, and on which they have exhausted their fancy, that a man in the different stages of ebriety shewed the most vicious quality of different animals; or that a company of drunkards exhibited a collection of brutes with their different characteristics.

'"All drunkards are beasts," says George Gascoigne, in a curious treatise on them, entitled, "A delicate diet for daintie-mouthde droonkardes, wherein the fowle abuse of common carowsing and quaffing with hartie draughtes is honestlie admonished." By George Gascoigne, Esquier, 1576; and he proceeds in illustrating his proposition; but the satirist Nash has classified eight kinds of "drunkards," in a fanciful sketch from the hand of a master in humour, one which could only have been composed by a close spectator of their manners and habits.

'The first is *ape-drunk*, and he leaps and sings, and hollows and danceth for the heavens. The second is *lyon-drunk*, and he flings the pots about the house, calls the hostess w—, breaks the glass windows with his dagger, and is apt to quarrel with any man that speaks to him. The third is *swine-drunk*, heavy, lumpish, and sleepy, and cries for a little more drink, and a few more clothes. The fourth is *sheep-drunk*, wise in his own conceit, when he cannot bring forth a right word. The fifth is *maudlen-drunk*, when a fellow will weep for kindness in the midst of his drink, and kiss you, saying, "By ——! captain, I love thee; go thy way, thou dost not think so often of me as I do of thee: I would I could not love thee so well as I do;" and then he puts his finger in his eye and cries. The sixth is *martin-drunk*, when a man is drunk, and drinks himself sober ere he stir. The seventh is *goat-drunk*, when, in his drunkenness, he hath no mind but on lechery. The eighth is *fox-drunk*, when he is crafty-drunk, as many of the Dutchmen be, which will never bargain but when they are drunk. All these species, and more, I have seen practised in one company at one sitting, when I have been permitted to remain sober amongst them only to note their several humours. These beast drunkards are characterized in a frontispiece to a curious tract on drunkenness, where the men are represented with heads of apes, swine, &c., &c.' †

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* Dean Hoare's 'English Roots,' Lect. I., p. 68.

† Isaac Disraeli's 'Curiosities of Literature.' Drinking Customs in England, p. 287.

'Half-seas over, or nearly drunk,' Disraeli continues, 'is likely to have been a proverbial phrase from the Dutch, applied to that state of ebriety by an idea familiar with those water-rats. Thus, *op-zee*, Dutch, means literally over-sea. Mr. Gifford has recently told us in his "Jonson," that it was a name given to a stupefying beer introduced into England from the Low Countries. Hence, *op-zee*, or over-sea, and *freezen*, in Germany, signifies to *swallow greedily:* from this vile alliance they compounded a harsh term, often used in our old plays. Thus, Jonson:—

> "I do not like the dulness of your eye,
> It hath a heavy cast, 'tis *upsee Dutch*." Alchemist, a. 4, s. 2.

And Fletcher has "*upsee-freeze*," which Dr. Nott explains in his edition of Decker's "Gull's Hornbook," as "a tipsy draught, or swallowing liquor till drunk." Mr. Gifford says it was the name of Friesland beer; the meaning, however, was "to drink swinishly like a Dutchman."'

Sir Walter Scott, in his 'Peveril of the Peak,' makes Gunlesse speak of 'a Netherland his weasand, which expanded only on these natural and mortal objects of aversion—Dutch cheese, rye bread, pickled herring, onions, and Geneva.' In ordinary slang, too, an entertainment in which the host becomes intoxicated at an earlier time than the guests, is called a 'Dutch feast.'

The mention of Gascoigne's book in the preceding extract reminds us of one of the most curious titles we have seen for quaintness and humour in connection with our subject,—'Drink, and Welcome! or the famous History of the most part of Drinks in use now in the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; with an especial declaration of the potency, virtue, and operation of our English Ale; with a description of all sorts of Waters, from the Ocean Sea to the Tears of a Woman. As also the causes of all sorts of Weather, faire or foul, sleete, raine, haile, frost, snow, fogges, mists, vapours, clouds, storms, windes, thunder, and lightning. Compiled first in the high Dutch tongue by the paineful and industrious Huldricke Van Speagle, a grammatical Brewer of Lubeck, and now most learnedly enlarged, amplified, and translated into English prose and verse by John Taylor. (1637.)' This is John Taylor, 'the King's majesty's water-poet,' who kept a public-house in Phœnix Alley, Longacre. Any book collector of temperance literature might find it useful to be told that in 1698 Ned Ward published a poem, entitled, 'The Sot's Paradise, or the Humours of a Derby Alehouse; with a Satire upon Ale.' Even in the days of Camden, Derby had a reputation for the 'ale brewed in it,' and Smug, in 'The Merry Devil of Edmonton,' says, 'Your ale is as a Philistine fox; Nouns! there's fire i' the tail on't.'

In connection with ale-drinking, the following passage from

Sir Samuel Tuke's 'Adventures of Five Hours' may bear quotation :—

Silvia. Tell us what kind of country is this Holland,
That's so much talked of, and so much fought for.
Ernesto. Why, friend, 'tis a huge ship at anchor
With a sort of creatures made up of turf
And butter.
Pedro. Pray, sir, what do they drink in that country?
'Tis said there's neither fountains there nor vines.
Ernesto. Friend, they drink there a sort of muddy liquor
Made of that grain with which you feed your mules.
Pedro. What! barley? can that juice quench their thirst?
Ernesto. You'd scarce believe it could, did you but see
How oft they drink.
Pedro. But methinks that should make them drunk, camerade!
Ernesto. Indeed, most strangers are of that opinion;
But they themselves believe it not, because—
They are so often.
Geraldo. A nation, sure, of walking tuns! the world
Has not the like!
Ernesto. Pardon me, friend; there is but a great ditch
Between them and such another nation:
If these good fellows would but join and drink
That dry, i' faith, they might shake hands. I., ii.

The reference here made to Dutch drinking may remind us that Thomas Nash, town-wit, and himself experimentally acquainted with the qualities of all the drinks of his day, says, in his *Pierce Pennilesse, his Supplication to the Devil*, 1596 :—

'Superfluity in drink is a sin that ever since we have mixed ourselves with the Low Countries is counted honourable; but before we knew their lingering wars was held in that highest degree of hatred that might be. Then, if we had seen a man go wallowing in the streets, or lain sleeping under the board, we should have spit at him, and warned all our friends out of his company.'

He asserts the same Flemish favour for liquor in his 'Summer's Last Will and Testament,' in these words :—

'Drunkenness of his good behaviour
Hath testimonial from where he was born:—
That pleasant work *De Arte Bibendi*
A drunken Dutchman spewed out a few years since.'

Camden, the historian, affirms that 'the English in their long wars in the Netherlands first learned to drown themselves with immoderate drinking, and by drinking others' healths impair their own. Of all the Northern nations they had been before the most commended for their sobriety;' but, he adds, 'the vice had so diffused itself over the nation that in our days it was first restrained by severe laws;' and it is a fact that many statutes against drunkenness were passed in the reign of James I. Referring to this topic, the elder Disraeli remarks :—

'Of this folly of ours, which was, however, a borrowed one, and which lasted for two centuries, the history is curious: the variety of its modes and customs; its freaks and extravagancies; the technical language introduced to raise it into an art; and the inventions contrived to animate the progress of the thirsty souls of its votaries.'

Of these curiosities in literature about drunkenness he instances Nash's enumeration, 'Now he is nobody that cannot drink *supernaculum; carouse* the hunter's *hoope,* quaff *upzee frieze crosse;* with healths, gloves, mumps, frolickes, and a thousand other domineering inventions.' The term *skinker* meaning, he says, a filler of wine, butler, or cupbearer; and in taverns a *drawer,* as appears in our dramatic poets, is Dutch, or, according to Dr. Notts, purely Danish, from *skenker.*

'The Saxons, like most of the northern natives, were hard drinkers, and it is a subject of regret that their descendants, at the present day, have not altogether lost this not very creditable character. They were not less remarkable for their hospitality than for their love of strong drink, and did not like to see their guests, any more than themselves, leave a drop in the bottom of their capacious tankards. Hence they called it a "*carouse*" when they drank *all out,* the word *gar* signifying "all," and *ous* meaning "out;" hence the *g* being changed to *c,* to "carouse" (anciently garouse), was to drink *all out.**

'The word "wassail," defined by Dr. Johnson as a drunken bout, comes from the old Saxon words *was* and *heal,* that is "be of good health;" *was* being the imperative of the Saxon verb signifying *to be,* of which we still have the imperfect tense, and *heal* signifying health. The custom of pledging healths arose, it is probable, out of the savage habits of the times, when every man dreaded treachery and murder, but when at the same time the most violent among them respected a pledge and strictly kept their word. When a man took up the large tankard to drink he pledged his word to his neighbour that he would protect him, while drinking, from violence, if the other would pledge his *troth,* that is, his "truth," in like manner, for his safety, while he was in the act of drinking, and thereby obstructing his view, and exposing his throat to an enemy.‡ "Wassail" is also sometimes used to signify what in the Midland Counties is called *lamb's wool, i.e.,* roasted apples in strong beer, with sugar and spices, and thence from its results festivity, intemperance, and riot.

'The Queen *carouses* to thy fortune, Hamlet.'—*Shakespeare.*

'In explanation of this word, Mr. Gifford remarks:—"This word has never been properly explained. It occurs in *Hamlet,* where it is said by Steevens, as well as Johnson, to mean a quantity of liquor rather too large; the latter derives it from *rusch,* half-drunk, Germ., while he brings *carouse* from *gar ause,* all out! *Rouse* and *carouse,* however, like *vye* and *revye,* are but the reciprocation of the same action, and must, therefore, be derived from the same source. A *rouse* was a large glass ('not past a pint,' as Iago says), in which a health was given, the drinking of which by the rest of the company formed a *carouse.* Barnaby Rich is exceedingly angry with the inventor of this custom, which, however, with a laudable zeal for the honour of his country, he attributes to an Englishman, who, it seems, 'had his brains beat out with a pottlepot' for his ingenuity." "In former ages," says he, "they had no conceit whereby to draw on drunkennesse"—(Barnaby was no great historian)—"their best was, I drink to you, and I pledge you, till at length some shallow-witted drunkard found out the *carouse,* an invention of that worth

* This 'carousing' tending to frequent quarrels, and many other evils, the Saxon King Edgar enacted a law, which he strictly enforced, ordering that certain marks should be made in their drinking cups, at a particular height, above which they were forbidden to fill them under a heavy penalty. This law, however, as Rapin relates, was but a short time in continuance, being too much opposed to the national character to be long maintained.

‡ Dean Hoare's 'English Roots,' Lect. II., p. 76-8.

and worthinesse as it is pitie the first founder was not hanged, that we might have found out his name in the antient record of the hangman's register."—*English Hue and Cry*, 1617, p. 24. It is necessary to add, that there could be no *rouse* or *carouse* unless the glasses were emptied. "The leader," continues honest Barnaby, "soupes up his broath, turnes the bottom of the cuppe upward, and in ostentation of his dexteritie, gives it a phylip, to make it cry *tynge!*" *id.* "In process of time, both these words were used in a laxer sense."—*Philip Massinger's Works*, edited by William Gifford, p. 61.

'Rustic meetings of festivity, at particular seasons, were formerly called *ales*, as Church-ale, Whitsun-ale, Bride-ale, Midsummer-ale, &c. Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, edition 1769, p. 68, gives the following account of the Church-ale, with which it is most likely the others agreed:—"For the Church-ale, two young men of the parish are yerely chosen by their last foregoers, to be wardens, who, dividing the task, make collection among the parishioners, of whatever provision it pleaseth them voluntarily to bestow. This they employ in brewing, baking, and other acates, against Whitsontide, upon which holydayes the neighbours meet at the church-house, and there merily feede on their owne victuals, contributing by some petty portion to the stock, which by many smalls groweth to a meetly greatnes; for there is entertayned a kinde of emulation betweene these wardens, who, by his graciousnes in gathering, and good husbandry in expending, can best advance the church's profit. Besides, the neighbour parishes at those times lovingly visit one another, and this way frankly spend their money together. The afternoons are consumed in such exercises as olde and yong folke (having leysure) doe accustomably weare out the time withall. In the subsequent pages, Carew enters into a defence of those meetings, which, in his time, had become productive of riot and disorder, and were among the subjects of complaint by the more rigid Puritans.'

From Hippocrates, the most celebrated physician of antiquity, born in Cos about B.C. 460, we get the name of an aromatic medicated wine, which was formerly much used in this country at all great entertainments, and much spoken of by the poets and dramatists, *Hippocras*. It was a compound of equal parts of Lisbon and Canary, and was prepared, according to an old *recipe*, thus: '*for lords*, with gynger, synamon, and graynes, sugour, and turesoll; and for *comyn peputl*, gynger, canell, long pepper, and clarifyed honey' formed the spices used. This wine was strained, and, as the woollen bag used by apothecaries to strain syrups and decoctions requiring clarification was called *Hippocrates' Sleeve*, this accident may have connected the ancient physician's name with this modern strong drink. The poets are known frequently to have mistaken this *hippocras* for *Hippocrene*, the fountain of the horse Pegasus.

Bastard seems to have been a mixed Spanish wine. Henderson, in his 'History of Wines,' is puzzled to tell what it was. Shakespeare speaks, in 'Measure for Measure,' of 'white and brown *bastard*,' and makes Jack Falstaff say 'your brown *bastard* is your only drink.' In Beaumont and Fletcher's 'The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed,' we get this hint of its quality:—

> 'I was drunk with *bastard*,
> Whose nature 'tis to form things like itself—
> Heady and monstrous.' II., i.

A liquor composed of honey and ale was, in Shakespeare's time, from the high tone it gave to the talk of its consumers, called *Braggart;* and for the same reason, namely, that it inspirited those who drunk it to set their *caps* in a *huffy* manner, it was called huff-cap.

'Colonel Negus (Archbishop Trench says), in Queen Anne's time, first mixed the beverage which goes by his name.' The quaint name of *grog* is said to be derived from a nickname of Admiral Vernon, who introduced it into the service. In bad weather he was in the habit of walking the deck in a rough grogram cloak; the sailors thence called him Old Grog, and then transferred the name to the drink, which, as it consisted of spirits diluted with water, the hero of Portobello had contrived as a means of diminishing intoxication among his old salts.

Gin does not, despite the similarity of its form, derive its name from its being a snare, a trap, an ingenious contrivance for bringing to evil. It is an abbreviation of Geneva, which is a corruption of *genievre,* a juniper berry, because, when genuine, gin is flavoured in distillation by the addition of juniper berries, which are so called because the plant on which they grow produces younger berries while the elder ones are ripening. So that *gin* is ultimately derived, through the French, from the Latin words *junior* and *pario.* This derivation gives the key to the *double entendre* contained in the slang of Shakespeare's time, when Geneva drink and Geneva doctrines were alike new and uppermost in the thoughts of many (different) minds; *e.g.,* Graccho, a scoundrel character in Massinger's 'Duke of Milan,' is made to say:—

'If you meet
An officer preaching of sobriety
Unless he read it in Geneva print
Lay him by the heels.
Julio (a courtier). But think you 'tis a fault
To be found sober?
Graccho. 'Tis a capital treason.' I., i.

The same jest occurs in the 'Merry Devil of Edmonton,' where Blague, the host of 'The George,' at Waltham, says to Smug, the smith:—'Smith! I see by thy eyes thou hast been reading a little Geneva print:' *i.e.,* been drinking gin till blear-eyed. This host is a great translator of *Cooper's* Dictionary, a joke about the *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ,* by Thomas Cooper, 1584, and *Cooper's* casks; as when he says, 'Come, follow me! I have Charles's Wain (*i.e.,* the seven stars in the constellation of Ursa Minor) below in a butt of sack. It will glister you like a crab fish.' We ought not, in connection

with the word gin, to forget that when the Permissive Bill Movement succeeds the lines in Pope's *Dunciad* will become a prophecy of the lamentation of the publicans :—

> 'Thee shall each alehouse, thee each gillhouse mourn
> And answering gin-shops sourer sighs return.'

It is not a little remarkable in some of the writers of the middle ages to read high praises of *vinum theologicum*, a general term for those choice wines which were the products of the lands of the church, which in those days were not only the best cultivated, but the most secure from devastation during feudal broils or war. But the names of some of the medicated liquors of that time are suggestive of the *vinum theologicum* in a more express sense—for example, an infusion of toasted Seville oranges and sugar in light (Burgundy) wine is known by the name of *Bishop*. As Dean Swift says :—

> 'Come buy my fine oranges! . . . . .
> Well roasted with sugar and wine in a cup,
> They'll make a sweet *Bishop* when gentlefolks sup.'

When old Rhine wine is used in the mixture, it receives the name of *Cardinal*, but when Tokay is the liquor, it becomes so superlative as to be worthy to bear the tip top title of the *Pope*. It may be remarked that such spiced wine constituted so voluptuous a beverage, and 'was deemed so unsuitable to the members of a profession which had foresworn all the pleasures of life, that the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (817 A.D.) forbade the use of it to the regular clergy, except on days of solemn festivals.' We do not know that the clergy were permitted to drink Canary ; perhaps it was a wine of a too frolicsome nature for priests, from its tendency to

> 'Make you dance canary
> With sprightly fire and motion.'

But if we could believe in the *Epistolae Ho-Elianæ*, or Familiar Letters of James Howell, Historiographer-Royal of Charles II., the priesthood ought not only to have drunk copiously of Canary themselves, but to have strongly commended it to their hearers as a good substitute for their teaching, unless (as we fear must be thought to be the case), James Howell was in a satirical humour when he wrote, for he says :—'Of this wine, *if* of any other, may be verified the merry induction, that good wine maketh good blood, good blood causeth good humours, good humours cause good thoughts, good thoughts bring forth good works, good works carry a man to heaven ; *ergo*, good wine carrieth a man to

heaven. *If* this be true, surely more English go to heaven this way than any other; for I think there is more Canary brought to England than to all the world besides.' Despite the episcopal patronage of wine indicated in the phrases and terms above quoted, and the implied favour for it among the clergy, there can be no doubt that Chaucer had a better idea of the antipathy between wine and good works than to regard it as *vinum theologicum*. This we may learn from *The Pardoner's Tale*, in these terms:—

'A lecherous thing is wine, and dronkenesse
Is ful of striving and of wretchednesse.
O dronken man, disfigured is thy face,
Sour is thy breth, foul art thou to embrace:
And thurgh thy dronken nose semeth the soun,
As though thou saidst ay, Sampsoun, Sampsoun:
And yet, God wot, Sampsoun dronk never no wine.
Thou fallest, as it were a stiked swine:
Thy tonge is lost, and all thin honest cure,
For dronkenesse is veray sepulture
Of mannes wit, and his discretion.
In whom that drinke hath denomination,
He can no counseil kepe, it is no drede.
Now kepe ye fro the white and fro the rede,
And namely fro the white wine of Lepe,
That is to sell in Fish-strete and in Chepe.
This wine of Spaigne crepeth subtilly
In other wines growing faste by,
Of which the'r riseth swiche fumositee,
That when a man hath dronken draughtes three,
And weneth that he be at home in Chepe,
He is in Spaigne, right at the toun of Lepe.'

It is curious to remark how large a portion of the English lexicon is taken up with those words which refer directly to the abuse of alcoholic liquors. We have among the names applied to those persons who partake of—should we say *indulge* in?—these fluid deceivers such terms as these:—tippler, drunkard, toper, sot, soaker, toss-pot, reveller, carouser, bacchanal; for the condition of being affected by intoxicants:—ebriety, inebriety, inebriation, insobriety, ebriosity, bibbacity, bibulency, drinking, drunkenness, drunkenship, tippling, toping, temulency, compotation, sottishness, revelling, carousing, intoxication; for indicating the state of a person who has been using drink:—tasting, fresh, flush, flustered, disguised, overcome, overtaken, mellow, groggy, topheavy, lightheaded, elevated, screwed, muggy, muzzy, muddled, fuddled, nappy, tipsy, turned, touched, inebriated, temulent, potulent, boozy, heady, hipped, stretched, strung, sprung, strained, cut-up, cat-eyed, drunk, drunken, intoxicated, lushy, maudlin, dead-drunk, bung-up, reeling, &c., to which we may add the phrases,—in one's cups, the worse for liquor,

half seas over, drunk as a piper, a fiddler, an owl, or a lord, under the table, rather limp, somewhat overhauled, grog-witted; while we speak of habitual drinkers as cuppish, sottish, bibacious, liquorish, devoted to Bacchus, &c. The use of strong drink gives to our English tongue the following verbs:—tipple, tope, booze, swill, guzzle, carouse, liquor, fuddle, drink, soak, sot, swig, inebriate, intoxicate, fuzzle, temulate, and to be intemperate, anti-teetotal, compotative, &c. Compare this plentifulness of vocabularian distinctions, reaching from the first tremulous overpush of the balance of the faculties in *fresh* to their complete obliteration in dead-drunk, with the scanty replenishment of phrases supplied for use on the opposite side of temperance. We have, it is true, moderate as a sort of see-saw go-between, temperate, somewhat in advance of that, and sober, abstinent, teetotal, very proper terms indeed; from these we get moderation, temperance, sobriety, abstinence, teetotalism, &c., words which bring no connotation of debauch, orgies, revels, and instead of leading the mind to think of the circean cup—

> 'Whose pleasing poison
> The visage quite transforms of him that drinks,
> And the inglorious likeness of a beast
> Fixes instead, unmoulding reason's mintage
> Charactered in the face,'

leads us rather to take for beverage 'Adam's wine,' whereof tasting we are inclined to exclaim with the same poet—

> 'Oh madness to think use of strongest wines
> And strongest drinks our chief supports of health
> When God, with these forbidden, made choice to rear
> His mighty champion, strong above compare,
> Whose drink was only from the liquid brook.'

When the taste for drink becomes intensified by habit, and poverty affords no means of purchasing the usual dram of 'sky-blue,' as gin used to be called, though it now bears the more appropriate name of 'blue ruin,' from its extraordinary capacity for inducing that state of despondency suggestive of ruin of health, 'the blues,' as it is called in its earlier stages, while in the later ones it reaches the dignity of being denominated 'the blue devils,' the solicitous but unstickling appetite of the drink-captive will drive him to buy a ha'porth of 'alls'—the tap-droppings and refuse of the liquors dispensed in gin-palaces gathered up into vessels. These preserved 'drops' of brandy, gin, rum, spirits, &c., are mixed and sweetened especially for drink-fond females whose funds have run low, and are dispensed under the euphemistic name of 'loveage,' which we presume is a cunning transmutation

for *leavings*, or beggar's-dregs. Is there not a great mass of experience, wit, and truth wrapped up in that other cant term for gin, 'diddle?' 'Cat's water' is another and a stranger as well as stronger term for it when full proof, but it is contemptuously styled 'cat lap' when not the real stingo, and when it is, an enthusiastically poetical feeling comes over the little remnant of soul left in the dissipated consumer of the 'breaky-leg' potation, which he designates 'cream of the valley.' When gin is of this sort it is styled the 'duke,' in recognition of its high character and power of making its partaker as 'drunk as a lord' or (jolly companions!) as 'drunk as David's sow.' This 'eye-water' is sometimes not quite good enough for your 'fast young swells.' They indulge in 'flesh and blood,' as they call brandy and port mixed in half and half quantities, or if they are university trained, with a dim notion of the ancient physician Hippocrates, they may prefer 'copus,' a diminutive parody of this liquid preparation, and bemuse themselves with ale spiced and flavoured, probably somewhat highly, with wines, spirits, &c., with as much gusto as their common-place neighbours take 'cooper,' *i.e.*, half stout and half porter, as their 'common sewer' or 'drain' when 'doing a wet' and engaged in 'going it' on the 'spree'—from the French *esprit*, sprightliness—or as university chums phrase it, 'visiting Berlin,' a capital city always on the Spree.

Slang supplies us with quite a profusion of epithets for that waste of life which drink induces in all its shades, degrees, relations, and implications. We begin by being 'balmy,' become thereafter a little 'hazy,' then get 'spiffed,' and afterwards 'foggy.' We cannot be long 'on the batter,' or 'on the go,' till, having got 'queer in the attic,' we feel 'rather of the ratherest,' and getting 'off our nut,' feel 'the sun in our eyes' for awhile, and perceive that 'there's something rotten in the state of Denmark;' whereon we become 'mooney,' find our intellects 'jacobed,' and our whole being 'up the ladder,' which is the slang synonym for the euphemism of polite society, 'elevated.' When one has 'got on his beaver,' or is 'slated' and 'tipt,' he is apt to become 'obfuscated,' or 'fishy;' perhaps 'lumpy,' or 'podgy'—for it is one of the many strange effects of being 'primed,' that we cannot continue 'doing it brown' and 'chalking it up,' without 'bemusing' ourselves and feeling 'buffy,' or 'bosky,' although we assert that we are 'all-there-ish,' despite the 'gummyness' of our state, or our 'muggy' and 'muzzy' appearance. If we set out to 'Corinthianise,' and 'go in for a buster,' we can scarcely avoid getting 'groggy,' or 'lushy,' perhaps 'scammered,' and 'slewed;' in this state we may 'flare up' and

turn 'kisky' or 'frisky,' and show that we are 'on the freshet' or getting 'kiddyish,' by having 'opened the sluices,' because there was 'a screw loose.' If after partaking of 'summat short' we feel 'wobbleshoppy' or 'winey,' and somewhat touched with the 'wiffle-waffles' from 'wetting our whistle,' begin to 'wabble,' as if we were 'twisted,' 'touched,' 'top-heavy,' and 'tol-lollish,' or 'tight,' the consciousness of being 'titley' and 'three sheets in the wind' may bring us to the 'blues,' or, having rendered us 'bluey,' and given us the feeling of being 'ploughed,' 'plucked,' 'corned,' and 'sewed up,' may make us 'snuffy' and anxious for a 'stretcher.' But if we get fully 'on the rantan,' or the 're-raw,' 'we won't go home till morning-ish,' and 'coxy-loxy,' it is probable we may engage in 'getting up a barney,' or be found 'sky wannocking' under an attack of the 'gravel-rash,' or 'sky-kicking,' all 'mops and brooms,' in a 'lap in the gutter' state, asserting our right to be called 'Lushington,' and showing ourselves 'Bobby-peelerish,' in which case we may prove the necessity of 'putting in the pin,' 'teetotally,' in 'quod,' eschewing henceforward the 'hap'orth of liveliness' to be gotten from 'neck-oil' in any 'shivery' where 'sensations' of 'knock-down,' hot tiger,' and 'lightning' are dispensed in any 'boosing-ken' or drinkery in which men are tempted 'to go to pot.' Thus slang takes us from the small-beer of intoxication to the highest degree of fuddlement, and shows us how the process goes on from 'swipey' up to 'sky-kicking,' and then down to gutterdom, and being 'held in possession,' in one or two of its significations, by the 'Blues.' May men not truly learn from this that if they desire to have 'the main brace spliced,' it is not to be done by getting it made 'knotty' and 'tight' with 'white tape,' as liquor is sometimes called, but by taking for that purpose Robert Burns's 'stern resolve, that carle-stalk of hemp in man,' and henceforward avoiding the navigation of the 'Spree?' The logical ultimation of the vice of drunkenness is clearly demonstrated in the expressive, progressive, and degressive vocabulary appropriated to it in common speech—a vocabulary alternating from ether to smile, showing how, under the influence of drink, man's moral nature deliquesces, and the 'pot-valiancy' it induces results in terrific and loathsome defeat, only utterable by the gangrenous rhetoric of the slums, the beershop, the ginnery, the shandy-gaff, and the slushing-ken.

'Evil,' says the glorious Jean Paul Richter, 'is like the nightmare, the moment you bestir yourself it has ended.' Let the downward-going drinker determine on an upward course of temperance, and say, 'I will rise like a living man by

swimming, not like a drowned man by corruption;' and then, under the purifying and consolidating power of exalted feelings and new habits, the texture of his character will grow fairer and firmer, conscience will exert its monarchic sway, and all that is slangy shall fall off from his moral being and his temporal well-being.

It is not without a thorough knowledge of the destructive and pernicious effects of intoxicating drinks that they are partaken of by those whose appetites are debased and depraved by their use. No phrases, in fact, could be more condemnatory than those employed by the frequenters of the beershop and the gin palace, in speaking of these so-called beverages. Gin, though sometimes spoken of in such flattering terms as 'water of life,' and 'cream of the valley,' is not unfrequently denoted by the less commendatory designations of 'flash of lightning,' 'stingo,' and 'blue ruin.' Women sometimes take it in the form of 'tape,' 'white satin,' and 'white wine;' but when they get 'cut'—which is an expressive word for 'tipsy'—they sometimes venture on 'flip,' or 'hot flannel,' which is a mixture of gin and beer taken hot. When men go into a 'sluicery' for a 'sensation,' a 'drain,' or a 'common sewer,' they call the glass of gin they seek, in allusion to the juniper, a 'nipper,' or, more briefly, a 'nip,' occasionally a 'bite,' and not unfrequently it turns out a 'flogger.' University men make pets of 'hot tigers,' as they call ale and sherry spiced and warm; in Cambridge, we believe, it gets the name of 'copus,' and the peculiar sensation experienced after a night's befuddlement is called by the commonalty 'hot coppers' in its early stages, though it gradually intensifies into the 'blues,' the 'horrors,' and the 'blue devils,'—known learnedly as *delirium tremens*. Brandy is sometimes called 'French cream,' but is not uncommonly spoken of familiarly as 'Oh Davy' (O D V, for Eau de vie). When mixed with port, it is known as 'flesh and blood;' and when gin is taken with it, by naming the cause from the effect, it gets the name of 'twist.' When it has produced the due sensation of one's being 'ploughed,' the next step is to go in for a 'peg,' that is, a draught of brandy and soda-water. Gin is ingeniously baptised 'diddle,' and when it is diluted in beer it is denominated 'dog's-nose,' a sufficient quantity of which is known as a 'dodger,' and the effect produced by its consumption is called 'Dutch courage.' Porter is 'heavy wet,' and makes men 'top-heavy' and 'jiggered.' Ale is 'knock-down,' and makes the consumer 'swankey,' and, though 'screwed,' indicates 'a screw loose.' 'Bunker,' 'rot-gut,' and 'belly-vengeance' are other terms for beer; and when these have

shewn themselves as 'breaky leg' over night, it is orthodox to have

'Twopenn'orth o' *purl*
Good "early purl"
'Gin all the world
To put your hair right in curl
When you "feel yourself queer" in the morning.'

This endeavour to get up a system by stimulation has given rise in America to the manufacture of 'cocktail' (a compound of whisky, brandy, or champagne, bitters, and ice), dexterously mixed in tall silver mugs made for the purpose, called 'cocktail-shakers.' Having partaken of this 'strong circean liquor,'

They swim in mirth and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the earth.'

But it is not long before the tap-root must be touched again to supply a 'refresher,' in the shape of 'a hair of the dog that bit' the drinker, as a new dose of the intoxicant is called. And may we not cite that very word *intoxication* as another proof that the evil results of such 'refreshments' are fully known, for is not its root *toxicum* a poison, and has not an invitation to drink been translated by the fast men of our day, in allusion to this very fact, into the phrase 'nominate your poison?' That is the modern mode of trying to 'warm the cockles of the heart,' and 'comfort the inner man,' to 'doctor' one's self, and bring one's self 'up to the mark!' Fielding, the novelist, speaks of the permission to open a shop for the sale of distilled spirituous liquors as 'a license to poison,' and calls it a traffic 'which, if not put a stop to, will infallibly destroy a great part of the inferior people.' In the same tract, he calls attention to a work issued in 1736, entitled 'Distilled Spirituous Liquors, the Bane of the Nation.'

Slang recognises in the terms 'on the shine,' 'mooney,' and 'luney,' the close connection between drunkenness and lunacy; and we know that it is a very direct effect of drink to produce

'Demoniac phrensy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness.'

Dr. Johnson says maudlin is derived from the corrupt appellation of Magdalen, who is drawn by painters with swollen eyes and disordered look; a drunken countenance seems to have been so named from a ludicrous resemblance to the picture of 'Magdalen,' and he adds that the word means drunk, fuddled, approaching to ebriety. Another

lexicographer with quiet satire remarks, 'Magdalen' College, at Oxford, is usually pronounced 'maudlin,' which makes this etymology the more probable.

> 'Is there a parson much bemused in beer,
> A maudlin poetess, a rhyming peer,
> A clerk foredoomed his father's soul to cross'—

Who does not see in this etymology an acknowledgment of the connection between drink and stupidity? Even the voice of the tombstone, when candid, tells the same story of the enmity of drink in the end, as in the lines on a licensed victualler in the church of Darenth, near Dartford, in Kent:—

> 'Oh the liquor he did love, but never will no moe
> For what he loved did turn his foe
> For on the 28th of January 1741 that fatal day
> The debt he owed he then did pay.'

Whatever we may think of this as verse, it gives assurance of the fact that there is woe in strong drink—a fact vouched for, too, in our proverbial literature:—

> '"More perish by intemperance than are drowned in the sea." Is this anything better than a painful, yet at the same time a flat truism? But let it be put in this shape: More are drowned in the wine-cup than in the ocean; or, again, in this: More are drowned in beer and in wine than in water (and these both are German proverbs), and the assertion assumes quite a different character. There is something that lays hold on us now. We are struck with the smallness of the cup as set against the vastness of the ocean, while yet so many more deaths are ascribed to that than to this; and, further, with the fact that literally none are, and none could be, drowned in the former, while multitudes perish in the latter.' *

Thus, we see that common experience as expressed in proverbs and popular knowledge, registered in words, prove conclusively that the danger and the disgrace of liquoring habits is perfectly admitted as a fact, of which the intellect has not fair ground for doubting; and yet we know that the moral of this knowledge has not sunk sufficiently into the hearts of men to persuade and convince them of the perniciousness of the habits of society which are concerned with the drink-traffic, and the indulgence in which it finds patronage.

On a thoughtful consideration of the several matters in connection with what may be called English byeway words, we think the following remarks may be justified. That the right use of right words is as important for the culture and purity of the conscience, as for the preservation of a good style, and the promotion of perspicuity. That words are true witnesses regarding the ideas which commonly hold a place in men's minds. That the prevalency of wicked words—literary and vernacular—proves that 'the imaginations of the thoughts' of

* Archbishop Trench 'On the Lessons in Proverbs.' Lect. I., p. 17.

the human heart are very evil; and that the ready and popular use of words wearing an innocent look, yet concealing an inner allusion to depraved habits or sinful customs, shows that the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. But more particularly, and coming more closely to our present point, we believe we may safely affirm, that the extraordinarily copious special lexicon of the drink-traffic and the habits connected with it, or the results flowing from it, demonstrates its prevalence, power, and activity, its widespread influence, its popularity and pervasion of all ranks, classes, and professions. But more even than this, the largeness of the number of the euphemisms which have been gathered round it, proves that drunkenness is a cunning, hypocritical, soul-condemned practice, afraid of detection, sneaking and ashamed, soul-deceiving too, for it invents plausible phrases that it may feign to use as the words of truth and soberness. What a miserable picture does language show us of the workings of the hearts of those who wish to keep drinking respectable; what a shrinking horror of the rude, rough, honest, outspoken, expressive language of the times, when men seemed what they were, and what a kindly welcoming of the great insidious vice into the bosom! If of the social drinking customs of our age it is a shame even to speak, how much more shameful ought it be to practise and encourage them? The very language which we use regarding drink proves that in our use of it we stand self-condemned within our own souls, and, in the inner sanctuary of our own consciences, seek to palter with the truth, by employing language in a double or a doubtful sense. Let the whole cobwebbery of sophistic euphemism and cant which the drink-traffic has woven round itself be swept away, let drink and its sale be spoken of in plain, intelligible, round, unvarnished terms, and how long would the demon of iniquity hold his place of triumph and malign influence? Scared by the blunt honesty of words so used as to express truth above all things, the soul would stand aghast at its depravity, conscience would awaken from its infernal spell-bound trance, repentance would seize on the spirit, and reform—God-blessed personal reform—would scatter at once to the winds the power of the treacherous enemy, and sober earnestness would supplant routine and fashion, and the passive following of the common practices of our generation in regard to the drink customs of society. Then, indeed, might we hope for the triumph of 'Meliora'—better things.

THE PROPERTY OF MARRIED WOMEN.

THE common law of this country recognises in the married woman only a sort of appendage to her husband. In the contemplation of the law, as it is coolly stated, 'The husband and wife are one person, and the husband is that person.' If we were to say that England and Scotland are one island, and England is that island, our Scottish friends would lift the sounding shell of protest at once; but Scotland and England, although they are united, have not been married, and Scotia manages to hold her own. The principality, on the other hand, would seem to have entered into full enjoyment of the matrimonial blessings. Wales, like a savage bride, was first well beaten and then annexed; and so it happens that England and Wales are at this day one kingdom, and that England is that kingdom.

In our Common Law Courts, the married woman, as far as concerns her possession of property, is not held to have any legal existence independently of her husband. In a sense which has no reference to her bulk, she is pronounced 'incapable of contracting;' and although her tongue and ears are not actually taken from her, yet it is declared that she can neither sue nor be sued. Her property at marriage ceases to be her's, and vests in her husband, or passes under his management and control during their joint lives. If it is 'real estate,' the husband, it is true, must go through the formality of getting her consent, by some process or other, ere he can sell it; but as long as he and she both live, the whole income from it is the husband's, to have and to hold, to spend or to give, to waste or to throw away; and he is not bound in law to make any special provision for her out of it. As for her personal property, it is his absolutely; and her leasehold property likewise is his, except that if he happens not to sell it, and she survives him, she can reclaim it. Neither for her nor her children is he bound to make any provision for the future out of the property she brings. And all that she earns during marriage is his. In short, the case between the pair is just as described in the old tale:—'What's yours is mine, and what's mine's my own;' thus John exults, and Joan has no remedy.

Woman had never gone in this way to the wall in past dark ages whilst common law was being slowly brewed and distilled, had not her sex been found to be the weakest;—weakest physically, which is the most decisive point of weakness in all but very highly civilised states; weakest intellectually, which again

is fatal to any claim in days when muscle and intellect are the two sole lords of life; only strongest morally and religiously, which sort of strength is accounted as another and worse sort of weakness by all except God and the children of light. And so being weakest, woman went to the wall, and got sadly bruised against it. And if the men who made the law had not had daughters as well as wives, the system would not have received the slightest mitigation. But it happened that the equity of the case was apt to assume contrary aspects when viewed from different points. To take a woman to wife and to sweep all her property into one's chest by the same process was, of course, unobjectionable and equitable, so long as she was another man's daughter. But that another man should do this with one's own daughter was not exactly the same sort of thing. One's own daughter certainly might require protection for her property; it could not be just that she should be deprived of all at the mere pleasure of her husband. And so the men who made the law were driven to devise an elaborate system under which, by ante-nuptial arrangement, the unjust common law might be defeated. The common law was good enough as between themselves and their wives, but it was not quite the sort of thing for the equitable interests of their daughters. Therefore, said they, let it be over-ridden for the benefit of these daughters. And as these daughters happened all to be rich men's daughters, the over-riding was made possible for the wealthy alone. For although the poor daughter's one ewe lamb is really of more concern to her than the rich daughter's flock is to the rich daughter, yet who cared in those days for the feelings or welfare of the poor? Such, accordingly, is the law of property for married women as it stood of yore in England, and as it continues to this day.

Contrivances for protecting the daughters of the rich were very cautiously introduced. First, the wife's separate existence was recognised just far enough to enable trustees to hold property for her outside the control of her husband. Afterwards, it was arranged that the wife should in respect of this separate property 'enjoy,' as the lawyers say, 'all the incidents of property;'—contract and be made liable on her contracts, and indirectly sue and be sued in equity. Next, it was agreed that a husband might be a trustee for his wife, and be called to account on her behalf. Later on, in order to preserve rich men's daughters from suffering from their own imprudence or from the undue influence of the husband, a process was invented whereby the wife could be restrained from anticipating the income of her separate property; so that no act of her own should deprive her of the right of receiving her dividends

as they became due. Means also were devised by which, after marriage, a wife becoming entitled to property as next of kin, or by will, might claim a portion of it for herself and children, as a settlement to secure her against the bad luck or bad management of her husband. This 'equity to a settlement' was at first only allowed in cases where the husband had to seek the intervention of the Courts in his own behalf, and where, in return for the assistance rendered him, they felt themselves in a position to insist on his acting equitably. Afterwards, however, they enlarged their jurisdiction; and now, in all cases in which property accrues to the wife after marriage, she is entitled, on application, to a share of it in settlement, if adequate provision has not been previously made, or if other circumstances warrant it; but if the property once gets into the husband's hands, the Courts are powerless.

The Courts of Equity have thus by a series of slow and awkward steps, and by resorting to clumsy legal fictions, managed to a large extent to enable wealthy people to avoid the consequences of the vicious old common law. The common law relation between husband and wife has been so far set aside, and instead of it has been substituted a very different relation between wife and husband. The question irresistibly arises upon this state of facts,—why for the wealthy only? why not for the poor? If the common law is nullifiable in this matter for the convenience of the rich, why should it be maintained at all to the disadvantage of the poor and unprotected woman?

Even, however, for the wealthy, a change in the law is desirable, because the marriage settlement system is not only cumbrous and clumsy, but it is far from being completely just. In cases, for example, where a wife is allowed an equity to a settlement in respect of property coming to her after marriage, the whole sum is not given to the wife, as it ought to be, but a portion of it is devoted to the husband or to his creditors or assignees. This is so, even in cases where he is living apart from his wife; and should it happen that the property has got into his hands, the Courts are unable to apply a remedy. Again, in the case of married women's contracts, the Equity Courts recognise her right to contract with reference to her separate estate; but they do not allow her a general right to make contracts, because that would be contrary to the common law doctrine that a married woman has no such power. Thus arise various anomalous and unsatisfactory restrictions.

'Thus where written contracts are made by a married woman, the Courts presume that they are made with reference to her separate estate, but they do not

make this presumption in the case of debts orally contracted, as by orders for goods, in which case unless the separate estate is mentioned at the time of the contract, there is no remedy against it; and it has been further indicated, as a consequence of this doctrine, that contracts with reference to a wife's separate estate, are in the nature of appointments of that estate, and that creditors of this kind rank not equally with one another, but according to priorities of time. It also appears that the means of recovering against the estate of a married woman, through the process of equity, are very expensive and unsatisfactory, and often lead to a denial of justice.' *

Sometimes, too, it occurs that, through accident or remissness, no settlement has been made; and then the improvidence, ill-conduct, or misfortune of the husband strips the wife of the whole of her own property.

And whilst thus the existing system of circumventing the common law fails to do all it ought to do for the wealthy, it is, from its expensiveness, quite beyond the reach of persons of small means, whose property, however little it may be, is of just as much importance to them as is the larger hoard to the affluent. Why should that be retained as a fundamental principle of law, which the Courts of Equity are constantly doing their utmost to set aside? And why should a yoke, which the rich are enabled to throw off, be fastened without remedy on the necks of the humbler classes? In short, why one law for the rich and another for the poor?

The law which gives the wife's earnings to her husband works much hardship. In many cases the husband lives on his wife, and spends his hours in dissipation. Mr. G. W. Hastings, in his evidence before the Select Committee, spoke of a number of such cases which had been laid before him. There were women whose husbands lived in drunkenness, and, very often, kept mistresses, entirely on the earnings of their wives. A married Irish lady had perpetual leasehold property producing about £2,000 a year; her husband sold and spent the produce of her leaseholds, then deserted her, and she had to earn her living in London by making artificial flowers. A widow, whose husband, a tradesman, had left her the whole of his property, married a widower, and whilst so doing had no idea that she was endowing him with all her worldly goods, and did not find out the truth until he had taken the whole of her property. Had she known the state of the law, she might have secured herself by marriage settlement; and had the law been as it should have been, it would have given her, as a matter of course, the protection which her ignorance rendered so necessary. One of the most common cases of hardship is that of women of the weekly wage class, and of those a little

* Special Report from the Select Committee on Married Women's Property Bill. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed.

above them, such as milliners, who have saved money previous to their marriage. The smallness of the amount places a marriage settlement out of the question; and the consequence is that the husband sweeps all away immediately. Thus a lady's maid saved money through ten or twelve years of service; she married; her husband got possession of her money, spent it all in profligacy, then deserted her, and went off to the Brazils with another woman. The lady whose servant she had been, becoming acquainted with her sad case, took compassion on her and set her up as a milliner at Torquay; a good business was got together, and upwards of £100 were placed in the savings' bank as the result of her toil. The husband returning from the Brazils, found out the state of the case, went to the bank, claimed the whole of the money, took it out, and went back to the Brazils with it to the woman with whom he was living. This occurred, it is true, before the law was altered so as to protect the earnings of married women whose husbands have deserted them. But even yet the new law only applies in cases where the husband absolutely and for two years deserts the wife; and there is nothing in it to prevent the husband from living upon his wife's earnings, going away for a month or twenty months at a time with another woman, and then returning and snatching the wages which his unhappy wife had earned. Mr. A. Hobhouse, Q.C., told the Select Committee that he had known some most cruel cases of the kind. One he mentioned was of a married woman in service, having an idle and dissipated husband, who could not be considered to have deserted her, she being in service, and against whom, therefore, she could not obtain any legal protection. Every twelve months or so, he came and swept away every farthing that his thrifty wife had managed to lay by. The Rev. Septimus Hansard narrated the case of a woman who had saved a little money in preparation for the time of her confinement, and whose husband actually took from her all the little hoard, and left her destitute. Mr. Mansfield, the police magistrate, spoke of the case of the widow of a master carter at Liverpool, who was married to her late husband's foreman. Very shortly after the marriage the husband dissipated the property, which was considerable, and so grossly ill-treated her that the intervention of the magistrate became necessary. 'Of course,' added this witness, 'if the property had remained in the wife, the foreman would have behaved properly; his conduct would have been as good after his marriage as it was before; the property would not have been dissipated, and the wife would not have been reduced to the workhouse, which she was.'

Another witness, Mr. Mundella, now M.P. for Sheffield, gave the Committee one or two instances in point. He knew a woman who was married to a widower with one child; to that child she was very kind, and she has, in fact, brought it up. When married to this man she had a good home of her own, and yet the wretch has persecuted and neglected her, and his drunken conduct has been so bad as to compel her to take her furniture and go away with his child. That man has gone to her house while she has been away at work, and would repeatedly have sold the goods had not the neighbours interposed obstacles to prevent him from making off with the whole of her property. Another case known to Mr. Mundella, is that of an excellent woman, whose husband, acting on the principle of killing no murder, has only stopped short of that crime in his cruel and abominable treatment of her. Driven away by his brutality, she managed to get a little home of her own together again; and five years ago she had a legacy left her, which would have made her very comfortable if she could but have received it. The trustees, however, were not able to pay it without her husband's signature, and so she had to forego its possession, and still lacks it, knowing that if her husband came to hear of it, he would inevitably seize it. Mr. Mundella knows a number of cases of women who marry early, and often earn as much as the man; aware that he can help himself to their earnings, the husband neglects work and becomes dissipated; the maintenance of the family thus falls upon the woman; and on Saturday, when she takes home her earnings, the man deprives her of most or all of these, and spends the money in drink. 'It is lamentable,' says Mr. Mundella, 'to what an extent the earnings of women are often dissipated by bad husbands, and they have no protection.'

It has been suggested that cases of this nature might be met by an extension of the law now to some extent protecting deserted wives, so as to apply to women whose husbands are intemperate, reckless, idle, or cruel. But this would, in fact, be a very insufficient remedy, because few women, while continuing to live with their husbands, would come forward to claim such protection, and therewith make their domestic grievances public; and because, again, in many cases the protection would come too late when the woman did at length make up her mind to obtain it. Long before it would be possible to get the protection order, the wife's savings would be swept off. To give labouring women an absolute property in and control over their own earnings and savings, would be conferring an unspeakable benefit. And it is worthy of note that there are proofs that if the better class of working men

had the making of the law, they would legislate in this sense. This is shown at Rochdale, in the famous Equitable Pioneer Co-operative Society, which consists almost exclusively of working men and women. Married women are not only allowed to be members on their own behalf, but their investments are guarded by the rules so that their husbands cannot withdraw them. Of course, if the husbands chose to be troublesome, it would be difficult to resist their claim, so long as the law of the land remains as it is. It would relieve the directors of much annoyance, and would tend to encourage provident habits in wives, if the law were changed. Mr. Ormerod, who was president of the society when before the Select Committee, said distinctly that in all cases the society does, with the assent of the directors, who are working men, give married women a separate property in their shares; he has never known or heard tell of any refusal on the part of the directors to give all the protection they can to married women having money in the society, and when the question has been mooted the members have never demurred to it.

Against all changes, however promisingly beneficial, our cautious instincts naturally rise up; and the ponderous conservatism of this country is so powerful, that it is not at all likely that those who advocate an amendment of the law affecting the earnings and property of married women, would be considered judicious any time on this side the twenty-first century, were it not that other communities, less afraid of change, have altered the law, and do rejoicingly adhere to the alteration. It is a fact that throughout the greater number of the United States, and in the dominion of Canada, the English common law on this subject has been repealed, and women, after marriage, now retain their separate property, with power to contract, and to sue and be sued in respect of it, just as if they were single. So strong has been the opinion in favour of this change in some of the more recently constituted Western States, that it has actually been made part of the State constitution, so as to be unrepealable except with much greater deliberation than is necessary for ordinary laws of the States.

The commencement of the change was in Vermont, in 1840; and other States soon followed the example. New York State, in 1848, gave married women control over their own property, but did not extend the protection to their earnings till 1860, and then it wholly repealed the common law. The date of the change in Massachusetts was 1857; in Upper Canada, 1859. This amendment of the law is stated by the witnesses to have been everywhere beneficial. An

ex-governor of Massachusetts, Mr. Washburn, now Professor of Law at Harvard University, who opposed the change with the apprehension that it would cause angry and unkind feelings in families, and open the door for fraud, now admits that he is so far convinced to the contrary that he would not restore the common law if he could. In short, the alteration has given entire satisfaction. None of the evils suggested as likely to flow from it have been observed. It has not caused dissension in families, nor weakened the proper authority of husbands, nor given rise to frauds to any noteworthy extent. It has lessened the number, but it has not abolished, marriage settlements. Where a woman owning much property is about to be married, trustees are still empowered to act for her benefit, as of yore; and in devises by will careful fathers still are found making a corresponding provision where the amount of bequest is considerable. It is to women of small fortunes that the chief benefit has accrued in America,—to whom a provision by marriage settlement through trustees was not open on account of the expense and difficulty, but who are now made equally secure with no trouble and expense to themselves. In America the number of such women is very large, whereas married women earning wages are comparatively rare. These exist more commonly in the manufacturing towns of Massachusetts, and there the new law is found to work admirably. It has 'brought to the women of the poorer classes,' says Mr. Wells, judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, 'a relief which touches the springs of hope and energy, and which, I believe, will affect their lives to a degree far beyond any influence that can be felt through property merely by those who are the fortunate possessors of pecuniary wealth.'

The law has not been altered in exactly the same degree in all the States that have welcomed its amendment. In Massachusetts the wife is debarred from selling real estate or shares in corporations without the consent of her husband, the husband retains his right to the personality of the wife if she dies without having made a will, and the courts of law having held that the wife could not be in partnership with her husband, the Legislature has enacted that she cannot be a partner with any third person, and that if she wishes to carry on any trade apart from her husband she must register herself as a separate trader, in due form. This restriction, however, does not apply to the case of simple earnings. The liability of the husband for his wife's debts still remains as before. In the State of New York the change has been more sweeping. Even real estate may be sold by the wife without her husband's consent; and she seems to be at liberty to

enter into partnership or to carry on a separate trade. Yet the common law in New York, as in Massachusetts, still remains unrepealed as regards husband and wife taking property by gift, grant, or conveyance from each other, or contracting with or suing one another upon contracts or for torts. In Upper Canada the change resembles that in New York, except that it has not been yet extended to earnings. The old French law of Lower Canada, under which great facilities were given to married women to obtain *séparation des biens* by simple declaration before a notary at marriage, had worked so well that it contributed greatly to the change of the English common law in Upper Canada.

Fortified by abundant and most reliable testimony as to the excellent results of the change in America, the Select Committee have reported altogether favorably to it. They say:—

'Your Committee attribute much weight to the evidence from those States because, where so great a change of law is proposed, the arguments as to the results must necessarily be of a theoretical character, unless they can be drawn from experience; and if in countries with populations so similar in every respect to that of this country, with the same laws up to a recent period, and where the same complaints were made against the operation of it, the common law has been changed without difficulty, and without causing those evils which were anticipated there, and which are feared here, there is every reason to believe that those fears are groundless, and that the same good results will follow in this country. Among the working classes the number of women earning wages is so much greater than in the United States, that there is good reason to believe the results of the change will be even more satisfactory, in so far as they will extend to so many more persons.

'Looking, therefore, to the result of this experience, and to the general tendency of the provisions of equity, your Committee is of opinion that a change in the law of this country, with reference both to the property and earnings of married women, is necessary.'

But then comes the question, whether any alteration should be made in the liability of a husband to maintain his wife in consequence of such a change in the law regarding the property of married women? The Committee conclude that such alteration is not necessary:—

'A married woman living with her husband has an authority which, in spite of some fluctuation and uncertainty of judicial decisions, seems to be regulated by the general principles of the law of agency. Agency is a mixed question of law and fact, and the Courts will give due weight to such a fact as the possession of property by a married woman without any express statutable directions.'

Questions still remain which the Committee have not felt themselves able to dispose of thus summarily, or at all. For instance:—Should the poor-law liability of the father for the maintenance of the children be extended to the mother? Should the change in the law be confined to future marriages only, or should it be applied, as it has been in Upper Canada,

to existing marriages, where after-acquired property is concerned? Should the restrictions in alienation of property by the wife, which the Massachusetts code imposes, be adopted in this country? Should the wife's power to contract, convey, and take by conveyance, be extended to contracts with, or conveyances to or from, her husband, or be limited to third parties as appears to be the case in some of the American States? Again: On the death of the wife without having made a will, should any part of her personal property go to her next of kin, or the whole to her husband? These questions the Committee cautiously felt that they had not had time to discuss thoroughly before the close of the Session compelled them to report their proceedings; and they have left at the end of their report a recommendation that a Select Committee be appointed in the new Session of Parliament to pursue those points of inquiry.

Not seeing any real necessity for postponing action, Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Headlam, and Mr. Jacob Bright have just brought in a Bill to amend the law with respect to the property of married women. It proposes that married women shall be capable of holding property, of contracting, of suing and of being sued, equally with single women. Property acquired after the Act has come into operation by women married before that time, is to be held by them as if they had remained unmarried. The earnings of a married woman are to be her personal estate. A husband is not to be liable for his wife's debts contracted before marriage, nor in damages for any wrong committed by her. Upon the death of a wife intestate, her husband is to take the same distributive share in her personal estate as a wife would take in the personal estate of her husband if he died intestate. The right of any husband to hold his wife's real estate as tenant by courtesy is not to be interfered with. Disputes between husband and wife as to personal property are to be decided in a summary way, either party being allowed to apply to any Chancery or county court judge, who will be empowered to make any order that he may think fit. If a wife has allowed her husband to receive the rents and profits of her personal estate, the husband is not to be held liable to account for them. The Act is to come into operation on the first of January next, and is not to extend to Scotland. It has our cordial wishes for its success.

ROBERT FALCONER.

AS an earnest teacher of that which is now to be called 'The Enthusiasm of Humanity,' George Macdonald stands, perhaps, unrivalled among the novelists of to-day.

The book before us is in his best style, and has the remarkable merit of at once avoiding the insipidities of an ordinary novel, and of maintaining, with almost no plot, the reader's interest unabated even to the last chapter. The faults which in our eyes stain most of the novels of the age, are not entirely absent from 'Robert Falconer.' The example set by Mrs. Gaskell, and followed only too willingly by her successors, George Eliot and others, has apparently been too powerful in its influence over Mr. Macdonald for him to withstand and deviate from. We hold, as a first principle, that for all true teachers of mankind the setting forth of truth, beauty, and purity is at once the noblest and the surest way of advancing that 'Enthusiasm of Humanity' which such teachers as Mr. Madonald adopt for their creed. It is, doubtless, continually argued, in reply to such strictures, that an artist must be true to nature; that he must paint the dark as well as the bright side of that human nature which it is his purpose to delineate;—that if he finds corruption, whether in the palace or the cottage, he must paint it, gibbeting it as best he may, showing its vileness to the utmost of his power, but still not suppressing, but setting it forth. We, however, would still urge that with the poet, and such in truth the novelist claims to be, especially the prophet-novelist, like our author, truth and beauty, the lessons he has to teach, must ever stand in his estimation far higher than the work of the mere artist recording just what he sees. Just as we read in the days of our childhood in that ancient child's book, 'Evenings at Home,' that the young artist was not to occupy himself with the study of 'lusus naturæ,' such as the duck standing on one leg, so the poet-artist, who has a true realisation of the holiness of his vocation, will see it his duty, as did the preacher of old, to commend himself and his work, not by manifestation of the false, of the corrupt, of the odious, but 'by manifestation of the truth,' to every reader's conscience.

The sketch of Robert's boyhood and early youth under the care, we might almost say surveillance, of his pious but austere grandmother, is one which for dramatic power of treatment must needs hold a high place in our memory of the story. The incessant strain of the boy-nature with its poetical tendencies against the repressive government system adopted

by the grandmother, itself a legitimate outcome of the high-toned, yet somewhat narrow religious training in which she had grown up, is delineated with a power of insight into the boy-character worthy of our most able dramatists; while the ever-recurring, never absent background shadow of the dishonoured son and father, the intended quest for whom becomes the guiding idea of Robert's every thought, haunts the reader scarcely less than the image of her 'Anerew' does the grandmother.

In one respect, however, we must doubt whether our author has not made of 'Robert' an unreal character, and that is in his intense love of, and insight into, the poetry of nature. We believe that all revelation of the unseen, whether in the world of spirit or of imagination, comes to man through human channels. It does not appear to us possibly true that a boy, living like Robert in a small country town, which Rothieden clearly is, with nature close to him and familiar to him from his childhood, should, because he goes a few miles out of this village-town to spend a fortnight at his farmer-uncle's, become so responsive as he does to the voices of nature, without the intervention of any human soul to open and unlock to him that closed door. To a child who has never seen the sun shine on green fields and waving tree-boughs, such a revelation may be, nay is, not impossible; but we believe our experience in this respect will be endorsed by other observers of boy-nature, that to the country-bred boy such a revelation comes not direct, but ever by transmission from some inspired human soul.

And here we must note another—shall we say weakness? in our author. Music has, indeed, a remarkable power over his hero, and it is through its teaching that nature's voices speak to him; but really the large part which Mr. Macdonald makes music to take in the salvation, regeneration, and elevation of nearly all his principal characters does sometimes almost provoke a smile. It is the saving of Mysie and of 'Anerew,' the one redeeming quality of 'the soutar,' and a quasi-halo of glory around Miss St. John.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not 'sneer,' as Mr. Macdonald says, 'at the notion of making the violin a ministering spirit in the process of conversion.' Oh, no; we can well understand its value in such special cases as 'Anerew's,' but it is hardly to be supposed that so many persons should be similarly affected in one small circle, such as that presented to us in these volumes.

It is, however, most encouraging that this intense musical passion, which both hero and heroine share, should fail to

interfere with the life-work to which they afterwards so zealously betake themselves, and even still more remarkable that the music passion seems almost to fade away out of this earnest life, which London finds for them.

All these, however, are merely minor flaws, say rather sun-gilt motes, which detract in no degree from the beauty of the narrative, and the thrilling earnestness of the chief actors.

The shock-headed Shargar must not be passed unnoticed by. The part he occupies in the tale is an unwonted, yet an interesting one. The process by which he grows from being merely Robert's shadow, or his faithful dog, to be the self-centred man, the Major Moray, himself fulfilling the one novel-like part of the novel, is an admirable study in itself.

To us, however, we must confess this book has its chief interest from its mode of dealing with social questions, but for which we had found no place for it in these pages. In every word of Mr. Macdonald's on this subject, we feel that he abundantly recognises the truth of Mrs. Browning's teaching:—

> 'Even so
> I hold you will not compass your poor ends
> Of barley-feeding and material ease,
> Without a poet's individualism
> To work your universal. It takes a soul
> To move a body: it takes a high-souled man,
> To move the masses...even to a cleaner stye:
> It takes the ideal, to blow a hair's-breadth-off
> The dust of the actual.—Ah! your Fouriers failed
> Because not poets enough to understand
> That life develops from within.'

Again:—

> 'Tis impossible
> To get at men excepting through their souls,
> However open their carnivorous jaws;
> And poets get directlier at the soul
> Than any of your œconomists:—for which
> You must not overlook the poet's work
> When scheming for the world's necessities.
> The soul's the way. Not even Christ himself
> Can save man else than as He holds man's soul;
> And therefore did He come into our flesh.'

And, so far, such a book as this is most invaluable, as showing that the regeneration of the masses cannot be wrought out by any rough and ready method of 'improved dwellings for the people,' or any other mere 'soap-and-water' or scavenger's cleansings,—but must be by the Christ-like method of personal touch and contact of the truly living soul, with the downward-drawn but still restorable 'human form divine.'

But we must let Mr. Macdonald here speak for himself:—

'Thus did Falconer appoint a sorrow-made infidel to be the almoner of his Christian charity, knowing well that the nature of the Son of Man was in him, and that to get him to do as the Son of Man did, in ever so small a degree, was the readiest means of bringing his higher nature to the birth.'—Vol. iii., p. 101.

Again :—

'What, then, is a man to do for the poor? How is he to work with God?' I asked.

'He must be a man among them—a man breathing the air of a higher life, and therefore in all natural ways fulfilling his endless human relations to them. Whatever you do for them, let your own being, that is, you in relation to them, be the background, that so you may be a link between them and God, or rather, I should say, between them and the knowledge of God.'

Again, Falconer asks a would-be disciple :—

'Could you look upon loathsomeness . . . . without losing your belief in the Fatherhood of God, by losing your faith in the actual blood-relationship to yourself of these wretched beings? Could you believe in the immortal essence hidden under all this garbage—God at the root of it all?' 'And then the time you must spend before you can lay hold upon them at all, that is, with the personal relation which alone is of any real influence.' 'Not under any circumstances could I consent to make use of you before you had brought yourself into genuine relations with some of them first.'

But we need not multiply extracts. The above will sufficiently show the character of 'Robert Falconer' as a 'social worker.' What strikes us most strangely is, that a man should be pictured as so earnest in the work, and so plunged in the seething whirlpool of London misery, as recognising the value of law in the minor matter of dwellings for the poor, and yet apparently, as failing to recognise the great cause of all this misery, in the midst of which he worked, in the law-provided liquor-traffic.

Passages, indeed, we have, which show that Mr. Macdonald's eyes have not been closed to the horrors of the public-house system. Thus :—

'What better life could steam up from such a Phlegethon! Look there, "Cream of the Valley!" As if the mocking serpent must, with sweet words of Paradise, deepen the horrors of the hellish compound, to which so many of our own brothers and sisters, made in the image of God, fly as to their only saviour from the misery of feeling alive.'

Moreover, we find all through the book—as how could we otherwise?—the whisky or the gin doing its dreadful work, transforming into hideous perversions of humanity, men and women made in the image of God. And yet, though seeing the curse which the drink was working, we find the man and his friend taking their 'glass of wine' before issuing forth to redeem their fellow-creatures from the woe wrought by the spirit of the same liquor. Strange inconsistency! and the stranger, because on some points the man does see so plainly.

Thus, for his father, for instance, he feels the need of absolute prohibition, and when he leaves him at Bodyfauld, only does so on condition that Mr. Lammie's house shall for the time become 'prohibition territory.' Strange that in the whole book there is no hint of the idea that what was good for his father and Mr. Lammie's household in Scotland, might prove equally beneficial for his many poor friends in London, and their sober neighbours around them.

To us, as opponents of the drink traffic, that picture of Mr. Lammie, 'ganging to mak the twa boatles o' whusky an' the midden weel acquant,' is as joyful a one as any in the book.

Oh! for a law to send all the 'whisky' and its fraternity in the same direction!

THE LICENSING LAWS AND PROPOSALS FOR THEIR AMENDMENT.

THERE are few subjects so intricate as our licensing system, if system it may be called. Enactment after enactment has been made, establishing such a variety of licences, that very few persons are acquainted with all the conditions under which the privilege to sell intoxicating drinks can be obtained, or with the laws which are in force for the regulation of the trade. There is only one thing in connection with the system on which all persons seem to be agreed, namely, that the result of all the laws has been most unsatisfactory. All classes of the community are loud in their complaints, and proposals for amendment are being brought forward on every hand. The magistrates all over the country and the judges of the highest courts, the convocation of the province of Canterbury and the conference of the Primitive Methodists, the members of the United Kingdom Alliance and of the Licensed Victuallers' Protection Societies, the Association for the Promotion of Social Science and the numerous associations scattered over all the land for the avowed object of amending the licensing laws, all declare unanimously that the present incongruous mass of inconsistent enactments produces confusion and uncertainty in the administration of the law, and promotes rather than diminishes intemperance and its attendant evils. We do not intend in the present article to enter upon a consideration of the amount of the evil which does exist among us; we will assume, unhesitatingly, that our readers are well aware of its extent and deplore

it sincerely; we shall take for granted that all desire to remove what all regret; and believing that what is really needed is a fair statement of the law as it at present stands and of the remedies proposed, we shall attempt as impartially as possible to describe the existing confusion, and to point out the nature of the proposals made for its removal.

We do not dare to enter into a history of the licensing system of this country beyond the reign of William IV. Prior to his day the only licensed retailers of beer, wine, and spirits held their privilege under the bill known as 9 Geo. IV., c. 61, the object of which, according to its preamble, was 'to reduce into one act the laws relating to the licensing by justices of the peace of persons keeping, or being about to keep, inns, alehouses, and victualling-houses to sell excisable liquors by retail to be drunk or consumed on the premises.' This act repealed somewhere about twenty-five previous acts in force up to the year 1828, and has been ever since the statute under which the magistrates have granted certificates to the applicants who came before them, in which the Excise have been empowered to confer the privilege of selling intoxicating liquors. Every one is aware that under this act general licensing meetings are held annually, and at least four meetings for transferring licenses every year. At these meetings any question touching the granting, withholding, or transferring any license, as the fitness of the person applying for such license, or of the house intended to be kept by such person, shall be determined by the majority of the justices present. The persons receiving certificates from the magistrates at the brewster sessions can, on payment of the appointed fees, take out licenses from the Excise for the sale of spirituous and other excisable liquors. Some few only have a license to sell beer, though they may have the more extended privilege if they wish it. The licensed houses are allowed to be open for the sale of drinks except on certain hours on Sundays, Christmas Day, and Good Friday, or any day appointed for a public fast or thanksgiving day. By the 'Permissive Public House Closing Act of 1864,' which has been adopted in about eighty localities, all places for the sale of drink or refreshment are closed from one o'clock a.m. to four. Various penalties are also enacted for breaches of the conditions of the license, such as permitting drunkenness or the assembling of disorderly characters, the use of any but standard measures, the adulteration of liquors, the sale of drink in prohibited hours, the permission of gambling, &c. For a first offence a penalty not exceeding five pounds is imposed; for a second offence a sum not exceeding ten

pounds; for a third offence the fine is increased to a sum not exceeding fifty pounds; while, if the justices should in their discretion remit this charge to the general or quarter sessions to be tried before a jury, the penalty, on the accused being found guilty, is increased to one hundred pounds, and the licence may be adjudged to be void, and its holder incapable of selling excisable liquors by retail for three years from the time of such adjudication. It is under this act that all the places which retail spirits and wines for consumption on the premises are licensed, except those kept by free vintners of London, who do not require a licence for the sale of wines.

The action of this law was considered so unsatisfactory, and so much intemperance prevailed in the country, that in the year 1830 the Beerhouses' Act was passed, by which, without having recourse to the justices, houses were licensed by the Excise for the sale of beer only, it being hoped that the introduction of facilities for obtaining a milder beverage would lessen the consumption of spirits, and that the removal of the licensing from the magistrates would diminish the partisanship and jobbery with which those gentlemen were charged. Before this act had been in force many months, the evils arising from it were so great, that it was so far amended that only houses of a certain rateable value are now permitted to receive licences, and in places with a population under 5,000 a certificate of six persons rated at £6 and upwards, as to the character of the applicant, is required. The holders of beer-house licences are under severer restrictions than licensed victuallers as to hours of sale, but the penalties upon breaches of the tenour of licences are the same as those imposed upon the spirit dealers, with the exception that the penalty for a first offence does not exceed £2, and that there is no clause like that which enables the magistrates to send the consideration of the third offence to quarter sessions, so that the fine is not to exceed £50, though the licence may be declared void.

In addition to these two classes of houses for the sale of intoxicating beverages, refreshment-houses may now be licensed for the sale of wine to be consumed on the premises, and grocers, &c., may obtain licences to sell for consumption off the premises. The permission is granted by the Excise on receipt of a magisterial certificate that certain formal conditions have been complied with. There is no discretion granted to the bench as in the case of applicants for a spirit licence.

We have not, in our enumeration of the variety of licences existing, alluded as yet to the wholesale licences, nor do we intend to enter into their consideration except to point out

that, under a late act, wholesale dealers may by a small additional fee obtain a retail licence for sale for consumption off the premises. This applies to the sale of beer as well as of spirits, and several cases are reported where under cover of this licence men have entered the trade who were unable to comply with the requirements of the ordinary Beer Act. To add to the confusion, occasional licences can under certain circumstances be obtained for the sale of excisable liquors at fairs, races, &c.

We have thus briefly enumerated the different laws regulating the licensing of houses for the sale of all kinds of intoxicating drinks, without entering into any discussion of their relative merits. There is, however, one feature in the magisterial licence which ought not to be overlooked, as it adds very materially to the chaos which our want of system inevitably produces. The members of the bench have unlimited discretion as to their votes. They may grant or withhold a licence with or without reason. Political prejudice, a desire of exercising personal patronage, or gratifying a personal dislike, the highest philanthropy, or any other motive may actuate them. They may think it right to consider the requirements of the neighbourhood, or believe that such a consideration is not to be taken into account. They may flood a town with spirit shops, as the Liverpool bench did during several years, or may keep down the number or reduce it, as they have done in Manchester. By their action they may thus make the law have an altogether different operation in two neighbouring towns; they may change their plans from year to year, and thus produce an uncertainty as to its character, and greatly injure the respect in which it is desirable that the law should ever be held. And, further, as the applicant for a spirit licence has, if refused, the right of appeal to the quarter sessions, it may happen, indeed it has frequently happened, that a man who for very definite reasons has been refused his licence by the local justices, obtains it from the quarter sessions, the members of which cannot be equally good judges of the circumstances under which the application was made.

When we remember, in addition, that even if the ordinary brewster sessions refuse a spirit licence, and the quarter sessions confirm that refusal, a man can obtain a beerhouse licence and a wine licence, it is evident that the one great restriction upon the number of drinking-houses supposed to be in the good character of the licencee, is altogether done away with. It will, therefore, not be surprising that nearly every proposal for the amendment of the present law begins with

a demand for a repeal of the Beer and Wine Licensing Acts, or, as it may more generally be stated, by a proposal that there should be one authority only from whom all the various kinds of licences should proceed, and that this authority should have power to take the character of the applicants into consideration with other circumstances.

The Beerhouse Licensing System Amendment Association, of which Mr. Akroyd, the member for Halifax, is the treasurer, and the Rev. Wm. Stanyer, M.A., the hon. secretary, confines itself to the moderate proposition of repealing the Beer Act, and has at the present moment a bill before Parliament to that effect. There can be no doubt that if the Beer Act were repealed so as to prevent for the future the granting of any new licences, or at least to diminish the number, some slight good would be obtained; but so very small a portion of the evil would be touched, that we cannot even at the best look upon this proposal with very great hopefulness of the ultimate benefit to be derived from it. The bill brought in by Mr. Selwyn-Ibbetson expressly provides for the renewal of all existing licences granted prior to its passing. Allowing the magistrates no power to take the wants or requirements of the neighbourhood into their consideration of licences for consumption off the premises, can hardly be considered a measure which will give many fewer licences than the present system, except in cases where at present the Excise authorities wilfully transgress the law by licensing houses rated below the amount required by the act. The good features of the proposal are that less stringency is required in proof of various contraventions of the conditions of licence than at present. The advantages are, however, so small in the proposed amendment, that when the evils to be contended against are considered, we cannot help fearing that the passing of the bill will be a hindrance instead of a gain to an efficient reform of the licensing system. We shall have men demanding a fair trial, as it is called, before any further change be made. Its advocates also confirm a very erroneous impression current among to many of the magistrates—that they have not as efficient a control over the conduct of beerhouses as over that of public-houses licensed by the magistracy. The fact is that the powers which the magistrates do possess are rarely exercised. If the penalties which might be imposed were enforced to the limit assigned to them by the law, we should see a diminution in the number of beerhouses, and the remainder would be conducted with greater desire to comply with the tenour of the licence. It is a very rare thing indeed to see a fine of £10 imposed upon a beerhouse-keeper for a second offence,

or a £50 penalty imposed for a third offence. The report of the chief constable of Manchester records 668 cases of beer-house-keepers convicted during the year ending September 29th, 1868, the total amount of fines imposed being £860. 10s., exclusive of costs, giving an average penalty of £1. 5s. 9d. to each case. There were, however, four cases of a fourth conviction, where the full penalty undoubtedly ought to have been imposed. This would have made £200. There are twenty-two cases of third convictions, which would have imposed penalties to the amount of £1,100. It is unnecessary to refer to the 110 cases of second offences in order to show that in Manchester, at least, the magistrates have not made use of the powers at present within their reach to ensure the good behaviour of the beerhouse-keepers; and we have every reason to believe that in this neglect Manchester is not worse than other towns. From the report of Lieutenant-General Cartwright, the inspector of the constabulary for the eastern and midland counties for the year ending 29th September, 1868, printed by order of the House of Commons, 19th February, 1869, we find that in those counties there were 8,656 beer-houses; that, against these, 940 prosecutions for offences against good order were conducted, resulting in 780 convictions; and yet only three licences were withdrawn. The tables do not give the number of times the houses proceeded against had offended, but we can hardly believe that only three were guilty for a third time. In 34 boroughs inspected by this gentleman there were 3,213 beerhouses, the number of prosecutions was 620, the convictions were 544, but not one single licence was withdrawn. Surely the law cannot have been enforced with anything like strictness here. There is, however, one point which ought not to be overlooked in considering this assertion of magisterial want of control. The fact that on a third offence the licence is void, would make the traders more careful if the bench were more severe. A publican is of course liable to lose his spirit licence on a third offence, but when he has forfeited it he can continue the sale of beer and wine under an Excise licence, but the beerhouse-keeper would have to find some other means of procuring a livelihood, if the law were rigorously enforced against him. We are told that the licensed victuallers' houses are so much more under magisterial control than the beerhouses, yet we do not find that their authority is exercised in a very formidable way. In the 17 counties reported upon by General Cartwright there are 13,978 public-houses; of these, 565 have been proceeded against, and 461 have been convicted; but only 37 have had their licences withdrawn.

In the 34 boroughs on which he reports, there are 4,595 public-houses; against 303 proceedings have been taken, and 244 have been convicted, while only 6 have lost their licences. These figures do not suggest any very great activity on the part of the justices of the peace. The leniency of the bench towards such offenders makes many persons very doubtful whether the magistrates are the fittest authority in which to confide the power of regulating licences.

A new society—'The National Association for Promoting Amendment in the Laws relating to the Liquor Traffic'—has lately been established under the presidency of the Archbishop of York, which demands an immediate suspension of Excise licensing, and further asks for measures of restriction to limit the facilities of intemperance. This scheme, inasmuch as it immediately stops the multiplication of beer-houses, is an improvement upon the older society to which we have just referred, but it is impossible to say anything as to its practical usefulness, in consequence of the further restrictive measures which it desires to see enforced being as yet undeclared.

A more definite scheme was introduced into the House of Lords by the Earl of Lichfield. This measure, however well intended, would, if carried, be rather a means of stricter police supervision than an amendment of the licensing system. The chief features of reform which it proposed were, a change in the method of granting beer and wine licences, almost identical with that proposed by Mr. Selwyn-Ibbetson's bill, which would therefore continue the mischief of excessive temptations instead of materially lessening the number, and the introduction of a clause, granting to owners of property the right of objecting, though not of vetoing, the issue of a licence within a certain radius of their property. Very many police regulations were, however, introduced into this bill which would have raised a host of objections, and some of them well founded ones. We do not see how, *e.g.*, the clause which prohibited working men from entering public-houses during the ordinary hours of labour could be defended against the charge of being class legislation. Lord Lichfield has, however, joined the society presided over by the Archbishop of York, and we therefore hope that, if he again introduces a Licensing Amendment Bill, it will be a more thoroughgoing scheme than the one which he last brought before the Peers.

A far more extensive proposal for reform is made by the Licence Amendment League, founded last October in Birmingham, which has its head-quarters, however, in Manchester, and has the advantage of possessing in Dr. Martin a

most earnest and unwearied hon. secretary. We subjoin his statement of the objects of the league, together with the reform it suggests:

FIRST.—*The amendment of the Beer and Wine Licensing Acts.*
- *a* Abolition of Excise licensing.
- *b* Magistrates to form the sole licensing authority.
- *c* No appeal from the decision of the local magistrates.

SECOND.—*Diminution of the present facilities for obtaining new licences.*
- *a* By increase of rating and rental qualifications.
- *b* By giving to owners and occupiers of adjacent property a local *veto*.
- *c* By giving to town councils, &c., a general *veto*.

THIRD.—*Diminution of the present provocatives to drunkenness.*
- *a* Sunday drinking.—Town councils, boards of commissioners, &c., to have the power of closing public-houses, &c., during the whole of Sunday.
- *b* Early and late drinking.—Town councils, &c., to be empowered to order the closing of public-houses, &c., during the week, from 10 or 11 p.m. till 7 a.m.

(Where there is not a local board elected by the ratepayers, these powers to be exercised by the magistrates.)

FOURTH.—*To establish special checks to drunkenness.*
- *a* By prohibiting the opening of gin-palaces.
- *b* By prohibiting the opening of music or dancing saloons, except under magisterial licence.
- *c* By rendering it an offence to allow workmen to remain drinking during ordinary working hours.
- *d* A husband to have power to prohibit publicans, or others, from supplying his wife with liquor.
- *e* Magistrates to have power to prohibit publicans, or others, from supplying notorious drunkards with liquor.

FIFTH.—*To give greater protection to young persons.*
- *a* Publicans, or others, prohibited from supplying liquors to any young person under eighteen years of age in any licensed house.
- *b* No female under the age of twenty-one years to be employed as a waitress in any licensed house.
- *c* No person under twenty-one years of age to be allowed to enter any singing or dancing saloon connected with a public-house, &c.

No doubt if some of the amendments proposed by this association could be carried, they would very materially improve our present condition. We are, however, very far from convinced that the magistrates are the best licensing authority which could be found. The discretion entrusted to them has frequently been used very indiscreetly, and the fact that they are an irresponsible body of men makes the placing of so great a power in their hands so absolutely as it would be under these proposals, a matter deserving of very serious consideration. The plan of increasing the rental and rating qualifications of houses applying for new licences is a very excellent one, as it would limit the area in which the discretionary power of the licensing authority could be exercised, and by making the licensee invest more capital in his business, it would impose greater caution on the conduct of the publican, as the deprivation of his licence would be a proportionally greater loss. The local

veto which is claimed for owners and occupiers of adjacent property is distinctly a step in the direction of a thorough remedy for the evils of the public-house system, and, as we shall try to show further on, a very legitimate means to be adopted. We are not quite so sure that giving to town councils, &c., a general veto is equally effective. No doubt this suggestion is derived in part from the Right Hon. John Bright's remark in the debate on the second reading of the Permissive Bill in 1864, when he recommended the transfer of the licensing power to the municipal councils, and advocated entrusting the full veto power to the representatives of the ratepayers as preferable to putting it to the direct vote. Mr. Bright subsequently stated that he did not urge the proposal with much confidence, as the case was full of difficulties. We fear that municipal elections would be exposed to additional dangers of corruption if the Town Councils were to become the licensers of public-houses, or to have the power of veto. As it is, there are so many questions of local interest which have to be considered in the selection of men for municipal duties, that the important question of licensing might be overlooked by those interested in other subjects, while the persons interested in the trade in drink would always be alive to the importance of securing men favourable to their traffic, so that the indirect control first suggested by Mr. Bright, and adopted with modification by the Licence Amendment League, would be very far short of being so effective as its advocates would desire.

Several of the special checks suggested under the fourth and fifth heads would no doubt be very beneficial, but others are open to the objections which we urged against similar proposals in Lord Lichfield's act, and seem to raise unnecessary difficulties in the way of any practical scheme of licence amendment.

Several of the suggestions contained in the programme of this league were embodied in the bill which a few sessions ago was introduced into the House of Commons by the member for Liverpool. This act was the result of an experiment which had been tried in that town for several years, by the rather singular interpretation given to the 9 Geo. IV., c. 61, by some of the most active members of the local magistracy. Believing that the intention of the Legislature had not been to consult what are technically known as 'the requirements of the neighbourhood,' licences had been granted to all applicants of good character who occupied houses suited to the trade in liquors. The number of spirit shops had thus been very greatly increased in Liverpool, so that while in most other towns the beerhouses exceeded the spirit shops in

number, the proportion was there reversed. We do not wish to go into the often repeated tale of Liverpool drunkenness. Suffice it to say that the experiment was so fruitful of evil results, that although some of its defenders still maintain that it was not tried quite long enough, more moderate counsels prevailed at the brewster sessions, and the ordinary interpretation of the act was adopted after a severe and prolonged contest. The one fact, however, had become manifest to all persons, that laws which permitted such evils to exist as were seen in Liverpool, required amendment, and a joint committee of the borough magistrates and town council prepared a bill which was introduced, as we stated above, by the local members, but, meeting with Government opposition, based on technical grounds, it was withdrawn, on an implied understanding that the ministry would take up and deal with the whole question as soon as possible. The Liverpool Licensing Bill, which the *Licensed Victuallers' Guardian* described as 'seeking the hateful condition of Liverpool all over the kingdom, and making unusual efforts to swamp the respectable tradesmen, to ruin their property, and lower them in the social scale, as [*sic*] to convert the whole country into a similar fearful Eblis of misery and crime,' would perhaps meet with more lenient criticism at the hands of less interested critics. Its chief objects were to secure uniformity in the issue of licences, combined with restrictions that should by degrees lessen the number of houses and at once diminish the hours during which the sale could be carried on. The advantages were to be obtained by the immediate repeal of the Excise licensing powers, and by making the magistrates the sole licensing authority. The varying manner of the exercise of their discretion was to be put an end to by making it obligatory upon the bench to grant licences whenever certain conditions were complied with by the applicants. In order that the number of houses might not under such a rule be too much increased, a high rental was demanded for every house seeking a licence, and a largely increased fee was required, a certain amount of which was to be paid to the authorities of the locality, in aid of police expenses. A local veto was proposed to be given, by which three-fourths of the inhabitants and owners of adjacent property would be able to prevent the issue of new licences. A small reduction in the licence fee was to be made to such publicans as would consent to keep their houses closed on Sundays, and various increased restrictions were to be imposed upon the dealer in intoxicating drinks. One clause in the bill was inserted to quieten the fears of the present holders of

licences,—they were to have fourteen years' grace before the increased fees were to be demanded of them, but they were immediately to come under the police regulations imposed by the bill.

There can be no doubt that a system such as that sketched in the Liverpool bill would in very many places be a vast improvement upon the present chaos. The increased rating or rental demanded would amply counteract the evil caused by giving up the moral check which exists in the discretionary power of the magistrates, and when the years of grace had passed there would be a large diminution of the number of houses, the small public-houses and beershops being then unable to obtain new licences. Whether it would be worth while to purchase the advantage, together with the lessened hours of sale and the increased strictness of regulation by an indemnity of fourteen years, is, however, very questionable; and the veto clause was so small a boon as to be valuable chiefly as a concession of a principle which might ultimately lead to greater things. The bill was, however, withdrawn, and the promised Government bill is still only promised, the deputations which have lately waited upon Mr. Gladstone and the Home Secretary having only elicited the fact that no measure will be introduced by them this session, although the question is to be brought under the consideration of the cabinet. It does appear, however, from remarks made by Mr. Gladstone and by Mr. Bruce, that the provisions of the Liverpool bill will not be overlooked in framing any measure which will be brought forward with ministerial sanction.

The important question of licensing reform has not been overlooked by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. At every meeting which it has held since its first congress at Birmingham, papers have been read upon the subject, and resolutions have been frequently sent up to the council for further deliberation. At the Belfast meeting (1867) a special committee was appointed, which gave very mature consideration to the whole question, and presented a very thoughtful report to the council of the Association, which after considerable debate was adopted by that body. At the last congress in Birmingham (1868), the report was considered in the section for the Suppression of Crime, presided over by Sir Walter Crofton, and the council was requested to press its consideration upon the attention of Parliament. The suggestions of this committee, after asserting that uniformity was greatly needed in the laws regulating the sale of drink, which are in the opinion of the committee in a very unsatisfactory condition, proceed as follows:—

'The manner in which houses are conducted where excisable liquors are sold by retail would appear naturally to depend on the character of the persons entrusted with the licences, the value of the premises in which the sale takes place, the hours during which they are open, and the number of such houses in a neighbourhood.

'It is therefore desirable that every precaution should be taken to ascertain the character of all persons applying for licences, that the houses are of sufficient value, and proper for the business, and that there is a reasonable presumption that, if licensed, the occupants may, with industry and honest dealing, obtain a living.

'Your committee therefore recommend that all applications for licences to sell beer, spirits, wines, cider, or perry by retail be in the first instance made to the justices in petty sessions, after notice to the chief constable of the place and the other authorities now required by the 9 Geo. IV., c. 61, in respect of inns, alehouses, and victualling-houses; such notice to state the class of trade for which the applicant wishes to be licensed, *i.e.*, hotel, inn, victualling-house, wine and spirit store, refreshment-rooms, or beerhouse; and the discretion at present exercised by justices in granting licences, shall be extended to all licences to be granted by them.

'That the value of houses to which licences should in future be granted (otherwise than by renewal) for the sale of beer by retail to be drunk on the premises be increased to double the value now required by the 1 Wm. IV., c. 64.

'That all licensed houses be closed on Sundays, but to prevent inconvenience to the public, justices, where they see fit, may, in their licence, permit houses to be opened on Sundays from one o'clock to three o'clock, and from eight o'clock to ten o'clock, p.m.

'That in the cases of innkeepers' licences, and where justices consider that the house is *bonâ fide* and reasonably required as an inn for the entertainment of travellers, the justices may accompany the grant of a licence with a dispensation as to hours, as to the whole or part of the house and premises, provided that such dispensation shall not apply to nor include any taproom, bar, or other place of public resort for drinking.

'That all applications for licences or renewals, or objections thereto, shall be heard in open court, and the witnesses, if necessary, may be examined on oath.

'That where application for a licence is made for the first time, if two-thirds of the owners or occupiers within five hundred yards object, the justices shall refuse the licence, provided that the clerk of the justices has received from the persons so objecting at least ten days' notice specifying the objection.

'That the right of appeal from the decision of the petty sessions be extended to persons objecting to licences being granted, and notice of appeal, to suspend the issue of the licences until after the decision of the sessions. The disqualification of justices under the 9 Geo. IV., c. 61, s. 27, to be repealed.

'That, with the view of preventing undue influence in the granting of licences, no clerk to justices shall be permitted to apply for, or support, or oppose, any application for a licence before the justices, under the penalty of forfeiture of his office of clerk.

'That when a person has had a licence granted him for new premises, and has within three years sold them for a premium, increase of rent, or other valuable consideration, he shall be disqualified from applying for or obtaining a licence for other premises in the same county, city, or place.

'That the justices' licence shall state the excise licence which the applicant shall be entitled to obtain from the Inland Revenue Office, according to the acts regulating their issue, the hours during which the house may be kept open, and if on Sundays, Good Fridays, and Christmas Day, and that in the penal portion of licences, as at present used (9 Geo. IV., c. 61, schedule C), there be added, after the words "or" any gaming whatever therein, betting, raffling, or being agent for any prize fight or race.

'That three convictions within two years for any offence against the licensing acts, or for any misdemeanour, shall disqualify from grant of, or renewal of licences.

[redacted] disqualification the conviction need not be for the same kind of offence

'That the landlord of licensed premises shall be entitled to decline to serve any person whom he may consider to be the worse for liquor, who is disorderly or quarrelsome, or uses any obscene, disgusting, or profane language, and may call in the aid of the police to remove such persons from the premises.'

These suggestions contain some very practical improvements. Like all the proposals we have been considering, they start with the idea of uniformity, the advantage of which all are agreed upon; they adopt from the Liverpool scheme the idea of increasing the value of houses to be licensed for the sale of beer to double that now required, but they do not on that account require the magistrates to give up their discretion as to the requirements of the neighbourhood. They make the magistrates the only licensing authority, but do not abolish all distinctions between licences, enabling the bench to issue licences for the sale of beer only. They propose a veto, local only, it is true, and applying only to new licences, but they extend the radius in such a way as to make its operation more likely to be effective. Acknowledging the evils of the present appeal to quarter sessions being open only to the applicant for a licence, they propose to extend the right of appeal to persons objecting, and repeal the disqualification (9 Geo. IV., c. 61, s. 27), by which justices who have sat in brewster sessions are prevented from acting at quarter sessions. Licences granted under a measure based upon this report would be for six days only; but, to prevent inconvenience, special licences might be granted when good reason was shown for such a course. These would be very great improvements upon the present unsatisfactory laws, and we sincerely hope that Government will not lose sight of these thoughtful and well-considered practical suggestions; not brought forward, be it remembered, by men whom society regards as prejudiced in favour of some pet scheme, but by those who for long years have devoted thought and practical work to magisterial duty, and to the executive work of reformatory institutions, and to the general amendment of the law.

One more scheme of amendment we would refer to with especial interest. The convocation of the province of Canterbury has had a committee sitting for several months 'to consider and report on the prevalence of intemperance, the evils which result therefrom, and the remedies which may be applied.' This committee consisted of men whose names will command the respect of all classes of society, as will be seen from the following list of its members:—The Deans of Canterbury, Chichester, Lichfield, Westminster; the Archdeacons of Coventry, Ely, Exeter, Leicester, Nottingham, Salop; Canons

Argles, Carus, Gillett, Harvey, Oxenden, Wood, Dr. Fraser; Prebendaries Gibbs, Kemp. Archdeacon of Coventry chairman. It is not within the range of this article to discuss the many important facts elicited by the inquiries of this committee, nor to mention the interesting reflections to which its conclusions give rise. We are only concerned with that portion of the report which affects the amendment of the licensing system, and there we find the following proposals:—

'1. The repeal of the Beer Act of 1830, and the total suppression of beerhouses throughout the country.

'2. The closing of public houses on the Lord's Day, except for the accommodation of *bonâ fide* travellers.

'3. The earlier closing of public-houses on week-day evenings, in accordance with the practice, now on the increase, of early closing in all other businesses. More especially is this necessary on Saturday, when, it is well known, intemperance chiefly prevails.

'4. A great reduction in the number of public-houses throughout the kingdom, it being in evidence that the number already licensed far exceeds any real demand, and that in proportion as facilities for drinking are reduced, intemperance, with its manifold evils, is restrained.

'5. Placing the whole licensing system under one authority, and administering it on some uniform plan which would have for its object the abatement of existing temptations to tippling and intemperate habits.

'6. The rigid enforcement of the penalties now attached to drunkenness, both on the actual offenders, and on licensed persons who allow drunkenness to occur on their premises.

'7. Passing an act to prevent the same person holding a music, dancing, or billiard licence, in conjunction with a licence for the sale of intoxicating drinks.

'8. Prohibiting the use of public-houses as committee rooms at elections, and closing such houses on the days of nomination and election in every parliamentary borough.

'9. The appointment of a distinct class of police for the inspection of public-houses, and frequent visitation of public-houses for the detection of adulterations, to be followed, on conviction, by severe penalties.'

Many of these suggestions have been brought forward in some of the schemes we have already reviewed; others we have not seen incorporated in any of them, although they have been discussed time after time, some in the House of Commons and others elsewhere. It is not so much the novelty of the reforms advocated as their source which renders them so important. When this report shall have been widely circulated, and the evidence on which it is based shall have been before the public, which will have had its attention directed to it by a debate in Convocation, we have no doubt but that its influence will be of the most telling nature. All persons interested in the social regeneration of our country owe an unspeakable debt of gratitude to the Archdeacon of Coventry, not only for the manliness with which he introduced so practical a question into an assembly not generally known as loving subjects so unexciting as the removal of intemperance, but still more for the indefatigable perseverance he has shown in pursuing the

investigations, and the skill only equalled by the energy he has manifested in bringing the inquiries of the committee to a successful issue. We trust he may be equally strengthened by the Holy Spirit in carrying the adoption of the report by convocation as he has been in the preparatory stages.

Although we have spent considerable time in discussing schemes of licensing amendment, we have not exhausted the list which lies before us as we write, and if we refrain from enumerating further plans, it is because in their main features they have been adopted in one or other of the schemes already named. We cannot, however, close our remarks upon this important subject without referring to one branch of it, which we deem most important. All the schemes that we have noticed proceed more or less upon the supposition that licensed houses for the sale of intoxicating drinks are needful, and most of them try by all possible means to limit the number of such houses, and their hours of opening, while placing the power to license in the hands of only one authority. But there are very many persons who regard the public-house licensed by any one to sell drink of any kind, at any hours or under any circumstances, as productive of evil to the general well-being of society. Proceeding on the theory that in proportion to the facilities for obtaining drink will be the amount of drunkenness, they are unable to hope for sobriety so long as any places are open for the sale of intoxicating beverages, and they are therefore advocates of total prohibition. Experience having taught us that laws which are not supported by public opinion are generally ineffective, the supporters of the suppression of the liquor traffic in the kingdom do not urge upon the Legislature to pass a measure like the Maine law, which should by imperial enactment stop the sale of drink, but have concentrated their efforts upon the agitation for what is generally known as 'The Permissive Prohibitory Bill,' which if passed into a law (and it is now before the House of Commons awaiting a second reading) would enable the inhabitants of any district to prohibit the sale within the limits of that district, whenever a majority of two-thirds should so determine. We do not mention this measure as an amendment of the licensing system, or as an alternative to be adopted instead of any of the schemes we have already been discussing. If any of them were adopted, it would still be applicable, for it does not in any way provide for licensing the sale; on the contrary, it only provides for its suppression. If the Legislature should think fit to give all power into the hands of the magistrates, as the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science proposes, or

should only give them such a limited power as the Liverpool bill and the measures of Mr. Selwyn-Ibbetson suggest, or should adopt Mr. Bright's scheme of making town councils the licensing authority; or if (as has been proposed) a special board should be elected for the purpose, the Permissive Bill would be a valuable addition to such a changed condition of things. At present the inhabitants of any place may appear in the licensing court with memorials against the granting of certificates, but they are only allowed to do so by the courtesy of the bench, and although they in reality are the very persons whose interests are most concerned in the proceedings of the day, their memorials may be ignored by the magistrates, and they have no appeal. Under the operation of the Permissive Bill their voice would become potent so soon as a preponderating majority were in favour of prohibition, but not before. The experience of the United States of America teaches that the Maine law is always effective for good whenever it is supported by public opinion; and so the Permissive Bill would never fail of good, because it would never be enforced except under favourable circumstances. The sound of prohibition, no doubt, has a very startling effect upon English ears, and a very natural prejudice against it exists among us; yet, wherever in the United Kingdom the experiment has been made, it has always proved itself a great success. In Scotland, which has not the most exalted reputation for sobriety, the General Assembly of the Church had a committee in the year 1848 to inquire into the state of intemperance. Their report was adopted and approved by the Assembly in the year 1849. The committee had nearly forty reports from parishes that had no places within their bounds for the sale of liquor, and in these cases the people of the parishes were declared free from intemperance. But not only are they free from intemperance; we find in the account given of them remarks like the following: 'The parish pays £3 yearly for the Jedburgh Union Poorhouse, but they have not a pauper in it.' 'Crime by the population unknown.' In a parish with 957 inhabitants, 'the poor-rate is 5d.; crime is unknown.' In the case of Dolphinton, in Lanarkshire, 'there is only one pauper on the roll and no assessment for the poor.' Such are the natural results of prohibition. In Ireland there is a district in the county of Tyrone of 65½ square miles, in which no public-house exists; here, too, poor rates have been diminished and a police station has been removed, as being no longer needed. No doubt there are many other parishes in Ireland which can show the same happy results. In England we can find more examples of prohibition than most

people would expect. Passing over the well-known instances of Saltaire, and the village and neighbourhood of Cambo, in Northumberland, we find that in the report of the committee of Convocation, referred to before in this article, there is this pleasing paragraph :—

'Few, it may be believed, are cognisant of the fact,—which has been elicited by the present inquiry,—that there are at this time within the province of Canterbury *upwards of one thousand parishes* in which there is neither public-house nor beer-shop; and where, in consequence of the absence of these inducements to crime and pauperism, according to the evidence before the committee, the intelligence, morality, and comfort of the people are such as the friends of temperance would have anticipated.'

Surely these facts should prevent any one from declaring prohibition to be impracticable amongst us. The Permissive Bill is now and then attacked in the most paradoxical manner. It is objected to because it is such a sweeping measure, and in the same breath we are told it would not prohibit the sale of beer outside the district which chose to enforce it, and dismal pictures are drawn of people taking journeys to obtain the means of indulgence. Surely we may rely upon the practical good sense of our countrymen so far, that if they see a neighbouring parish enjoying a happy immunity from poor rates, and from criminal excesses of every kind, they will soon adopt the simple remedy which has had such beneficent results, and prohibition will be extended over a gradually widening area. This gradual extension would meet the objections which are often raised as to the injury which a prohibitory enactment would inflict upon the revenue, and the wrong it would do to the vested interests of those engaged in the liquor traffic. Only by very small steps would the diminution of the income which the State derives from the sale of drink advance, and while this source of taxation was lessened, the increased prosperity caused by a diminution of local taxation, and the liberation of capital for productive industry would soon reimburse the treasury. Those engaged in the traffic would have plenty of time given to them to draw out from their trade and to seek for more useful employment of their capital. Prosperity would advance *pari passu* with prohibition; we should soon find our manufacturing industry barely sufficient to supply the requirements that would be made upon it. Unburthened of the crushing weight of pauperism and crime which, hanging heavily upon us, impedes our progress, we should make such advances as would cast into the shade even the development of the last fifty years, and on a foundation of morality we should build up a structure of national prosperity

unrivalled in the long history of mankind. No scheme of licensing amendment can prove ultimately satisfactory unless it is accompanied by this simple plan of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Prohibitory Bill.

STATISTICAL DATA FOR SOCIAL REFORMERS.

I. Growth of the Liquor Traffic since 1830.

In 1823 a General Licensing Act was passed with the hope on the part of its promoters that it would form a new and life-long settlement of all the questions connected with the licensing system. That hope was quickly and grievously dissipated. Two years more saw the introduction and passing of the Beer Bill, which upset the traditional licensing routine of three centuries, so far as the sale of malt liquors was concerned. Henceforward any person might become a beerseller without the consent of the district magisterial bench. The predicted results were a purer article, greater sobriety, and a death-blow dealt at the brewers' monopoly: the actual results were even greater adulteration, wider intemperance, and the aggrandisement of the brewing interest beyond all precedent or imagination. What the effect has been in the development of the liquor traffic in England and Wales, is a subject worthy of attention. Within three months of the passing of the Beer Bill, 24,342 licences were taken out. In 1831 the number increased to 31,937; in 1832 it sank to 30,917; in 1833 it rose to 33,451; and in the year ending September 30th, 1867 (the last return), it stood at 49,725, having increased to that point from 47,670 in 1866. Before the Beer Bill became law its passing was violently deprecated by the licensed victuallers, who feared that it would ruin them by taking from them that margin of their profits which enabled them to keep open, but they miscalculated the effects of competition in alcoholic drinks; for the spirit licences, which in 1828 were 48,435, became 48,904 in 1830; in 1831 they were 49,749; in 1832 they were 50,225; and in 1833 they had reached 50,823. The licensed victuallers in 1831 are given at 50,547; in 1832 at 50,796; and in 1833 at 52,611; the difference between these figures and those as to spirit licences, probably having regard to licensed victuallers who confined themselves to the sale of beer under a magistrates' certificate; but taking either the spirit licences or licensed victuallers, the only conclusion possible is, that the beerhouse did not supersede the spirit-shop, but that so far as its influence was felt by the licensed victualling interest, it was of a stimulating and fostering character. The census was taken in 1831, and the population of England and Wales found to be 13,896,797; and as the number of beer licences had increased from 50,903 in 1829 to 83,332 in 1831, it is clear that while in 1829 there was one beer licence to 270 persons, in 1831 there was one beer licence to 167 persons. Coming now down to 1867, we find that in the year ending September 30th, the licensed victuallers were returned at 68,395, and the beersellers at 49,725, a total of 118,120, showing an increase of 16,248 licensed victuallers since 1831, and of 17,788 beersellers, a total increase of 34,036 liquor sellers of these two classes. The population of England and Wales in 1861 was 20,066,224, which may be reckoned at 21,500,000 in 1867. This gives one publican to 314 persons, and 180 persons to every beer licence, including all such licences held by publicans or beersellers. The natural inference from these premises would be that in proportion to population the liquor retailers had diminished since 1831. This inference, though arithmetically correct, if confined to publicans and beersellers, would be egregiously delusive if taken as evidence that the influence of the drink trade is less marked now than in 1831, taking population into account; for there are upwards of 2,000 refreshment houses where wine is sold by retail for consumption on the premises, and thousands of wholesale and retail sellers in wine

and spirits for consumption off the premises. The Wine Licences Bill of Mr. Gladstone in 1860 gave a stimulus to the trade in vinous compounds, which, but for the spread and counteractive operation of temperance principles, would have been as fatal to public sobriety as the Beer Act of 1830. It must always be remembered, likewise, in instituting a comparison between the liquor traffic at one period and another, that a gross omission will be made if regard is not had to the comparative size and splendour of the places where intoxicating liquors are sold; and if this very important element is incorporated into the present consideration, the moral balance will have to be struck against the drinking-houses of to-day. Beershops may not have much altered in appearance, but gin palaces, public-houses in general, and music and dancing saloons, all testify but too plainly that the *descensus Averni* has been made brighter and broader with the increase of national wealth and the development of business enterprise in all the departments of national commerce and exchange. The temptation-power and seductiveness of public drinking customs have thus been mightily and wonderfully augmented, to such a degree as more than makes up for any proportionate diminution in the number of licences to sell intoxicating drinks.

II. Consumption and Cost of Intoxicating Liquor in the United Kingdom in 1868.

The accounts of trade and navigation, which issue monthly from the Board of Trade, usually appear about a month after the date to which they refer. This delay has been much complained of, and the complaints will be louder than ever, as the returns for the month of last December, and for the twelve months ending December, 1868, were not published till the 1st of March. Mr. Bright will be asked to look into this acknowledged abuse of the public patience, previous examples of which have been defended on the score of necessary precautions against errors of entry affecting the reported commerce of the year. We can only attempt to summarise those particulars which relate to the manufacture, importation, and consumption of alcoholic liquors in 1868. Taking, first of all, the article of ardent spirits, the following table will show the facts concerning the spirits manufactured in the United Kingdom:—

Used as Beverage only.

	Gals.
England	11,327,223
Scotland	4,907,701
Ireland	4,773,710
United Kingdom	21,008,634

The gross quantity used in 1867 was 21,199,376 gallons, and in 1866 it was 22,217,390. Between 1867 and 1868 the difference is slight, and comparing the three entries it appears that in England the consumption in 1868 exceeded that of 1867 by 3,570 gallons, Scotland showing a decrease of 75,308, and Ireland of 118,944 gallons, being a nett decrease of 190,742 gallons in the United Kingdom. The quantity of spirits charged with duty in 1868 was 22,045,014 gallons, but of this 703,565 gallons were warehoused on drawback for exportation, &c., and 332,815 were methylated spirits, leaving, as before stated, 21,008,634 for consumption within the United Kingdom.

The ardent spirits imported for use in 1868 were—rum, 3,950,636 gallons; brandy, 3,320,573 gallons; and (not enumerated but computing by the duty) 1,133,310 gallons of Geneva and other sorts; a total of 8,404,519 gallons: a less quantity than in 1867, and about the same as in 1866.

Adding together the British and imported spirits, the aggregate for 1868 was 29,413,153 gallons. On the British spirits the Government duty was £10,504,317, and on the imported spirits £4,333,371, a total of £14,837,688. The cost to the consumers, the people of the United Kingdom, may be calculated on a basis of 20s. per gallon for home spirits, and 22s. per gallon for imported spirits; this estimate covering the cost of production, duty, and manufacturers' and retailers' profits, and the result will then be—

Cost of British spirits	£21,008,634
Cost of imported spirits	9,244,971
	£30,253,605

With regard to malt, the quantities retained for consumption in 1868 as beer were, in England, 43,163,971 bushels; in Scotland, 2,167,189 bushels; in Ireland, 2,787,873 bushels; a total

of 48,119,033 bushels. In 1867 the corresponding total was 46,310,357 bushels, and in 1866 it was 50,217,828 bushels. Besides the quantity charged duty for beer, there were made in 1868, free of duty, for distillation, 4,549,813 bushels of malt, 243 bushels for feeding cattle, and 1,668,737 bushels for exportation as beer and in drawback—an aggregate manufacture of malt to the extent of 54,337,826 bushels. Looking now at the quantity used for beer-making, and calculating that two bushels of malt produced one barrel of beer (the Excise estimate), we have a manufacture of 24,059,516 barrels of beer from malt: and to this must be added the beer produced from 351,742 cwts. of sugar, *i.e.*, 844,180, a great total of 24,903,696 barrels, which, retailed at 48s. per barrel (allowing for retailers' multiplication of 36 gallons into 48 by dilution), cost the purchasers £59,768,870.

The quantity of wine entered for consumption in 1868 was 15,151,741 gallons, compared with 13,752,428 in 1867, and 13,326,929 in 1866. The customs' duties were £1,521,199; and estimating the average retailers' price to have been 15s. a gallon, the purchasers' outlay on this amount of wine was £11,363,805.

Now, causing these various lines of figures to converge, we have, as the outcome of these inquiries, the following summarised facts presented to us:—

Consumed in 1868—	Sold for
Of ardent spirts, 29,413,153 gallons,	£30,253,605
Of beer and ale, 24,903,696 barrels,	59,768,870
Of wine, 15,151,761 gallons,	11,363,805
An aggregate expenditure of.....	£101,386,280

In this stupendous outlay, nothing is allowed for the sums expended in the purchase of cider, perry, and the numerous sorts of British wines which imitate the names and the worst properties of their foreign kindred. If the accuracy of the figures as above presented is unimpeachable, it remains for the patriot, the moralist, the philanthropist, and the Christian to ponder the question, whether the British people have done right or wrong in expending upwards of a hundred millions sterling in 1868 upon the drinks which issue from the distillery, the brewery, and the wine-vat.

SELECTIONS.

SCARLET FEVER AND ITS PREVENTION.

Members of the profession who may happen to have read a letter by Mr. Bradley, of Marlborough College, which appeared in the *Times* of December 5th, and in which he sets forth the conflicting responsibilities imposed on the master by the case of boys at school convalescent from scarlet fever, cannot have failed to sympathise deeply with that gentleman in the difficulties of his position. On the one hand Mr. Bradley shows, in forcible terms, that a long detention in the sick-house is full of evil, moral and physical, to the boy; on the other he is reminded that to send a scarlet fever convalescent away through the country is not only to inflict an unwarrantable peril on the community, but to infringe the law. Happily, medical science is in a position to furnish an escape from this very painful dilemma. If, in fact, the patient can be so treated as to cease to be an active source of infection by the time he is able to travel, the difficulty is over. Now, if my own experience can be trusted, nothing is easier. Much more indeed can be done to limit the spread of this malignant fever than the public are at all aware of, or than the common practice of medical men generally would seem to indicate.

There is good reason to believe that not only the eruption on the skin, but everything that is shed by the body of the infected, is heavily laden with the

germs or seeds by which (alone, no doubt) the disease is propagated. The discharges of the throat and nose are, I imagine, especially virulent. It is more than suspected, on grounds on which I need not here insist, that those from the bowel are scarcely less so. As the kidney is known to be affected in a very special, and often in a very severe way, by the poison, this organ probably furnishes another outlet for it. All analogy tends to indicate, indeed, that in this case the renal epithelium, which is cast off so plentifully, performs the same eliminative function as that which is cast off in still greater profusion by the outer surface of the body. As the bulk of all these excreta soon finds its way to the cesspool or sewer, the large part which sewers and cesspools are known to play in the dissemination of the fever, and which, quite lately even, has been so strangely misinterpreted, is easily understood. I could enlarge much on this topic, if I had time to do so. It must suffice for the present to say, once for all, that all that has been shown to hold of typhoid fever in regard to these relations—contamination of drinking-water included—may be applied, with little qualification, to scarlet fever also.

Taking these things as our data, the one thing to aim at, therefore, in seeking to prevent the spread of this fever, is to annihilate the germs proceeding from these various sources on their very issue from the body, and before the patient leaves the sick room. In accordance with this view, I have long been in the habit, in all cases which fall under my own care, of enforcing the following simple precautions.

1. The room is dismantled of all the needless woollen or other draperies which might possibly serve to harbour the poison.

2. A basin, charged with chloride or carbolate of lime or some other convenient disinfectant, is kept constantly on the bed, for the patient to spit into.

3. A large vessel, containing water impregnated with chlorides or with Condy's fluid, always stands in the room, for the reception of all bed and body linen immediately on its removal from the person of the patient.

4. Pocket-handkerchiefs are proscribed; and small pieces of rag are used instead, for wiping the mouth and nose. Each piece, after being once used, is immediately burnt.

5. As the hands of nurses of necessity become frequently soiled by the specific excreta, a good supply of towels, and two basins, one containing water with Condy's fluid or chlorides, and another plain soap and water, are always at hand, for the immediate removal of the taint.

6. All glasses, cups, or other vessels, used by or about the patient, are scrupulously cleaned before being used by others.

7. The discharges from the bowel and kidney are received on their very issue from the body, into vessels charged with disinfectants.

By these measures, the greater part of the germs which are thrown off by the internal surfaces are robbed of their power to propagate the fever. Those which are thrown off by the skin require somewhat different management. If my information do not mislead me, it is in dealing with these that the practice of medical men generally is most defective. There are, no doubt, distinguished exceptions; but, for the most part, either nothing is done, or, what is done, is done imperfectly or too late. And yet to destroy from the first, as far as possible, the infectious power of what emanates from the skin, is, for obvious reasons, the most important object of all in the way of prevention.

In the first place, as the skin is at once the most extensive surface of the body, and is, *par excellence*, the seat of what, by a very just figure, is called the *eruption*, the crop of new poison which escapes by the skin probably far exceeds in amount that which escapes by the other surfaces. It is impossible to speak in exact figures here. We cannot count such things as we can count peas, or beans, or grains of wheat. But the case of small-pox furnishes us with a standard which cannot far mislead us. And, as we know that, in a case of confluent small-pox, enough new poison is thrown off actually to inoculate with small-pox myriads of others, so there is every reason to believe that the skin-crop in a severe case of scarlet fever is little, if at all, less prolific.

In the next place, as the process of desquamation, by which this crop is finally cast loose, is a very slow one—lasting, for the most part, over many

weeks—the infection from this source is much more abiding than that from the internal sources. But what renders it still more so is the all-important fact that the poison which is liberated by the skin is liberated in the dried state. It is well known—and, indeed, the circumstance has been taken advantage of in the practice of inoculation by cow-pox and other poisons—that animal poisons, when dried at a gentle heat, retain their powers for quite indefinite periods of time. But to be dried at a gentle heat—a heat, lower, in fact, than that which attended its own generation—is precisely the case of the scarlet-fever poison, as cast off by the skin.

Another danger is created by the minute and impalpable form in which the particles armed with the poison are set free. The skin peels off in part, no doubt, in flakes of palpable size, but in still greater part under the guise of dust, which floats in the air, impalpable, like motes in the sunbeam. Each of these little atoms is, potentially, the scarlet fever. While they adhere to the body, they may be readily disarmed; but, once afloat, they are in great degree beyond our power.

It is to these various circumstances—to the countless profusion of the new seed, if I may so speak, which is generated and sown broadcast by every fresh case—to the length of time during which it hangs about the sick, capable every moment of being transferred, with all its deadly power, to thing or person—to the impalpable minuteness of the organic particles in which this seed is imbedded—and, lastly, to the long retention of their properties, in virtue of being in the dried state—that we must look mainly for the true explanation of the well-known subtleness and tenacity of this particular infection. To the many striking illustrations of the subtlety and tenacity already on record, I could, if there were need, add many of my own, quite as striking, and free from all ambiguity; but it is a waste of time and space to burden the page with what is already conceded, and with what to most men must be sufficiently familiar.

These same circumstances are the source of the peculiar embarrassment and perplexity which, in scarlet fever, hangs over the disposal of the convalescent, and the period, so much debated, and at present confessedly undetermined, at which he may be safely restored to society. They are the source of the dilemma, for instance, to which Mr. Bradley gives such painful expression in the letter referred to at the outset of this paper, a dilemma with which, in private life, medical men have so often to contend, but which, in public schools, if we may judge from the columns of the *Times*, is continually recurring.

Many readers, I dare say, remember the pathetic appeal to the profession which appeared in that journal some ten or twelve months ago, from the pen of a distracted father, urgent to know within what time, and by the use of what measures, his son, who, being convalescent from scarlet fever, was pining in the dreary seclusion of the sick-house of one of our great public schools, might be let out of captivity, and restored to his family. Several letters in reply—one or two especially bearing the signature of 'A Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians,'—offered some more or less sensible suggestions; but all, if my memory do not mislead me, united in the humiliating confession, that no definite time could be named at which persons who had gone through this infection could safely mix with others.

According to my own experience, these difficulties and perplexities may be entirely averted by the employment of the simplest precautions. To be successful, these precautions must be put in force early, and must be thoroughly carried out. The first thing to aim at is, to prevent the minute particles, which are the carriers of the poison, from taking wing until they can be disinfected *in situ*. This, I find, can be perfectly effected by simply anointing the surface of the body, scalp included, twice a day with olive oil. The oil I use is, generally, slightly impregnated with camphor. As far as the main object is concerned, the addition is, perhaps, unimportant; but it is agreeable to the patient, and probably has some part in the relief, which almost always follows the inunction, from the troublesome itching which is a well-known incident of some stages of the disorder. Current views would, perhaps, indicate carbolic acid as a fitter adjunct; but having found the camphorated oil to answer perfectly, I have thought it the part of wisdom to make no change. I may add that the process, so far from being

trying, is very soothing to the sick; and, if it exert any influence at all on the evolution of the disorder, this influence appears to be beneficial rather than otherwise. The precise period at which it should be began varies somewhat, no doubt, in different cases. As early as the fourth day of eruption, a white efflorescence may often be observed on the skin of the neck and arms, which marks the first liberation of the new death-giving brood. This efflorescence should be made the signal for the first employment of the oil. From this time, the oiling is continued until the patient is well enough to take a warm bath, in which the whole person—scalp again included—is well scrubbed, disinfecting soap being abundantly used during the process. These baths are repeated every other day until four have been taken, when, as far as the skin is concerned, the disinfection may be regarded as complete. If the health be quite recovered—if, in particular, there be no disease of kidney, and no discharge from throat or nostril—the patient (equipped, of course, in a new or perfectly untainted suit) may generally be restored without risk to his family. A week or ten days additional quarantine is, however, seldom objected to; and is, on the whole, perhaps more prudent.

Many medical men are in the habit of fumigating the sick-room either constantly or several times a day, with chlorine or sulphurous acid, pending the whole course of the fever. There can be no objection to this measure; but I do not myself attach much importance to it. Experience of the largest and most decisive kind has shown that chlorine—and I believe the observation applies equally to the other chemical agent—in the degree of atmospheric impregnation respirable by man, has no appreciable influence in preventing the spread of infectious disorders.

To complete the preventive code, immediately after the illness is over—whether ending in death or recovery—the dresses worn by the nurse (which, where possible, should be of linen, or some smooth thing) are washed or destroyed, and the bed and room that have been occupied by the sick are thoroughly disinfected. With these measures, when well done, the taint is finally extinguished.

The success of this method, in my own hands, has been very remarkable. For a period of nearly twenty years, during which I have employed it in a very wide field, I have never known the disease spread in a single instance beyond the sick-room, and in very few instances within it. Time after time I have treated this fever in houses, crowded from attic to basement, with children and others, who have, nevertheless, escaped infection.* The two elements in the method are, separation on the one hand, and disinfection on the other. It is almost needless to add, that neither can be secured in the degree here indicated in the houses of the very poor. There are, unhappily, large masses so utterly destitute of every needful thing, that it would be little short of mockery to speak of such measures as those I have just described in connection with them. But the conditions which are denied to the houses of the needy, should always be at hand in the fever hospital; which—small, if you like, but a model of its kind—would, if modern societies knew what belongs to their safety, never be far to seek in any crowded communities. In these matters, beyond all others, the social organisation should be in its perfection, strictly correlative with that of scientific knowledge. If science can point out practicable conditions by which such great evils may be averted, society is, in the highest degree, not only unwise, but blameworthy, if these conditions are not realised. It is high time, at any rate, that some more concerted action should be taken to abate the ravages of this terrible scourge. Every year scarlet fever slays from twenty to twenty-two thousand persons in England alone. There are few families that have not at one time or another felt its deadly power; and it is now and then the cause of tragedies which, although occurring only in single families,

* One word should be said for the benefit of those who, having yet escaped infection, are living in an infected neighbourhood. For persons so situated, it is well to know that the frequent flooding of their house-drains with disinfectants is a great safeguard. In Bristol, the need of this is superseded by the action of my friend, Mr. Davies, who very wisely keeps the sewers of all districts infected with epidemic disease in a state of permanent disinfection. But it is not every town that can boast of such a zealous and enlightened health officer. In all places where scarlet fever is prevalent, especial care should be also taken to have the drinking water perfectly pure.

are of such agonising bitterness as to move the heart of the nation. If the measures here suggested were systematically and energetically put in force against this great enemy of man, the annual number of the slain would soon fall from twenty thousand to a low figure.

P.S.—I need scarcely say that the principles laid down in the preceding paper are equally applicable, as I have elsewhere abundantly shown, to all contagious fevers. I have for many years applied with great success the method here recommended for scarlet fever, with the modification in detail required by each particular case, to the prevention of small-pox, measles, typhus, &c. In typhus the area and activity of infection may be greatly limited by disinfecting all internal discharges, and by oiling and disinfecting the skin in the same manner as in scarlet fever.—*W. Budd, M.D., Honorary and Consulting Physician to the Bristol Royal Infirmary.*

THE SANITARY MISSION WOMAN.

The Sanitary Mission Woman is a recently appointed officer of the Manchester Ladies' Sanitary Association Society, whose duty it has been to visit the houses of the poor, chiefly in the courts and alleys off Deansgate, and in the Collyhurst district. Everywhere the visits of the mission woman have been well received, and she has been continually requested to come again, with an eagerness which proves the sympathy and kindliness with which she has entered upon her work. Whitewash pails and brushes are placed at her disposal to lend about in the houses where such cleansing is required, and also chloride of lime for the purification of the air in the rooms of those who are suffering from fever. She has not only given instruction in common sanitary rules to those whom she has found ignorant of or neglecting them, but she will herself wash and make comfortable a sick person whom she may find neglected and dirty, thus encouraging those who are around to follow her example, by showing them how they may do what is needful in the best way.

The following extracts from the diary of the mission woman will still further illustrate the nature of her work:—'No. 19, C. Road: Much need of sanitary work here. The windows cannot be opened, which prevents sufficient ventilation.—Mrs. M., 21, C. Road: Fever in the house here.—No. 33: Two rooms only in this house, seven persons occupy it. Visited other portions of this road and found fever very frequent, the houses not sufficiently ventilated, and the river, too, aids in causing bad smells.—Mrs. M., 20, S. Street: A very dirty house.—Mrs. S., 21, I. Street: Found all the family in bed. I roused them up, and found the house in fearful disorder.—Mrs. M., 16, S. Street: Found the children very dirty. Remained until they had a good wash. Expressed a wish that more care might be given to cleanliness every way.—Mrs. W., 26, J. Place: A large family lost in dirt and rags. Remained until the children were washed.—Mrs. W., 1, S. Road: Found a family here requiring attention and kind words.—Mrs. F., 103, C. Road: Daughter very ill indeed. Spent a long time reading and conversing.—Visited J. Place, and again impressed upon each the importance of practising sobriety, and observing order and cleanliness in their persons and homes.—Proceeded to J. Place, and had a conversation with each female on domestic duties.—S., 21, I. Street: A small house occupied by two families, one consisting of nine persons. Very recently five persons in this house had fever. The house is abominably filthy; notwithstanding all I have said, and all they have suffered, no effort is made to improve it. I left chloride of lime.—Mrs. F., 103, C. Road: Remained here some time. One of the daughters was dying, and the mother requested I would not go till all was over.—Mrs. J., F. Street: Remained here till all the children were washed, and saw other things done. Called again and had a conversation with the children, who have a sick mother, quite unable to attend to her domestic duties, and too poor to have anyone in the house to look after the family.—M., 31, S. Street: This family of motherless

children occupy much of my time; and I am pleased to say my labours are not quite in vain.—Mrs. S., 10, S. Street: The mother goes out to work; the children are left to take care of themselves; the consequence is, two of the children have received injuries which will render them cripples during their lives.—Mrs. M., 21, S. Street: This woman is making an effort to discharge her duties as a mother, and seems much encouraged by my visits.—Mrs. G., C. Road: This poor, wretched woman is 80 years of age; has an income sufficient to keep her in comfort, and yet she is so degraded with intemperance that all who know her are afraid to approach her. She appears a walking mass of dirt. I despair of being able to do much if any good at her advanced years. The more I see of the people amongst whom I labour, the more I am convinced that so long as the opportunity to obtain drink exists, every effort to raise them to a better life will be always fruitless.—Mrs. W., 13, B. Street: I am glad to state this family improve in their habits every time I call. When my visits commenced they were almost lost in dirt. Now I find the children are washed daily, and the house kept much cleaner. —S., 16, S. Street: Three children at home, motherless. I give the eldest girl instruction in domestic duties, and find she does all in her power to profit by the instruction given.—Mrs. L., 19, C. Road: A conversation; and left the brush, and money for lime. Called again to ascertain if whitewashing had begun, as it is much needed. The husband had mixed the lime, and commenced operations on the coal place. I explained to him the bedrooms ought to be cleaned first, and afterwards the places below. Have been kindly received everywhere.—Mrs. F., 103, — Road: Left chloride of lime, with directions for its use.—Mrs. K., 105, — Road: Left as above.—M., 30, J. Place: A very dirty house; unfit for a residence. I requested the woman would clean at once.—Mrs. J., 1, F. Street: Spent a long time here. The mother very ill indeed, and no one to take care of her but one of the children.—W., 1, S. Road: Very dirty. A large family, and no mother.—W., 2, S. Street: This house very dirty.—Mrs. S., 21, J. Street: No improvement in the house.—Mrs. G., 3, H. Street: Very poor; but the house exceedingly clean and neat. Have called to-day upon several families in S. Street who have recently come. Was most kindly received, and requested to repeat my visit.—W., 1, S. Road: These poor children are without a mother, and I regret to say that they, as well as the house, are in a most deplorable condition.'

The above extracts convey some faint idea of the work in which the sanitary mission woman is now engaged; and the committee desire, in conclusion, to commend this Association afresh to the sympathy of the benevolent. Should a generous public confide larger means to their care, they will thankfully send out another sanitary mission woman labourer into the field, if, as they trust they may, find another equally fitted for this labour of self-denying love.—*Report of the Ladies' Sanitary Association.*

PAROCHIAL MISSION WOMEN.

I WAS struck some time back by an article in the *Times* upon the subject of almsgiving. The article was occasioned by a letter of Miss Stanley, which brought before the public one of her many works of charity, and asked for assistance in laying up a stock of coals at moderate prices, to be retailed to the poor in the season when both the necessity for the supply and the price would be increased. Your commentary suggested that it might be better to instruct the poor in exercising provident forethought for themselves. Now, I can so confidently speak of the organisation of the above-named Association as promoting very efficiently the prudential education of the poor, that I venture, on an experience of its working for nine years, to ask your powerful aid in making it more generally known.

There is no lack of Christian sympathy in our people. The drowning or explosion of a mine, a dearth of food or

of cotton supply, is sufficient at once to open their hearts and their coffers. Indeed, this sympathy requires direction and regulation far more than any stimulus. Indiscriminate almsgiving might be easily shown to have occasioned more mischief than lavish expenditure, for the first shilling given to a man who prefers begging for it to earning it, is the first step towards his ruin, while expenditure, however foolish on the part of the spender, commonly becomes a source of support to the honest and industrious workman.

Now the whole scheme of the Parochial Mission Women's Association is directed towards elevating the lowest poor by their own energy, or, still better, saving the all but lowest from sinking yet lower. They are taught how they may make the most of all their means, however slender they may be. Cleanliness in house and person, temperance, intelligent nursing in sickness, provident expenditure, are within the reach of all; provident saving within that of many who have but the scantiest resources, or none beyond their labour. Doubtless model lodging-houses, penny banks, provident clubs, are excellent institutions in themselves, but they are only facilities. The desire to use them must be generated by living agency. This agency is supplied by the society whose claims I advocate.

Its plan is very simple. A small number of ladies act as managers. They have the benefit of advice in matters of finance, or in any difficulty, of gentlemen forming a committee of reference. A gentleman desirous of availing himself of the agency applies to the lady managers, and if the funds permit, his request is at once considered. He himself selects a mission woman, and a lady superintendent, from a higher class, for his parish, who must be approved by the managers, and the organisation is then complete. A room must be provided for the purposes aftermentioned.

The mission woman is selected from the class among whom she is to work. Her payment is regulated as far as possible by her previous weekly earnings, and does not much exceed them. Her duty is to visit, under the clergyman's directions, all who will welcome her, and these soon become the large majority. She gives no alms, but offers instruction and affords facilities by which they may help themselves. She enjoins, and if needs be will show them how, to scrub and clean their rooms, and what to do in case of sickness, and induces them to deposit with her any money they may be able to lay by for the purchase of necessaries or comforts. She informs them of, and invites them to attend, weekly meetings held by the lady superintendent, which lady, having received a loan in advance from the general fund, has a supply of blankets, bedding, &c., with Bibles and Prayer-books, which she keeps at the mission-room; and there such women as may be able meet her and the mission woman for a couple of hours. Materials are there examined and selected, and may be worked upon (many have at these meetings first learned to use a needle and thread), while the superintendent reads aloud for a part of the time, and the clergyman usually opens or closes the meeting with Scripture reading and prayer. No article, made or unmade, is allowed to be taken from the room until the whole of the cost price has been paid.

Now the advantages of this scheme are:—

1. The parish is a definite area to be worked, and instead of broad-cast, haphazard schemes of benevolence, an aim is given, and the effect of the work can be and is watched. Returns are required weekly by the managers from the lady superintendents of the number of visits made by the mission woman, the amount of money received, and other work done. Each manager receives these returns from specified districts, and visits the meetings without giving any previous notice. If the mission be not satisfactorily worked, it is either abandoned or suspended. A mission may be closed for any cause by the managers, on the one hand, or the clergyman, on the other, at a month's notice.

2. The mission woman and lady superintendent have their definite civilising lay work, and the clergyman is assisted by their co-operation, not thwarted by controversial zeal.

3. The mission women are of the same class as those they instruct. A clergyman or lady superintendent might make many visits without producing the effect desired. They and the poor do not often understand each other when it comes to be a question of inter-

ference with domestic habits and arrangements.

4. The test of this effective teaching is furnished by the returns. In the year 1867 over £7,000 (a portion of it in farthings) was collected from the poor of 130 mission districts. The society commenced its work with six missions, and the deposits in the first year amounted to £85. A steady increase to the numbers of 1867 is a very noteworthy fact.

The testimony to the value of the institution is uniform from the clergy who have experienced its effects. The Archbishop of Canterbury while Bishop of London gave it his warmest sanction, and from the fund which bears his name annual grants are made towards its support. No distinction is made with reference to any supposed theological views of incumbents who wish for the assistance of a mission woman. The average cost of each mission is £35 a year. The clergyman is expected to guarantee a certain portion of this sum, according to the circumstances of the case. The only items of expenditure are the woman's salary and occasionally the rent of a central room, the advance loans being repaid as the capital of each district increases. The total cost of management in 1867 was only £180. This cost is mainly incurred by the employment of one clerk and the hire of an office, at 15, Cockspur-street. Scarcely a charity can be named where so much is achieved by so small an expenditure.

Those who know with what despair many a clergyman or district visitor enters a sick room, the window of which is closed, the floor of which is foul with dirt, while the patient possesses neither bed, bedstead, chair, nor table, perhaps no blanket or coverlid, can alone appreciate the transformation that can be effected by a woman in the same class of life as the sufferer, who teaches cleanliness, order, industry, and foresight, through the medium of Christian kindness and Christian example.

The Rev. T. J. Rowsell, the well-known incumbent of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, thus speaks of what he himself witnessed of the working of the agency in question:—

'For 25 years I have been actively engaged in duties in the East of London. I have learnt to feel the want of this agency, and I have now witnessed its usefulness. It is wonderfully adapted to meet the most urgent wants of the poor. . . . There is no room in the lowest part of the poorest house into which the mission women do not readily find their way. Every clergyman I talked with, of whatsoever shade of theological opinion he might be, was emphatic about the good done by them.'

There are at this time urgent applications pending from parishes in the poorest parts of London and Southwark, none of which can be accepted unless further aid be given to the general fund.—*Lord Hatherley, in the Times.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Our Unemployed: An Attempt to Point Out some of the Best Means of Providing Occupation for Distressed Labourers; with Suggestions on a National System of Labour Registration; and Other Matters Affecting the Well-being of the Poor. By Alsager Hay Hill, LL.B., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and an Ex-Almoner of the Society for the Relief of Distress in Eastern London. Pp. 49. London: W. Ridgway, 159, Piccadilly; and at the Office of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1, Adam-street, Adelphi, W.C.

THIS paper was originally written in response to an offer of a prize by Mr. R. R. Lloyd, of Birmingham, for the best essay on 'A Feasible Plan for the Temporary Employment of Operatives and Workmen in Casual Distress.' Although its author did not win the prize, which went to Mr. Arthur R. Arnold, it was highly commended by the council of the Social Science Association, who were the appointed judges. After further reading and meditation, Mr. Hill amplified his paper, and now publishes it in pamphlet form, as he hopes, for the public benefit. In his summing-up, his proposals are thus recapitulated:—

'In the first place, then, I recommend

the construction of some machinery by which the thorough classification and recognition of the various sections of our poorer classes may be established, before attempting to relieve or employ them. And for this purpose, I think that a system of local, district, and, if possible, national registration of labour should be instituted. Such a system of registration for the present I propose to be grafted on, as far as possible, to the existing framework of the Post-office service, especially as developed in the Savings Bank and Insurance departments of that office. Side by side with this system of registration for the really industrious but unemployed class, I would recommend a most careful classification on the part of the Poor Law authorities of all persons coming under their operations. By this means the residuum of the industrious unemployed, separated from the stratum of pure pauperism, might be placed under the best conditions for returning as soon as possible to labour and re-assuming their proper position amongst the industrial ranks of the community, whilst the idle and incompetent would be left to the necessarily sterner discipline of an efficient Poor Law, by which the greatest possible labour obtainable from them would be demanded for the least possible wage, consistent with the health of the pauper. Having by these means, therefore, separated the really deserving and unemployed poor from the idle and incompetent, I recommend the distribution and employment of the better class of the former on all public works of utility, created by any existing or future compulsory clauses in Acts of Parliament. The indication and promotion of such works would be at first entrusted to *Local Improvement Committees*, composed as far as possible of representative and public spirited men, acting in the first entrance in a volunteer capacity, but hereafter if possible to be clothed with such official authority as the State may think fit to extend to them. I have further suggested that the execution of these public works with other subsidiary measures, will, if properly encouraged and energetically pursued, afford sufficient occupation for our unemployed poor, until such times as the more permanent and general remedies which the progress of society brings with it, have acquired the strength to supersede such temporary palliatives. Meanwhile, and as a few subsidiary methods of meeting the acknowledged wants of the unemployed, I have suggested (1st) the construction of casual wards on a uniform plan, and accommodated to the wants of the various districts, throughout the length and breadth of the land, and this suggestion, it is contended, is based on the best principles of economy and national policy, both for the suppression of crime and the maintenance of industry. The national monument to Lord Brougham also finds a place in this part of my scheme, and that liberal public subscriptions for such a purpose would be forthcoming this winter in place of our usual indiscriminate almsgiving to the unemployed there is little reason for doubt. (2nd.) The adoption and development of the dry-earth system of sewerage in town and country, affording as it would employment to thousands, and multiplying the fertilising resources of the country at large. And (3rd) I have recommended the establishment primarily, in the metropolis and elsewhere, if circumstances demand it, of a properly registered staff of crossing-sweepers and district commissionaires, the latter class to be recruited as far as possible from the better educated but invalided section of the unemployed poor. I may add the more perfect registration of employment of scavengers under this head. The above are the main recommendations which this paper contains, others of a collateral description might have been added, but will readily suggest themselves to any persons who may be disposed to follow me *generally* in the propositions I have made. Such recommendations are, I am well aware, but a very slender contribution towards the study of a great and most urgent question. To be of any true service they must be supplemented by the thoughts, sympathies, and willing action of those in whose hands the real reformation of society lies. From a new Parliament and the early energies of young legislators much may be expected in the direction of those improvements which I have now but faintly indicated. National education, protected co-operation amongst working men, and a properly organised system of emigration are among the first boons we may expect at their hands; but it is in the steady development of sober and industrious habits amongst the operative classes themselves, and in the true patriotism

which urges every man to do his best for the common weal that the ultimate triumph must be looked for. The closer union of all classes, the diminution of crime, the repression of drunkenness, and a thousand other lesser victories have to be won before the campaign is accomplished.'

We thought the proposal for a national registration of labour so good that we suggested it ourselves in a former number of *Meliora*. Its engraftment on the Post-office service is Mr. Hill's proposition, and deserves consideration. On the whole, we like his recommendation of a careful classification of paupers. He would divide them into three categories,—first, second, and third,—with certificates as in bankruptcy. Misfortune or other unavoidable causes would entitle to a first-class certificate and liberal out-door relief; improvidence, to a second-class paper and a scantier allowance; reserving the third-class certificate for vice and wrong-doing, which is to be relieved in the workhouse and with hard labour.

Vignettes of American History. By Mary Howitt. Pp. 138. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 19, Paternoster Row.

The American claims, as a matter of course, to be a sharer in the great inheritance of English history and literature. But the Englishman is entitled to set up a counter-claim. The Pilgrim Fathers were Britons, and we, too, are proud of them; we vindicate our right to glory in their renown, and to read, as in the book of our own kindred, the inspiring details of their history. And as these earliest settlers were ours, the land they subdued to themselves is part of our patrimony. Through them we went to it in past centuries; and to, and with their posterity, our own brothers, sons, and cousins continue to go, and to become united, to this day. All that concerns the United States of America has, thus, interest and consequence for us; and animated by this just feeling, Mrs. Howitt has reproduced in her own charming style, a score of striking incidents in American history, for the information of young English folk. Her subjects are these: 'Christopher Columbus;' 'Cortez Approaching Mexico;' 'Pacahontas Interceding for John Smith;' 'Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers;' 'Meeting of the Assembly in Virginia;' 'Roger Williams's Departure from Salem;' 'John Eliot Preaching to the Indians;' 'Rhode Island Receives its Charter;' 'The Sheriff Ejected in New Hampshire;' 'Bacon Addressing the Council;' 'William Penn and Pennsylvania;' 'Penn's Treaty with the Indians;' 'William Penn's Departure;' 'Whitfield Preaching;' 'The Death of General Wolfe;' 'Stamp Act Riots;' 'The Boston Tea Party;' 'General Burgoyne and the Indians;' 'Washington's Reception in New York;' and 'Washington Takes Leave of the Army.' To each of these incidents an excellent illustration, done on wood, is added; making of the book a collection at once of 'pictures' and 'tales,' admirably adapted for the proud possession, gratified perusal, and useful instruction of young people.

The Ordinance of Levites. By James Suter, Author of Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Pp. 96. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo; London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

Unable to accept the premisses, it is not surprising that we disagree with the conclusions of the writer of this queer little book. 'In the earliest times,' he says, 'the fathers and elders, or first-born of mankind, were the priests and rulers, and received tithes as their rightful inheritance.' Allowing it to have been so (a very gratuitous assumption), this was a comfortable arrangement, no doubt, for the fathers and elders; but the case for the sons and juniors is left unstated. 'The fathers and elders at first possessed both tithes and authority, but when younger men obtained authority they withheld the tithes from the elders.' Was it very wicked of them to withhold them? Black mail is not a pleasant thing to be the victim of, under any of its names; and why one should pay it to one's own brother or uncle because he happened to be born first, is a question that does not carry with it its own sufficient explanation. Nor does it seem to follow from the mere fact that the Hebrews, who had neither poor rates nor pew rents to pay, were expected to pay tithes, that every Englishman and Scotchman is bound to do likewise. Neither is it easy to acknowledge that even if he were, the members of the

tribe of Levi still retain their old right to the tithes: and the difficulty is increased when they are said to be entitled not in their own persons, but in the old men and women of every nation. 'Every one of the Levites,' Mr. Suter says, 'male and female, rich and poor, strong and weak, learned and unlearned, had an equal right, irrespective of individual preference or merit, to the tithes of the people. So all the elders or first-born, male and female, rich and poor, strong and weak, learned and unlearned, have now the same rights as the elders and first-born of primeval times.' The logical chasm yawning between the two sentences in the foregoing quotation we are quite unable to overleap. Mr. Suter takes a run and a jump, and shuts his eyes tight, and is across in a moment. We stand on the brink, look down, shake our heads, and give up the enterprise in despair. It is useless to attempt to follow a writer who sets at defiance all the possibilities of the logical mind. His main object appears to be to persuade the public at large that all old people, whether rich or poor, are Levites, and as such are entitled to be pensioned. Success to Mr. Suter.

Graham's Temperance Guide, Handbook, and Almanack for 1869. Edited by the Rev. Dawson Burns, A.M. Maidstone: G. H. Graham, 35, Kingsley Road.

By successive steps, Graham's Guide has risen from a moderate to a high degree of excellence and value. It obtained the accession of its present editor in a manner very creditable to its proprietor. The eagle-eye of the Rev. Dawson Burns detected in the Guide, as originally published, a multitude of errors; and it happened that in the columns of the *Alliance News* he had an opportunity of pointing out some of these. Mortified, no doubt, Mr. Graham must have felt, but his retort was masterly. In effect, he said, 'You who find so much fault, show us how much better you can manage the matter.' Mr. Burns accepted the challenge, and the result is an improvement in the quality, and an enlargement in the quantity, of the material of the Guide, setting this high above all contemporary publications of the kind. The list of contents alone fills four closely printed pages of the Guide, so numerous and varied are they. It might be a much easier labour to name the matters connected with the Temperance movement that are not contained in this volume, than to give a list of those which are. For the absent items, a very small space would suffice; a minutely detailed account of those presented in the Guide would occupy a very considerable amount of room. A single glance of an eye intelligent of temperance matters, must be quite enough to satisfy the owner that this volume is singularly rich in the amount and variety of the information it contains, and is in excellent editorial hands. To all the active part of the temperance public, we hold it to be quite indispensable.

Jenny's Geranium: or, the Prize Flower of a London Court. Pp. 95. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 9, Paternoster Row.

'Jenny's geranium,' as this pleasing little tale informs us, first bloomed in a good man's garden; thence it went to a dreary, miserable room in a 'court' in London. There it became a joy and gladness past expression to a little orphan girl, who, while mourning the loss of a fond mother, had the additional grief of being the child of a drunken father. Regardless of his daughter's love for the plant, this besotted creature one night took it to the public-house to sell for drink. The geranium was rescued by a friend of Jenny's, and was restored to its owner; and after a succession of events, including the severe illness and reformation of the father, Jenny, the heroine of the tale, is restored with her parent to comfort and well-being. The good supposed to have resulted from the culture of her geranium extends beyond Jenny and her father. The pleasing example spreads. Other geraniums are cultivated in the neighbourhood, and many people become reclaimed from drunkenness. If the reader does not quite see how all this could well come out of a geranium, that matters the less as the tale is nicely told and carries the reader along with it very pleasantly. The wood-cuts in which Jenny appears are really lovely.

Sermons. By the Rev. John Ker, Glasgow. Pp. 385. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

Unable to continue his regular pulpit

labours, Mr. Ker seeks an audience by means of the press, 'chiefly for the sake of those whom the author was accustomed to address by the living voice.' 'His purpose will be served if the volume helps them in the way of remembrance, and more than served if, through God's blessing, it shall prove of any use beyond their circle.' 'Most of the sermons,' he adds, 'though not all, have been preached.' 'The subjects have not been selected with any attempt at unity in the illustration of Christian doctrine or duty. An effort has rather been made to secure a variety of topics. When human knowledge and life are spreading out into ever wider circuits, the Christian ministry must seek to show itself a debtor to men of every class and character, and must endeavour to prove that there is no department of thought or action which cannot be touched by that gospel which is the manifold wisdom of God. The more we study the way of God's commandments, the more shall we find it as broad as His other works, and increasingly rich to meet all the developments of human nature. At the same time, it is hoped that the unity sought to be indicated by beginning and ending the volume with Christ Jesus, is not merely formal, and that, whatever may be the theme, it will be seen and felt to base itself in that One Foundation, and to strive, though all imperfectly, after the excellency of His knowledge.'

The volume contains twenty-four sermons, of which the following are the titles:—'Christ and His Words.'—'Christ in Simon's House.'—'The Pharisee's Mistake.'—'God's Word Suited to Man's Sense of Wonder.'—'Increase of Knowledge, Increase of Sorrow.'—'God Declining First Offers of Service.'—'A Worldly Choice and its Consequences.'—'Christ the Daydawn and the Rain.'—'Is Man entirely Selfish?'—'Not Far from the Kingdom of God.'—'Work and Watching.'—'The Burial of Moses; its Lessons and Suggestions.'—'Moses and Stephen.'—'The Old Testament and the New.'—'Faith's Approach to Christ.'—'Christ Not Pleasing Himself. Christian and Social Tolerance.'—'The Changes of Life and their Comforts in God.'—'The Gospel and the Magnitude of Creation.'—'Reasons why God should Contradict our Hope of Immortality if it were False.'—'Christ's Delay to Interfere Against Death.'—'Judas and the Priests.'—'The End of Evil Associations.'—'Christ's Reticence in Teaching Truth.'—'Christ's Desire to Eat of the Last Passover.'—'Christ's Prayer for His Disciples.'—'Hope and Patience.'—'The Eternal Future Clear Only in Christ.'—There is much that pleases us in these discourses. They are thoughtful, liberal, and earnest, and are decidedly superior to the average of published sermons.

Invention of the Electric Telegraph. The Charge against Sir Charles Wheatstone, of Tampering with the Press, as Evidenced by a Letter of the Editor of the 'Quarterly Review,' in 1855. Reprinted from the 'Scientific Review.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE dispute between Mr. Cooke and Sir Charles Wheatstone as to their respective claims of honour in electric telegraphy is brought to a crisis in this pamphlet. Allegations are made herein which, if allowed to go by default, must not only be taken to prove that Mr. Cooke had by far the principal share in the introduction of the telegraph in England (that is now becoming generally allowed), but also that Sir Charles Wheatstone, his quondam partner, is guilty of serious want—we will not say of magnanimity—but of justice. Mr. Cooke's brother does battle with a zeal truly fraternal. It is remarkable, however, that whilst Cooke and Wheatstone are debating their shares in the practical introduction of electric telegraphy, our friends in the United States always claim for themselves the honour of the invention. We should like to have seen this aspect of the case set in a clear light by the author of this pamphlet.

Topics for Teachers. A New Work for Ministers, Sunday-school Teachers, and others, on an entirely original plan. By James Comper Gray, Halifax, author of 'The Class and the Desk.' Illustrated with over 200 engravings and 8 first-class maps.

THE second, third, and fourth parts of this new work have been forwarded to us. It is to be completed in eighteen monthly portions. The zoology, botany, and geography of the Bible are lucidly expounded with the aid of woodcuts in the first section, which is devoted to 'Nature.' This seems likely to be a very

useful compendium for Sunday-school teachers.

The Hive. A Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday-school Teachers. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

THIS is another of the serials which have started up of late to supply wants well understood and often bitterly felt by Sunday-school teachers. It is very well put together.

Old Jonathan. The District and Parish Helper. London: W. H. Collingridge, 117, Aldersgate-street.

OLD Jonathan has assumed a new shape. No longer a large sheet, it now more nearly resembles the 'British Workman' in shape and size. It belongs to the same useful class of publications.

The Appendix. A Manual of Chants, Anthems, and Hymns, for Public Worship. London: J. Snow and Co., 2, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

SIXTY chants and canticles, forty-two anthems, and sixty-five hymns, make up this little collection. It purports to be, not simply an appendix, but the appendix; to what, the compiler forgets to state. The chants and canticles are well selected and intelligently pointed; the anthems have references to music suitable for them; and the hymns are almost all of superior quality, mostly culled from such sources as are familiar to the Episcopalian churchman.

Illustrated Temperance Anecdotes; or, Facts and Figures for the Platform and the People. Compiled by the Editor of the 'British Workman.' Pp. 144. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 9, Paternoster Row.

MOST readers of the 'British Workman' must retain, impressed in their minds, recollections of anecdotes often set off with striking engravings, and each teaching some useful lesson of thrift and prudence, of temperance, common sense, or piety; and perhaps the thought has occurred to some, that a handy little volume, nicely printed and bound, and filled with the best of these anecdotes, would be a valuable present to give to some friend struggling with the special perils that haunt working class life. Here, now, is just such a volume. The major part of its contents has already been printed in the 'British Workman;' and as some of the anecdotes are known to have been the means of inducing the abandonment of drinking habits, and the right application of wages in clothing and feeding families, and furnishing homes, it is now hoped that in this collective form, the anecdotes will have a new mission of usefulness. Temperance advocates and Sunday-school teachers especially will find the volume useful. Of the one hundred and twenty anecdotes here given, a large number are appropriately illustrated.

Healing Leaves; Gathered by Walter Ludbrook.

London Temperance Tracts.—The Depôt, Milton Hall, Camden Town.

CAPITAL tracts for temperance reformers, and exceedingly cheap. More than 600,000 of them have been sold already.

The Life-Boat, or Journal of the National Life-Boat Institution. Issued Quarterly. London: Richard Lewis, 14, John-street, Adelphi.

INDUSTRIOUSLY fans and helps to keep alive the glorious spark of shipwreck-rescuing humanity.

The East-London Evangelist: A Monthly Record of Christian Work among the People, and Organ of the East-London Christian Mission. Edited by William Booth. London: Morgan and Chase, 38, Ludgate Hill.

FULLY recognises the importance of temperance advocacy in aid of evangelising work.

The Scattered Nation. Edited by C. Schwartz, D.D. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London.

A MONTHLY religious magazine, edited by a Christian Jew.

The Church. London: Elliot Stock.

A MONTHLY penny magazine.

The Appeal: A Magazine for the People. London: Elliot Stock.

A MONTHLY religious magazine, price one halfpenny.

The Book-Hawking Circular; a Quarterly Paper of the Church of England Book-Hawking Union, forming a Useful Manual for the Promoters, Officers, and Agents of Book-Hawking Associations in England and Wales. London: Church of England Book-Hawking Union Depôt; and Rivington, 3, Waterloo Place.

London Temperance Almanac for 1869, *and Diary of Temperance Reformers, &c., &c.* London: Walter Ludbrook, Milton Hall, Camden Town.

Meliora.

MR. LECKY'S HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MORALS.

1. *A History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne.* By William Edward Hartpole Lecky, M.A. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1859.

2. *The Fortnightly Review for May. Art.* 2. *Mr. Lecky's First Chapter.* By the Editor.

MR. LECKY possesses in an eminent degree the genius of a moral historian. He has a profound sympathy with every phase of human life, subtle insight, patient research, vast learning, a chaste and manly style, and never allows himself to be warped by a desire to spin fine theories. The great defect of his present work to many minds will be its want of two or three generalisations that can be carried in the memory; but when we remember the essential difference between a work like Buckle's 'History of Civilisation' and a history of morals, the defect, if so it be, does not seem very striking. Mr. Lecky excels in narrative, and spares no labour in making its details as full and exact as possible. His footnotes are rich in curious learning, and his whole work is conceived in a liberal and philosophic spirit. The introductory chapter on 'The Natural History of Morals' is, of course, controversial, and is the weakest portion of the book. It has already evoked a vigorous and smart reply, on behalf of the utilitarian school, from the pen of Mr. John Morley, in the 'Fortnightly Review,' and we are reluctantly compelled to consider it proved that the chapter in question has 'the double demerit of doing the greatest possible injustice to the utilitarian school, and the least possible justice to the intuitive school.' With that admission, however, our fault-finding ends. The chapter is no necessary part of the book, except as it establishes Mr. Lecky's honesty in refusing to write a

history of morals from the intuitive stand-point without stating why he belonged to that school, and it is pretty certain to be considerably modified in a subsequent edition. Whatever haziness there may be about it does not impair the value of what follows; nay, we can conceive an eclectic moralist contending that Mr. Lecky's later chapters are evidence that utility does supply part of a general conscience, even though there may be a fundamental moral sense in individuals. Mr. Lecky's chapters on the Pagan Empire, the Conversion of Rome, and the Position of Women are full of interest, and will cause many readers to regret that he did not undertake to bring his history down to a much later period. The seven hundred years between Augustus and Charlemagne certainly exhibited the moral revolutions effected by Christianity, and almost bring the present work down to a previous one from the same hand; but still there seems a gap left which even copious foot-notes do not enable us to bridge over, and we are left amidst a host of difficulties the work has raised without settling, and of doubts it has created without satisfying. These may be evidences of the author's power and of our own narrowness of vision, since he leaves with a full and restless mind. However that may be, his history will have a powerful interest for all students of morals, and open new fields of inquiry for all who are attracted by the moving agencies in human evolution.

The historian of morals, remarks Mr. Lecky, has three questions to deal with; the changes that have taken place in the general moral standard, in the moral type or ideal of successive periods, and in the realised morals of the people. By the first, he understands the degrees in which, in different ages, recognised virtues have been enjoined and practised; by the second, the relative importance that in different ages has been attached to different virtues; and by the third the distance or unity between moral teachers and the people. His example of the first is a very happy one. He remarks that 'a Roman of the age of Pliny, an Englishman of the age of Henry VIII., and an Englishman of our own day would all agree in regarding humanity as a virtue, and its opposite as a vice; but their judgment of the acts which are compatible with a humane disposition would be widely different. A humane man of the first period might derive enjoyment from those gladiatorial games, which an Englishman, even in the days of the Tudors, would regard as perfectly barbarous; and this last would, in his turn, acquiesce in many sports which would now be emphatically condemned.' Thus, it may be true, as Buckle contends, that we have added little to the

'great dogmas of which moral systems are composed,' whilst our intellectual acquisitions have very signally increased, and yet it does not prove that morals are stationary, for in this one department we have made most rapid advances. Kindness to animals, for example, is a new field of moral conquest, and an amount of cruelty might have been practised a thousand years ago which would now be utterly repugnant to the good sense of the most uneducated. We shall presently trace this more at length, and simply refer to it now in order to emphasize the central truth of Mr. Lecky's book, that moral progress is a fact dependent on many causes, and, when not seen in the acquisition of new truths, is at least visible in the fuller and newer meaning given to old ones. In explaining the meaning of a change in the moral type, Mr. Lecky refers to the order of precedence accorded to different virtues in different civilisations. His use of the term rudimentary, applied to the cardinal test-virtue of any one period, is very unfortunate, and not a little misleading, now we have come almost to restrict the term to its secondary meanings. If our readers will use a convenient synonym they will much better understand what follows.

'Rudimentary virtues vary in different ages, nations, and classes. Thus, in the great republics of antiquity patriotism was rudimentary, for it was so assiduously cultivated that it appeared at once the most obvious and the most essential of duties. Among ourselves much private virtue may co-exist with complete indifference to national interests. In the monastic period, and in a somewhat different form in the age of chivalry, a spirit of reverential obedience was rudimentary, and the basis of all moral progress; but we may now frequently find a good man without it, his moral energies having been cultivated in other directions. Common truthfulness and honesty are rudimentary virtues in industrial societies, but not in others. Chastity, in England at least, is a rudimentary female virtue, but scarcely a rudimentary virtue amongst men, and it has not been in all ages, and is not now in all countries, rudimentary amongst women. There is no more important task devolving upon a moral historian than to discover in each period the rudimentary virtue, for it regulates in a great degree the position assigned to all others.'

The moral type of a period thus leads to the formation of groups or orders of virtues, ranged in subordination or equality to the 'rudimentary' one, or in other words:—

'The heroical, the amiable, the intellectual virtues form in this manner distinct groups; and in some cases the development of one group is incompatible, not indeed with the existence, but with the prominence of the others. Content cannot be the leading virtue in a society animated by an intense industrial spirit, or submission or tolerance of injuries in a society formed upon a military type, or intellectual virtues in a society where a believing spirit is made the essential of goodness, yet each of these conditions is the special sphere of some particular class of virtues. The distinctive beauty of a moral type depends not so much on the elements of which it is composed as of the proportions in which those elements are combined. The characters of Socrates, of Cato, of Bayard, of Fénelon, and of St. Francis Assisi are all beautiful, but they differ generically, and not simply in degrees of excellence. To endeavour to impart to Cato the

distinctive charm of St. Francis, or to St. Francis that of Cato, would be as absurd as to endeavour to unite in a single statue the beauties of the Apollo and the Laocoon, or in a single landscape the beauties of the twilight and of the meridian sun. Take away pride from the ancient Stoic and the modern Englishman, and you would have destroyed the basis of many of his noblest virtues, but humility was the very principle and root of the moral qualities of the ascetic.'

This humility, we may also note, was a moral advance, because it added a new type to the Western world, and when, in its celibate form, it had united itself with militarism, flowered into chivalry and found a broader ideal in Charlemagne. Mr. Lecky fails to note here, strangely, seeing that the fact is so obvious, that the more complex our civilisation becomes the less and less any one typical virtue holds sway. Thus, modern nations have several prevailing types. We are not less patriotic than military nations, when fully aroused, but we are moved by so many impulses that the motive to arouse us must be stronger. Nor are we less reverential, though it is in a different fashion, or less charitable, though in a form that has varied with the extinction of European slavery and an organised system of State relief of the poor. Stoicism taught the brotherhood of man, and Christianity effectually destroyed the patriotism of the old type; but we should mistake if we supposed nations are less patriotic, when occasion demands, because constant intercourse with other nations softens racial and religious animosities, and commerce has developed a new basis and bond of union.

Patriotism still forms one of the group of virtues that constitute character, and whether it shall be a temporary test-virtue depends upon considerations which are not constant, as in past times, but vary as the winds. If any one doubts the patriotism of industrial England, let him raise the cry of invasion, and England will cheerfully bear extra income tax, spend millions in fortifications, and raise an army of citizen soldiers, who would die to a man in defence of their native land. If this is not patriotism, we hardly know what is. Other virtues might be treated in the same way. A simple type disappears with a simple civilisation, and the golden possibilities of humanity increase with every moral and intellectual acquisition. This, in truth, is the very opposite of moral change without progress. A man may be distinguished for humility, and yet fight as terribly as Cromwell's Roundheads did; he may be full of religion, without denouncing the iniquity of doubt; and he may be animated by the restlessness of industrial civilisation, without participating in what Mr. Lecky conceives to be its characteristic unchastity. 'We may gain more than we lose, but we

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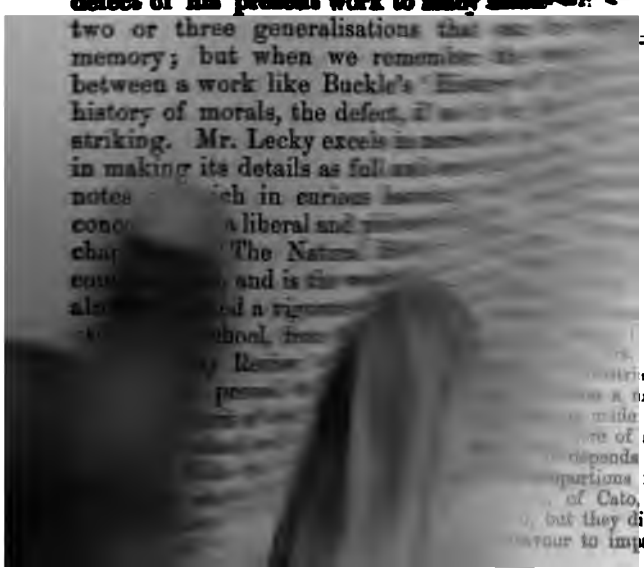

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reverse. Historically we do not find this to be the case. The classic period of history shows us that suicide is largely dependent upon moral ideas respecting death and a future life, and we also find suicide much more common then than in modern times. What general causes were more favourable to it then than now? We are completely at a loss to answer. In Greece the common notion was that it was quite allowable to kill one's self, as we gather from Plato's 'Phædo' and other sources. Valerianus Maximus even states that poison was kept by the Senate of Marseilles, in accordance with a law borrowed from Greece, and given to those persons who could justify their death by sufficient reasons, the authorities thereby wishing to prevent hasty and too frequent suicides. Plato, Aristotle, and many of the wise men condemned suicide, some as unjust to God, others as wrong towards the State; but, as Mr. Lecky says, 'a general approval of it floated down through most of the schools of philosophy, and even to those who condemned it, it never seems to have assumed its present aspect of enormity.' The Stoics generally, in spite of their high moral ideal, their patriotic virtue, their superiority to the surrounding conditions in which they lived, and their grand notions respecting the dignity of man, resisting the world, the ascendancy of reason, and the virtue of action, were tainted with the immoral doctrine of the lawfulness of suicide. Cato was their ideal man. As Pliny extolled the bounty of Providence because it had filled the world with herbs whereby the weary could procure a rapid and painless death, so Seneca riots in the idea that there are many ways by which the weary and the slave can break their chains. 'Against all the injuries of life,' he says, 'I have the refuge of death. Wherever you look there is the end of evils. You see that yawning precipice—there you may descend to liberty. You see that sea, that river, that well—liberty sits at the bottom. Do you seek the way to freedom? You may find it in every vein of your body. . . . . Man should seek the approbation of others in his life; his death concerns only himself. . . . The lot of man is happy, because no one continues wretched but by his own fault. If life pleases you, live. If not, you have a right to return whence you came.' Epictetus and Musonius wrote in the same strain; and even Marcus Aurelius, who condemned suicide, recognised its rightfulness in some cases, especially to prevent moral degeneracy. There was no want of sympathy here between the philosophers and the people. Suicides were common, often dramatic, and some-

times took place amidst a group of admiring friends.* When Otho killed himself to avoid being a second time the cause of civil war (A.D. 69), some of his soldiers killed themselves before his corpse to testify their admiration, and Tacitus declares that others, not present, did the same when they heard the news. Tullius Marcellinus, afflicted with an incurable disease, sought the advice of a philosopher, who recommended suicide, which advice Marcellinus gladly embraced. He was 'a young man of remarkable abilities and very earnest character,' says Mr. Lecky. There were only two laws against suicide in the Roman Empire in pagan times; Domitian, to prevent suicide before trial, ordaining that it should entail exposure of the body and confiscation of goods, exactly the same as condemnation; and Hadrian assimilating suicide to desertion, a step similar to that taken by Napoleon in 1802 to check suicide amongst his soldiers. 'With these exceptions the liberty appears to have been absolute,' and we learn from Ulpian that the wills of suicides were recognised by law. The custom of burying the suicide after sunset is of Jewish origin.

What were the causes of this conception of suicide as a euthanasia? Two at once suggest themselves. The absence of all idea of sin from the stoical morality, and the notion of death as the end of sorrow, and of a future life as little more than a beautiful uncertainty. Death was viewed as 'a law and not a punishment,' and the whole course of stoical teaching was intended to clear the mind of shame or fear. Thus, to give Mr. Lecky's convenient epitome:—

'The doctrine of suicide was the culminating point of Roman stoicism. The proud, self-reliant, unbending character of the philosopher could only be sustained when he felt that he had a sure refuge against the extreme forms of suffering or despair. Although virtue is not a mere creature of interest, no great system has ever yet flourished which did not present an ideal of happiness as well as of duty. Stoicism taught men to hope little but to fear nothing. It did not array death in brilliant colours, as the path to positive felicity, but it endeavoured to divest it, as the end of suffering, of every terror. Life lost much of its bitterness when men had found a refuge from the storms of fate, a speedy deliverance from dotage and pain. Death ceased to be terrible when it was regarded rather as a remedy than a sentence. Life and death were attuned to the same key. . . . The type of its own kind was perfect. All the virtues and all the majesty that accompany human pride, when developed to the highest point, and directed to the noblest ends, were here displayed. All those which accompany humility and self-abasement were absent.'

The first emphatic condemnation of suicide, on grounds personal to the victim, was made by Neo-Platonism. It was

* Hegesias of Alexandria was called the 'orator of death' because he preached suicide. He was banished by Ptolemy.

Plotinus who taught that as perturbation polluted the soul, the spirit of the suicide left his body with a stain upon it. Christianity extended this doctrine, and registered, in the earliest days of the Church, a most emphatic condemnation of the act. This is the more remarkable as the New Testament contains no direct positive precept against suicide, and the opportunity referred to in John viii., 22, does not seem to have been taken to include self-slaughter with the commandment against murder spiritualised in Matt. v., 22. The early Church, however, made no distinction between murder and suicide, except where the latter followed the intoxicated desire for martyrdom common to early converts, or was resorted to, under extreme circumstances, by women to guard their chastity. In the two latter cases they excused it, and on many occasions expressed high admiration of those who preferred death to shame, whilst hesitating to justify the suicide itself. The doctrine of the penal nature of death, the duty of resignation to pain and evil as elements of moral discipline, and above all the clear conception of a future life affected by the good or evil of the present one, all contributed to make direct and deliberate suicide a crime, and banish it from the Church. The Circumcelliones, the Albigenses, and in later times the Jews were driven by various causes to practise it; the first for the sake of salvation, the second to accelerate death in illness, and the third to avoid persecution and torture. No direct change in legislation was made until the sixth century, when the Council of Bragues ordained that no religious rites should be celebrated at the tomb of the suicide, and no masses said for his soul.

'St. Lewis originated the custom of confiscating the property of the dead man, and the corpse was soon subject to gross and various outrages. In some countries it could only be removed from the house through a perforation specially made for the occasion in the wall; it was dragged upon the hurdle through the streets, hung up with the head downwards, and at last thrown into the public sewer, or burnt, or buried in the sand below high-water mark, or transfixed by a stake on the public highway.'

We need not wonder that suicide should have been almost unknown under the empire of Catholicism and Mahommedanism, it being expressly condemned by name in the Koran, whereas the Bible supplies us with no positive prohibition. The later history of society shows that the moral repulsion felt towards the crime was lessened by the revival of classical studies; some partial apologies were even made for it in England in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. The magistrates and priests of Sir Thomas More's

'Utopia' are represented as permitting and occasionally enjoining the suicide of those afflicted with incurable diseases. Dr. Donne, the eccentric dean of St. Paul's, wrote a defence of self-homicide, under the title of 'Biathanus.' It is of this work that he wrote to Lord Antrim: 'Reserve it for me if I live, and if I die I only forbid it the press and the fire. Publish it not, but burn it not, but between those do what you like with it.' Blount and Creech, two classic editors of now European renown, were apologists for suicide, and both thus ended their existence. 'When I have finished my commentary I must kill myself,' Creech wrote on the margin of his translation of Lucretius; and he kept his word. Montesquieu and Rousseau defended suicide, as did Holbach and Deslandes, and Voltaire admitted its rightfulness in cases of necessity. Madame de Staël, who had commended suicide in a youthful work, devoted a later one to a tender and pious declaration of its incompatibility with anything like virtue. 'Though there are many crimes of a deeper dye than suicide,' she writes in her 'Réflexions,' 'there is no other by which men appear so formally to renounce the protection of God.' This, indeed, strengthened by considerations as to the future of the soul, and the general belief in the sanctity of all human life, is found more operative in preventing suicide than peaceful and prosperous times, laws confiscating property, the unchristian burial that follows a verdict of *felo de se*, or the 'general conditions of society.' The case of suicide is indeed a strong one in favour of a moral growth almost wholly independent of really intellectual advance. An obscure member of one of the most obscure religious sects of our land feels a repugnance to suicide which is due to an increase in the moral acquisitions of the race, and not to any superiority of intelligence or any scientific advance. A rude Cornish miner is in this respect in advance of Seneca or Epictetus, though he would be unable to blurt out more than one or two insufficient reasons for his belief. In fine, the law of inherited capacities is as much moral as intellectual in its operation.

Before we pass to our second topic we ought to say a word or two on infanticide. Like suicide, this was a classic crime, and even where laws were enacted against it, and a distinction made between it and exposition, they were constantly and easily evaded. It will not fail to be noted as extraordinary that Chremes, in Terence, who utters the memorable line, '*Homo sum humani nihil a me alienum puto*,' reproaches his wife for having exposed her little girl instead of having it

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'St. Lewis originated the custom of confiscating the property of the dead man and the corpse was soon subject to gross and various outrages. In some countries it could only be removed from the house through a perforation specially made for the occasion in the wall; it was dragged upon the hurdle through the streets hung up with the head downwards, and at last thrown into the public sewer, or burnt, or buried in the sand below high-water mark, or transfixed by a stake on the public highway.'

We need not wonder that suicide should have been almost unknown under the empire of Catholicism and Mahommedanism, it being expressly condemned by name in the Koran whereas the Bible supplies us with no positive prohibition. The later history of society shows that the moral repulsion felt towards the crime was lessened by the revival of classical studies; some partial apologies were even made for it in England in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. The magistrates and priest of Sir Thomas More's

killed, as he had advised.* Abortion and infanticide were both checked by the theology of the early Church. A mother who believed that the soul of her infant was damned if it died unbaptised, or unblessed, was not likely to destroy it, or yet to stain her own soul with the guilt of murder. Infanticide was made a capital offence by Valentinian, in A.D. 374, and the early Christians were noted for their care and love for unfortunate foundlings. Moral feeling, however, rather than legislative restriction, has been the principal agent in so incorporating an idea of the sanctity of infant life with our modern notions as to make it 'independent of all doctrinal changes.'

'If the hammer and the shuttle could move themselves, slavery would be unnecessary.' This was Aristotle's opinion, and is accepted almost as prophecy by those who imagine that the revolutions of invention and labour are the main causes of the decrease of slavery and our detestation of the system. We are quite willing, however, to admit several initial facts respecting slavery:—First, that slave-holding was an advance upon the savage method of killing captives taken in war; secondly, that slave labour was an indispensable element in early half-military, half-agricultural, and half-industrial life; and thirdly, as M. Comte happily puts it, that 'labour, accepted at first as a ransom of life, became afterwards the' (we prefer to read, a) 'principle of emancipation.' Having made these admissions, we pass on to deal with Roman slavery, and as its main features are well-known, we need make no apology for any scantiness of detail. Mr. Lecky divides it into three periods. 1. The form that existed in the earlier and simpler days of the Republic, when the head of the family had few slaves, was absolute master of them, and lived in intimate connection with them. On all religious festivals the slaves were exempt from field labour, and on the Saturnalia and Matronalia they sat at the same table as their masters. 2. The period after the servile wars of Sicily, the revolt of Spartacus, and the passion for gladiatorial shows. This was the worst age of Roman slavery, as the proverb, 'As many enemies as slaves,' fully testified. When a master was murdered without evidence being forthcoming as to the criminal, the whole of his slaves were put to death. When Pedamus was murdered the people rose in

* The authority of the parent was once much higher than it is now. Thus, under the Roman Law, a man might order his son to be slain, and in Deut. xxi., 18 to 21, it is stated that the rebellious son shall be brought to the gate and stoned to death. Compare with these, the shooting of his son to avoid disgrace by the hero of Uncle Roland's Tale in Chap. vi. of Bulwer's 'Caxtons.'

revolt against the law, which condemned his four hundred slaves, but the soldiers interfered and the men were executed. Torture, working in chains, and other devices were resorted to by the masters, and when they chose to get rid of a slave they could have a choice of three methods:—if infirm, expose him on an island of the Tiber; but if able-bodied, flog him within an inch of his life—plead necessity, and so escape all punishment; or sell him for the gladiatorial shows. Only in cases of incest, murder, &c., were slaves permitted to give evidence, and then only when their testimony was indispensable. Several deviations from modern slavery should be borne in mind. A Roman slave could marry; families were rarely separated; slaves held private property and accumulated savings, which they were frequently allowed to dispose of by will; and enfranchisement, by these moneys, or the kindness of masters, was common. 3. The next period commences after the enactment of the Petronian law, forbidding a master to condemn a slave to fight with wild beasts without the sentence of a judge. Nero, Domitian, the Antonines, and Hadrian passed laws still further improving the lot of Roman slaves. A judge was appointed to hear their complaints; mutilation was forbidden; and stringent regulations were enforced against all undue severity, and the existence of *ergastula*, or private prisons. Very little was done by subsequent legislation until the time of Justinian, who removed restrictions upon enfranchisement, and desired to encourage manumission; the class of freed-men was virtually abolished, and, with the authorisation of his master, a slave was permitted to marry a free woman, his children becoming legal heirs. Here, however, the direct stream of moral influence begins to be felt. The Christian Church recognised slavery; but it brought the slave and the free man into new relations; gave moral dignity to the servile class, and commenced a public movement in favour of enfranchisement. The law recognised distinctions that were lost in the Church. Slave and free sat together, partook of the sacred elements, mingled in the same worship. The chastity of the female slave was zealously guarded by the Church. The priestly office was not barred by colour or lowly birth, and hence multitudes of emancipated slaves entered into ecclesiastical offices, administering consolation or the symbols of the crucifixion to their once lordly masters.* The virtues of the servile class

* A law of Henry II. enacted that every Saxon serf who could get ordained should thenceforth be amenable to none but ecclesiastic law. It was this that led to the enormous multiplication of the clergy after the conquest.—Thierry, Vol. V., p. 58.

were also recognised and exalted by Christianity. 'Humility, obedience, gentleness, resignation, are all cardinal virtues in the Christian character; they were all neglected or underrated by the Pagans, they can all expand and flourish in a servile state.' Hence slavery was in correspondence with the group of virtues prevailing after the sixth century. Stoicism asserted the equality of all men, but made no effort to do more than mitigate the condition of the slave. Christianity admitted slavery, but in admitting it consecrated the virtues it developed, spread amongst them with electric charm, and finally made emancipation a Christian duty, and initiated a movement which has culminated in our time. Church ornaments were sold to rescue slaves from thraldom, especially captives, and the deeds of St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great, St. Cæsarius, St. Exuperius, St. Hilary, St. Remi, St. Cyprian, St. Epiphanius, St. Avitus, St. Peter Teleonarius, and St. Serapion are well-known to ecclesiastical history, the two latter having sold themselves into slavery to redeem others when all their means were exhausted. The influence of religion was continued in another form, when monachism, by its association of high character and virtue with simple labour, deprived menial occupations of their presumed degradation, and led on to an industrialism which has made slavery incompatible with civilisation. Though late as 1775 the colliers of Scotland were bound in perpetual servitude to the places at which they worked,* we have long since come to have a horror of human servitude that might be called instinctive, did we not know it has been the result of ages of moral growth, and is wholly incompatible with the group of virtues that characterises the industrial epoch—independence, veracity, self-assertion, unity of class.

We have not much space left to devote to our third example of accumulative moral feeling—kindness to animals. It is a subject in itself. But it can hardly be passed over in silence. There are abundant illustrations of delicacy of feeling towards some particular animal to be found in ancient times, without anything like the organised sensitiveness we feel in our own day. Thus, the most useful animals speedily became objects of veneration, as the cow in India, the bull in Egypt, whilst many legends, and especially the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, led to a tender regard for some of the tamer animals. The ox, indeed, was in all countries supposed to be exempt from cruel treatment, and especially in Palestine. Still, except amongst the Hebrew races, there was an

* See note to Mc.Culloch's edition of the Wealth of Nations, Vol. II., p. 186.

absence of anything like humanity towards animals generally. In Greece, cock-fighting, quail-fighting, and bull-fights were common, and encouraged by the law, as supplying the people with examples of valour. Chrysippus maintained that on this ground cock-fighting was the final cause of cocks. The combats with wild beasts in the Roman amphitheatre were also examples of callousness which Christianity speedily set itself to diminish. But just as the Church corporate checked suicide, infanticide, and slavery, whilst monachism, or the third development of Christianity, dignified labour, so its second form, asceticism, seems to have developed a new feeling towards the animal creation. The eremite sought to live a purely natural or Edenic life, and regain something of lost power over himself and natural forms. Banished from men he sank insensibly into the rank of animal life, superior yet akin, the blossom yet still in connection with the rude stem. Thus the legends of the saints are full of touching pictures of this intimacy. No one supposes they are all true, but at least they have this amount of truth in them—they are attempts, often grotesque enough, to represent a fact, and had a marvellous influence in softening character. When birds and domestic animals were associated with the piety of this or that saint, they were certain to be exempt from cruelty. An Irish peasant is kind to his pig for two reasons, because it is his rent-payer, and because St. Bridget made one her constant companion. In one or two cases our modern attachment to birds may be traced to some of the Catholic legends. Everybody in England looks kindly on the robin, but very few can give a reason why. It may be that it is viewed as the swallow is, in the light of 'a scholar of God,' as the old rhyme says, teaching us the seasons; but there are two legends about it which may account for some of the superstitious reverence entertained for it. The first is, that God commissioned the robin to carry a drop of water to the souls of un-baptised infants in hell, and that its breast was singed in piercing the flames. The other is, that for pure pity's sake, it strove to pull out the thorns from the crown of Christ, and hence bears His sacred blood upon its breast to the present day. Similarly, we may account for the irreverent way in which the cock was treated in old English sports. It was far from being what the Lombardy peasant calls the swallow—'the chicken of the Lord;' it was a vile bird, the symbol of Peter's denial, and the fitting sport of Christian people. As early as the twelfth century cock-fighting was an English pastime, and continued to be so till the beginning of the nineteenth. James I. was particularly fond of the sport.

'Cock-throwing' was another cruel English game, chiefly practised on Shrove Tuesday. Sir Thomas More, the author of 'Utopia,' was famous for his skill in throwing the 'cock-stick.' The sport was suppressed in 1769. Bear-baiting and bull-baiting continued much longer. Windham and Canning defended the latter, as did even Sir Robert Peel, in 1824. The rise of the theatre in England, as in Rome, was a principal cause of the suppression of cruel sports, but the gentle lives of the hermits, and the softened natures of Christian persons, contributed much to plant within us our present strong feelings in spite of the interruptions occasioned by military conquest and the successive revivals of military passion.

Here we must close. Mr. Lecky's last chapter on 'the Position of Women' is full of interest, and inspires us with a hope that he will give us yet other works in which the same exhaustive research, kindly spirit, and strong common sense will be shown. It is the only chapter in which a special aspect of sociology is fully worked out, and it rather makes us regret that the same plan was not adopted with such topics as we have used his researches to place in the light of moral science.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN RELATION TO LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

HOW is the material prosperity of the country affected by the public and almost unrestrained sale of liquors, and by the consequent drinking habits which prevail to such an unfortunate and disgraceful extent among the masses of our fellow-countrymen? This is the question proposed to be discussed in the following paragraphs. We shall not here dilate upon its importance, because the magnitude and variety of the interests that are involved in this great social question will unfold themselves in their natural order, and with inevitable precision and effect, as we proceed. It will be seen that it is a question so deeply concerning the welfare of society,—even those broad and primary principles which are the groundwork and foundation of modern society, and so vital to the character, prosperity, and lasting greatness of our country, that there can be no subject more worthy of the close investigation and most serious attention of politicians. The statesman who shall triumph over the difficulties that surround and beset at every step the satisfactory solution of this great social problem, and shall cast out the terrible evils that it inflicts

upon the country, will receive the benediction of his own generation, and, dying, will be enshrined in the blessings of posterity,—

> 'And so sepulchred in such pomp [shall] lie
> That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.'

In order to show more clearly how the wide-spread custom of drinking affects the material progress of the nation, we will briefly state some of the causes of our prosperity and greatness. It will then be seen that this vice, that has hitherto defied all the eloquence of the moralist and the utmost authority of the pulpit, is weakening the energies and corrupting the very heart's core of our country.

The wealth and prosperity of a nation depend, like those of an individual, upon three great causes—efficiency of labour, accumulation of capital, natural agents. These causes are, in turn, operated upon by other and subordinate causes or influences. Whatever tends to increase the force and efficacy, and to quicken the energy and vitality of any of these causes, must tend, in an equal degree, to promote the development of the national resources, and to accelerate the growth of wealth and prosperity. And whatever, on the other hand, tends to weaken or diminish their power, must, in the same degree, obstruct and diminish the progress of wealth and prosperity. Now of the numerous subordinate causes or influences conducive to one or other of these tendencies, our subject and purpose confine us to one, viz., the influence of the liquor traffic. We shall see how this traffic affects in a multitude of ways, directly and indirectly, the two first great causes, the efficiency of labour and the accumulation of capital. We will first notice its effects upon the efficiency of labour.

It is self-evident that the greater are the strength, the powers of endurance, the energy, skill, perseverance, and intelligence which the workman exercises in his employment, the more effective will be the labour, the more perfect the result, the more valuable the workman. When the work to be done requires great physical strength, anything that impairs that strength would be shunned by a prudent workman. If extraordinary powers of endurance are essential, as in a campaign, where the soldier must suffer exposure to the inclemency of the weather, must perform forced marches in a difficult country, harassed by the enemy, wasted by an inhospitable climate, worn out by fatigue, constantly obliged to confront innumerable hardships and dangers, anything that would detract from those powers of endurance would be more fatal, because more sure, than the shots of the enemy.

Examples can be multiplied without end by everyone. For there is not a single occupation in life in which the qualities above-named are not of the greatest use.

The indulgence of immoderate drinking, which is inseparable from the present system of the almost unrestrained sale of intoxicating beverages, carries with it its own punishment in the poverty, ruin, and degradation which lay waste the house of the drunkard. A shattered constitution, premature old age, moral abasement, bodily and intellectual debility fill his cup of misery to the brim. The common experience of every-day life attest the truth of this short description of the unhappy lot of him who has yielded to the coarse seductions of the beerhouse. But the sum total of the wretchedness cannot be ascertained. Yet some idea may be formed of it from the statistical returns of our cities and towns. Let any one refer to the local papers of Liverpool: he will often find as many as two hundred convictions in one day for offences arising from drunkenness. The presiding magistrates at quarter sessions trace nine-tenths of the criminal cases that come before them to the door of the public-house. The testimony of the judges on circuit, both in their charges to the grand jury and in the more minute criticisms they afterwards make upon each individual case, is no less emphatic. Their acuteness, sharpened by long practice, in sifting evidence, their high and responsible position, the dignity of their office, and the renown of their reputation clothe with irresistible force the solemn and deliberate expression of their unanimous opinion. The frequenters of the public-house are either weakened for their work, which thereby becomes less efficient, or a still greater misfortune befals them, and they are cut off, by a verdict of guilty, from earning an honourable livelihood. General Havelock strongly animadverted upon the evil effects of the soldiers' indulgence in drink in Cabul. Military inefficiency, military offences, and the wreck of the most robust constitutions in the army are notoriously the result of drunkenness and its consequent debauchery. History truly ascribes to this indulgence the failure of our first armament in the great American war. The terrible results of this insane national vice, encouraged by the fiscal arrangements of the Government, are written, to our shame, in the imperishable records of the national losses and public calamities.

But drinking has a far more dangerous and fatal effect. It enervates the understanding, weakens the powers of the mind, dulls the intellect, and quenches the brilliance of the divine ray of intelligence which, raising man into a different

and higher order of being than the rest of the creation, marks him the noblest work of God, and enlightens and illumines the soul with a light as superior to the light of the sun as the spiritual is superior to the material order. It is this degradation of the sublime part of man that is the greatest curse attached to drunkenness. What a shock to the order—the cosmos—of our being! If the creatures of the earth tremble in terror when the source of her life and light is partially eclipsed, how fallen must be the state of that man who sees, careless and unmoved, the more appalling eclipse of his own more divine intelligence!

Everyone is aware how invaluable in an economical point of view is superior intelligence. What a saving in a large mercantile or manufacturing establishment can often be effected by one man of a high order of intelligence placed at the helm! The effects of extensive knowledge, great skill, and high intelligence, are too familiar to everyone, and too well appreciated, even by the most uneducated, to require illustration. They are apparent in the competition of various nations, where there is a striking contrast to our disadvantage. Mr. Escher, of Zurich, a large employer of working men of many different nations, gave the following evidence, which is annexed to the Poor Law Commissioners' Report, in 1840:—

'The Italians' quickness of perception is shown in rapidly comprehending any new descriptions of labour put into their hands, in a power of quickly comprehending the meaning of their employer, of adapting themselves to new circumstances, much beyond what any other classes have. The French workmen have the like natural characteristics, only in a somewhat lower degree. The English, Swiss, German, and Dutch workmen, we find, have all much slower natural comprehension. As workmen *only* the preference is undoubtedly due to the English; because, as we find them, they are all trained to special branches, on which they have had comparatively superior training, and have concentrated all their thoughts. As men of business or of general usefulness, or as men with whom an employer would best like to be surrounded, I should, however, decidedly prefer the Saxons and the Swiss; but more especially the Saxons, because they have had a very careful general education, which has extended their capabilities beyond any special employment, and rendered them fit to take up, after a short preparation, any employment to which they may be called. If I have an English workman engaged in the erection of a steam engine, he will understand that and nothing else; and for other circumstances or other branches of mechanics however closely allied, he will be comparatively helpless to adapt himself to all the circumstances that may arise, to make arrangements for them, and to give sound advice or write clear statements and letters on his work in the various related branches of mechanics. The better educated workmen, we find, are distinguished by superior moral habits in every respect. In the first place they are entirely sober; they are discreet in their enjoyments, which are of a more rational and refined kind; they have a taste for much better society, which they approach respectfully, and, consequently, find much readier admittance to it; they cultivate music; they read; they enjoy the pleasures of scenery, and make parties for excursions in the country; they are economical, and their economy extends beyond their own purse to the stock of their master; they are, consequently, honest and trustworthy.'

In answer to a question respecting the English workmen, he said:—

'Whilst in respect to the work to which they have been especially trained they are the most skilful, they are in conduct the most disorderly, debauched, and unruly, and least respectable and trustworthy of any nation whatsoever whom we have employed; and in saying this I express the opinion of every manufacturer on the continent to whom I have spoken, and especially of the English manufacturers, who make the loudest complaint. These characteristics of depravity do not apply to the English workmen who have received an education, but attach to the others in the degree in which they are in want of it.'

Here is a character of our fellow-countrymen, which, whilst it passes a well-merited and generously-given eulogium upon the sober and the educated, speaks of the others in terms too dreadful, but too true, to require comment. The working-man who spends his money in the public-house cannot have the money to educate his children. Wherefore it too often happens that the unfortunate children, demoralised by the example of their father, follow in his footsteps, a curse to everyone to whom they ought to be a blessing, a curse to themselves, their parents, their family, and their country. It is impossible not to make the reflection that among all the nations mentioned by Mr. Escher the English are most addicted to drinking.

Enough has now been said to make it clear that the liquor traffic, being inevitably and inseparably associated with drunkenness, is, in the highest degree, prejudicial to, and destructive of, the efficiency of labour in every path of life—whether the labour be mental or manual. But even if we had no drunkenness; if every member of the State had his appetite under such complete and wholesome restraint as never to indulge in the slightest excess; still, though moralists were satisfied with this, the statesman and patriot would require something more. For even then a large consumption of liquors would be fraught with evil; it would still be a cup of poison to the nation, and its effects would not be the less disastrous because less obvious. They would be seen, and noted, and regretted by those who break the crust of society, and examine its interior and hidden strata. Those social explorers would discover that the mere production of drink is injurious. This leads us at once to the purely economic results of its manufacture and trade, which, it may be alleged, apparently in its favour, support a vast amount of labour. The quality of that labour, however, will presently be discovered. For this purpose we must refer to some of the primary principles of political economy.

The first great principle in connection with labour, is that

it does not produce objects, but utilities. All the labour in the world, with all the power of man combined, could never call into being an object. It could never produce material. All that it can do, and what it does, is to take the objects—the materials—nature has provided, and, by re-arranging these, and placing them in new and artificial positions, to cause them to assume properties by which, from having been useless to us, they become useful. In other words, labour produces, as the greatest of the French political economists, M. Say, has aptly termed it, utilities. Like all other species of labour, that which is employed in the liquor traffic is undoubtedly producing utilities, or rather, were we inclined to be facetious, we should say *inutilities*. But is all labour that produces utilities to be accounted productive? This is a question, and a very important one, asked by M. Say and others. The answer to it will depend upon what is meant by productive labour. Productive labour, in the language of political economy and the language of reality, is labour employed in investing external material things with properties which render them serviceable to human beings. Now, how do intoxicating liquors stand the test of this great definition? Take beer, for example. Barley and hops are the chief 'external material things' operated upon. Does the process of brewing invest these 'external material things with properties that render them serviceable to human beings?' This question has been sufficiently alluded to above; but for a further and more lucid exposition upon that particular, read two short and interesting statements, one by Henry Munro, M.D., entitled, 'Alcohol not Food;' the other, by J. Mackenzie, M.D., headed, 'Condensed Temperance Facts for Christians.' That brewing does not invest the materials for beer with any 'properties that render them serviceable to human beings,' would be quite enough to establish the unproductive quality of the labour of brewing, without insisting that the properties of beer are actually unserviceable, detrimental, and injurious to the welfare of individuals and society. But at least, it is objected, they produce enjoyment. Certainly; such enjoyment as enfeebles and degrades human nature. What an enjoyment! Is it too great a restraint upon personal liberty to forbid and prevent, to repress by strong measures, the enjoyment, which is only another name for degradation and crime? It is done already in (so far as principle is concerned) analogous cases. There are indulgences which it is a grave offence against the criminal law, as well as against society, to gratify. And is there—can there be a more flagrant offence against society than the

nightly scenes of drunkenness and debauchery which disgrace every beerhouse in the kingdom, demoralising the people, polluting society? There are, we have said, indulgences which we handcuff, notwithstanding the sacred principle of personal freedom. But there is no indulgence which so urgently requires strong restraint and repressive measures as the liquor traffic.

Suppose the indulgence gave solid enjoyment, and, as such, was beneficial; still the labour would be unproductive. Mr. Mill lays it down that 'all labour is unproductive which ends in immediate enjoyment, without any increase of the accumulated stock of permanent means of enjoyment.' If a rich man lays out a handsome flower garden, or builds a conservatory, to be stocked with rare and beautiful plants, he derives permanent enjoyment from the labour. Or, if a poor man increases the conveniences and comforts of his home, here, too, is a source of permanent enjoyment. But where is the permanent enjoyment of money spent in the public-house? What does even the immediate enjoyment consist of but quarrels, sickness, and headache? True, Mr. Mill adds, a little further on, 'unproductive may be as useful as productive labour; it may be more useful, even in point of permanent advantage.' And when this is the case, no one in his senses would think of saying a word against it. Mr. Mill continues: 'Or its use may consist only in pleasurable sensation, which when gone, leaves no trace; or it may not afford even this, but may be absolute waste. In any case society, or mankind, grow no richer by it, but poorer.' We will leave it to those who imbibe freely to describe the 'pleasurable sensation' of drinking; and proceed to examine whether this species of unproductive labour is not 'absolute waste.'

The last words we quoted from Mr. Mill make it incumbent upon all unproductive labour to have a strong ground of defence:—'in any case society, or mankind grow no richer by it, but poorer.' One of the commonest and best defences is summed up in the proverb, 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.' But this is obviously inapplicable to the public-house; for when a man leaves it he is less fit for work than when he entered. We omit from consideration here the 'absolute waste' of the barley; the 'absolute waste' of those extensive tracts of land that are withdrawn from the cultivation of wheat in order to grow barley and hops for beer. We omit these items, although they are not trifles, when we consider that they would employ and feed all the beggars in the streets; whereas, instead, they are actually swelling the numbers of those very beggars, by indirectly impoverishing the *consumers* of beer at the public-houses.

The liquor traffic, however, involves a greater source of poverty to the nation than the destruction of the products of the earth. All the *labour* engaged in the traffic, from the breweries to the retail shops, is 'absolute waste.' Instead of producing that which is the poison of society, it ought to be spinning and weaving cloth for clothes, making bricks and building houses for the poor. It ought to be engaged in a thousand different useful arts. 'But,' some one suggests, 'does it not often happen that our warehouses are overstocked with goods, that the mills are slack, that there are already too many spinners and weavers, too many bricklayers and masons?' Our mills are slack, our warehouses overstocked, because the money that should buy the goods for clothes is spent at the public-house. Bricklayers and masons and joiners are too numerous, because the savings which should enable the poor to live in better houses are 'absolutely wasted' at the beerhouse. 'But,' it is urged again, 'the money has only changed hands; it is not wasted. It has passed from the poor man to the publican: an innumerable multitude of publicans, like the slaves of Egypt, have been constantly carrying it to the breweries, where they have erected mighty pyramids of gold—the colossal fortunes of London, Burton-upon-Trent, and Dublin brewers.' This objection is very specious. Few writers on political economy are free from it. It arises from the habit of confounding money with wealth. Money is not wealth; it is only the representative of wealth. We habitually speak of it as wealth, because it will procure for us a superfluous abundance of the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life, and these are wealth. Coins are merely the counters of society. But so difficult is it to emancipate our understandings from the trammels in which they are confined by the perpetual use of customary phrases, that political economists themselves often write as if money and wealth were synonymous. It is a plentiful supply of necessaries, comforts, and luxuries that constitutes wealth. These can only exist through labour, and the more labour there is employed in producing them, the more plentiful will they be, and the more truly wealthy will be the nation. So that if the labour that is at present producing beer were producing something necessary or more useful, the nation would be so much the more wealthy. For instance, suppose it were employed in making clothes or building houses for the ragged, half-naked, and houseless poor, is it not clear that the nation would be possessed of a larger aggregate stock of necessaries and comforts, in other words that it would be richer, than it is at present? And this is what would really happen if the drink

trade were suppressed, because the money that is now spent in the beerhouse—that is, in supporting so much unproductive labour—would then be placed in the Post Office Savings Bank, to be withdrawn thence to buy clothes, or to enable the mass of the people to be better housed—that is, in supporting as much productive labour as would make the clothes and the increased house accommodation. Thus the labour bestowed upon beer is an 'absolute waste,' a positive loss to the nation.

It remains to point out the principles which regulate the amount of this loss. This may appear very easy; it may be thought to lie on the surface. At first sight it would appear that the amount of the loss is equivalent to the amount of labour bestowed in the liquor trade. Let us see if this superficial view is correct.

It has been demonstrated by Mr. Mill that capital is essential to production; that without it 'no productive operations beyond the rude and scanty beginnings of primitive industry are possible;' that, consequently, 'industry and productions are limited by capital;' that, 'while on the one hand industry is limited by capital, so on the other every increase of capital gives, or is capable of giving, additional employment to industry, and this without assignable limit.' These are the most elementary principles of political economy; they are some of the fundamental propositions on capital. From them it follows that a great destruction or loss of capital, such as often precedes a commercial panic, is not only ruinous to the individuals whose operations have proved abortive, but is also a national calamity, inasmuch as it narrows the limits of industry, and contracts the sphere of labour. Hence a dearth of employment, labour markets overstocked, the numbers of the poor increased by multitudes, bad trade, shoals of beggars,—hard times. A reflection upon the nature of capital, on what it really is, will satisfy all of the truth of these propositions, and that the disastrous results just alluded to must inevitably follow when any catastrophe happens to it. To put it in the simplest form,—it is quite clear that no labour can be performed without a sufficient stock of food to keep the labourer in health and strength whilst he is at work, and without the necessary tools and implements. These implements and food are the saved result of previous labour. They have been saved, accumulated from past labour to maintain future labour. This saving or accumulation is capital. So that without it, it may be a very small, or it may be a very large quantity, it is evident no labour is possible. It follows that the *larger* this capital—this accumulated stock of necessaries—the

more labour and labourers it will support. Thus, industry is limited by capital; the more capital we have, the more industry we shall have. Now, this being so, is the labour employed in the liquor trade the sum total of the national loss; or is there an additional loss (to the nation, we mean, for the individual gains) in the capital sunk in such trade? To answer this, suppose (any hypothesis is permissible for the purposes of an argument) that the whole of the liquor trade, including all, but no more than, the capital and labour therein employed, were swept from the face of the earth, leaving all other social arrangements *in statu quo;* what would follow? Simply this. Capital and labour, in all other trades, being untouched and undisturbed, would continue to employ and to be employed exactly as before. But what would the nation lose by the supposed annihilation of the labour and capital engaged in the liquor traffic? It would lose, first, the labour which, had it not been swept away, would have begun to produce something useful to mankind; and, second, the capital which, had it not been annihilated, would have begun to give employment to other labour. As regards that other employment, and particularly productive labour, as regards the wealth of the nation, the capital and labour laid out in the liquor traffic are as utterly useless, as completely annihilated, as in the supposition we have made.

Not only is the capital useless, but the result is still more aggravated. The large expenditure upon beer, etc., affects the interests of the labouring classes even beyond the visible abstraction of money from their pockets. To put this in as clear a light as possible, we will borrow, and transpose, an illustration from Mr. Mill's work on political economy. A consumer may expend his income either in buying services or commodities. He may employ part of it in hiring spinners, weavers, and tailors, to make clothes; or he may expend the same value in buying spirits and beer. The question is, whether the difference between these two modes of expending his income affects the interest of the labouring classes. It is plain that, in the first of the two cases, he employs labourers who will be out of employment, or at least out of that employment, in the opposite case. But those from whom we differ say that this is of no consequence, because, in buying spirits and beer, he equally employs labourers, namely, those who make the spirits and beer. We contend, however, that in this last case he does not employ labourers, but merely decides in what kind of work some other person shall employ them. The consumer does not, with his own funds, pay to the labourers in the breweries and distilleries their day's

wages. He buys the manufactured commodity, which has been produced by labour and capital, the labour not being paid, nor the capital furnished, by him, but by the brewer. Suppose that he had been in the habit of expending this portion of his income in hiring spinners, weavers, and tailors, who laid out the amount of their wages in food and clothing, which were also produced by labour and capital. He, however, determines to prefer spirits and beer, for which he thus creates an extra demand. This demand cannot be satisfied without an extra supply, nor can the supply be produced without an extra capital. Whence, then, is the capital to come? There is nothing in the consumer's change of purpose which makes the capital of the country greater than it was. It appears, then, that the increased demand for spirits and beer could not for the present be supplied, were it not that the very circumstance that gave rise to it has set at liberty a capital of the exact amount required. The very sum which the consumer now employs in buying spirits and beer, formerly passed into the hands of spinners, and weavers, and tailors, who expended it in food and necessaries, which they now either go without, or squeeze by their competition from the shares of other labourers. The labour and capital, therefore, which formerly produced necessaries for the use of these spinners and weavers, are deprived of their market, and must look out for other employment; and they find it in making spirits and beer for the new demand. We do not mean that the very same capital and labour which produced the necessaries turn themselves to producing the spirits and beer; but, in some one or another of a hundred modes, they take the place of that which does. There was capital in existence to do one of two things—to make the beer, or to produce necessaries for the spinners and weavers; but not to do both. It was at the option of the consumer which of the two should happen; and if he chooses the beer, they go without the necessaries.

For further illustration, let us suppose the same case reversed. The consumer has been accustomed to buy beer, but resolves to discontinue that expense, and to employ the same annual sum in hiring spinners and weavers. If the common opinion be correct, this change in the mode of his expenditure gives no additional employment to labour, but only transfers employment from the labourers in the breweries and distilleries to the spinners and weavers in the mills. On closer inspection, however, it will be seen that there is an increase of the total sum applied to the remuneration of labour. The brewer, supposing him aware of the diminished demand for

his commodity, diminishes the production, and sets at liberty a corresponding portion of the capital employed in the brewing. This capital, thus withdrawn from the maintenance of the labourers in the brewery, is not the same fund with that which the customer employs in maintaining spinners and weavers; it is a second fund. There are, therefore, two funds to be employed in the maintenance and remuneration of labour, where before there was only one. There is not a transfer of employment from brewers to spinners; there is a new employment for spinners, and a transfer of employment from brewers to some other labourers, most probably those who produce food and other things which the spinners consume.

In answer to this it is said, that though money laid out in buying beer, is not capital, it replaces capital; that though it does not create a new demand for labour, it is the necessary means of enabling the existing demand to be kept up. The funds (it may be said) of the brewer, while locked up in beer, cannot be directly applied to the maintenance of labour; they do not begin to constitute a demand for labour until the beer is sold, and the capital which made it replaced from the outlay of the purchaser; and thus, it may be said, the brewer and the beer consumer have not two capitals, but only one capital between them, which, by the act of purchase, the consumer transfers to the brewer; and if, instead of buying beer he buys labour, he simply transfers this capital elsewhere, extinguishing as much demand for labour in one quarter as he creates in another.

The premises of this argument are not denied. To set free a capital, which would otherwise be locked up in a form useless for the support of labour, is, no doubt, the same thing to the interests of labourers as the creation of a new capital. It is perfectly true that if we expend £1,000 in buying beer, we enable the brewer to employ £1,000 in the maintenance of labour, which could not have been so employed while the beer remained unsold, and if it would have remained unsold for ever unless we bought it, then by changing our purpose and hiring spinners instead, we undoubtedly create no new demand for labour: for while we employ £1,000 for hiring labour on the one hand, we annihilate for ever £1,000 of the brewer's capital on the other. But this is confounding the effects arising from the mere suddenness of the change with the effects of the change itself. If, when the buyer ceased to purchase, the capital employed in making beer for his use necessarily perished, then his expending the same amount in hiring spinners would be no creation, but merely a transfer, of

employment. The increased employment which we contend is given to labour would not be given unless the capital of the brewer could be liberated, and would not be given till it was liberated. But everyone knows that the capital invested in an employment can be withdrawn from it, if sufficient time be allowed. If the brewer has previous notice, by not receiving the usual order, he will have produced £1,000 less beer, and an equivalent portion of his capital will have already been set free. If he had no previous notice, and the article consequently remains on his hands, the increase of his stock will induce him next year to suspend or diminish his production until the surplus is carried off. When this process is complete the brewer will find himself as rich as before, with undiminished power of employing labour in general, though a portion of his capital will now be employed in maintaining some other kind of it. Until this adjustment has taken place the demand for labour will be merely changed, not increased; but as soon as it has taken place, the demand for it is increased. Where there was formerly only one capital employed in maintaining men to make £1,000 worth of beer, there is now that same capital employed in making something else, and £1,000 distributed among spinners and weavers besides. There are now two capitals employed in remunerating two sets of labourers; while before, one of those capitals, that of the customer, only served as a wheel in the machinery by which the other capital, that of the brewer, carried on its employment of labour from year to year.

The above illustration, mostly borrowed verbatim from Mr. Mill, is of great length; but its value and conclusiveness, in reference to the subject we have been discussing, justify its adaptation and application to that subject. It has shown us that there are two distinct capitals locked up in the liquor traffic; and considering how enormous the sum of these united capitals must be, is it not probable, remembering the proposition most conclusively proved by Mr. Mill, that 'every increase of capital gives, or is capable of giving, additional employment to industry, and this without assignable limit,' that it could give employment to all the unemployed labour in the country?

In conclusion, we will notice a superficial, but in some eyes plausible, remark that is sometimes heard from people who seem to be devoid of the power of thought. They point to the magnificent fortunes amassed in the liquor trade, and ask, how do the brewers grow rich if their trade is a source of poverty? As parasites grow fat—they feed upon the body they impoverish. Again, they ask—is it conceivable that a

trade, which is the father of those princely fortunes, should be disastrous to the State? We would suggest that, in accordance with the principles enunciated above, these mountains of wealth represent a loss of a far greater magnitude incurred by the nation—mostly by the labouring classes.

BACKWARD GLANCES—ENGLAND IN 1769.

WHEN Sir Walter Scott prefixed to his novel of Waverley the secondary title of 'Sixty Years' Since,' he knew that he had been pourtraying a condition of society in the Highlands of Scotland which, in the course of two generations, had nearly melted away. But changes, in many respects as striking, and of incomparably greater importance, have passed over the England which talked and toiled, sorrowed and rejoiced, in 1769. The very ground has been interfered with—cleared, ploughed, canalled, tunnelled, iron-shod—to an almost incredible extent. Macaulay may have exaggerated when he asserted our landscape scenery to have become so altered since the reign of William and Mary, that an Englishman of that period would no longer be able to recognise the land as that with which he was then familiar; yet, although nothing like this transformation of its physical features has befallen the soil of England during the century succeeding the year now under review, enough has taken place to impart a new and more interesting aspect to extensive portions of our insular *terra firma*. England was once a corn-exporting country; now it imports millions of quarters of grain for the use of its people; yet the corn now grown is twice the produce of a century ago. Hundreds of Inclosure Acts have laid open vast spaces to the light and air, the harrow and the husbandman, thus adding to our national stores of food for man and beast. Scientific farming had neither name nor being in 1769, with the exception of the drill-husbandry introduced from Italy by Mr. Jonah Tull, along with the practice of loosening the soil around the growing plant; but Mr. Tull's disparagement of manure involved his other theories in disrepute, and reduced himself to penury. Mr. Arthur Young was also an experimentalist and critic in high farming, but his personal success was small, and it was after 1769 that his writings imparted a sensible stimulus to an improved system of cultivation. There was not in that year a single society in England having

for its sole object the encouragement of agricultural reform (the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, &c., was founded in 1777); and it could not be expected that the 'London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce' (established 1753) should confer many benefits on English husbandry, though one of its gold medals was awarded in 1769 to Mr. Arthur Young for discoveries in the process of fattening hogs. There is a note of a visit paid by George III. in this year to a Farmer Kennet, of Petersham, in Surrey, who had invented some improved agricultural implements; and as the King really loved farming pursuits, he might have used his patronage to excellent effect had his partiality been united to public zeal and largeness of thought. It cannot be averred that the middle of the eighteenth century was lacking in inventive and enterprising activity; yet little more had then been done beyond taking the first feeble steps in that march of scientific conquest whose trophies are as splendid as they are profuse. The Society of Arts gave, in 1769, a gold medal to Mr. R. L. Edgeworth (Miss Maria Edgeworth's father) for various mechanical contrivances; and, besides the names of Pringle, Franklin, Priestley, Banks, Home, &c., there are others of greater celebrity which pertain to this period, but whose owners had not yet made the world and posterity their grateful debtors. James Watt was living, and his improved steam engine was patented in the January of 1769, but years had to pass before it was constructed and superseded Newcomen's defective apparatus. Arkwright had not yet put the spinning machine into working order, nor had Hargreaves brought his spinning-jenny into play. The author of the first geological map of Great Britain (W. Smith, LL.D.) was in his cradle; Dr. Hales had recently died; Cavendish and Black were prosecuting their researches, but Wollaston and Dalton were children, toddling about; and Sir Humphrey Davy was not born till nine years later. In 1769 the two Hunters, John and William, were in the vigour of their days, though they had not attained the zenith of their fame in surgery and medicine. Adam Smith had published his 'Wealth of Nations' some years before, but generations had to come and go before his audience had become sufficiently wide and influential to give to the principles of political economy he had enunciated their merited recognition and application. Newton, whose genius made astronomy a science, had been dead 41 years; but it was not till 1773 that an astronomical treatise fell into the hands of the elder Herschel, whose discoveries and methods opened up a new

era in the study of the sidereal heavens. Literature did not offer a luxuriant display in 1769. The only work of that date which has retained its place as a classic is Dr. Robertson's 'History of the Emperor Charles V.' Gibbon had written a few pieces, but had not then put his hand to that imperial work in which, with astonishing wealth of learning and grandeur of style, he renders the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' an ever-during monument of the historian's powers. The true poets were not numerous—William Whitehead was the Poet Laureate!—and the masters of the lyre were generally idle. Young and Churchill were lately dead; Goldsmith was writing his 'Deserted Village;' Johnson had abandoned the Muse; and Gray restricted his poetic efforts to an Ode at the installation of the Duke of Grafton, as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. David Garrick composed a still longer Ode on the Shakespeare Jubilee, celebrated at Stratford-on-Avon in the September of the year, the proceedings at which were damped by bad weather, and mercilessly ridiculed by the wits about Town. As good as either for the object, was an Ode by Dr. (Benjamin) Franklin, on the 'Triumphs of the Arts,' written in honour of the inauguration, on the first day of the year, of the Royal Academy, whose first president, Sir Joshua Reynolds, had been knighted in 1768 as a mark of the Royal appreciation of the fine arts. That there was at this period, in the higher circles, a growing love of the beautiful in art, and a sincere desire to promote its development, may be frankly conceded. It is indisputable that in every branch of the fine arts (except that department of painting in which Hogarth, then deceased, reigns unrivalled) the hundred years that have followed 1769 have witnessed an excellence of execution on the part of students, and an earnestness of admiration on the part of the public, to which the England of preceding centuries was a stranger. Poetry will form no exception to this proposition, if a few names—the very highest—are withdrawn from the comparison. There remains this to be said of the manners of the times, that in the most refined classes there was a mixture of politeness and coarseness seldom now encountered. Mr. Dowdeswell, M.P. for Worcestershire (a Dowdeswell still sits for West Worcestershire), said in Parliament—'You have turned out one for impiety and obscenity. What half dozen members of this House ever meet over a convivial bottle that their discourse is entirely free from obscenity, from impiety, or abuse of Government? Even in the Cabinet, that pious reforming society, were the innocent man to throw the first stone, they would slink out one by one, and leave the culprit

uncondemned.' The tastes of the populace were not more choice and comely than those of their social superiors. Hard drinking, with all its evils, was prevalent among men of high and low degree, though it is questionable whether women of good character used intoxicating liquors so freely as many in even this age of Temperance reform are confidently stated to be doing. One form of vice, now prohibited by law, was then officially encouraged—the lottery system. It was customary for the Government to set up a lottery of its own, for the sake of the difference of a few hundred thousand pounds sterling it could thus carry off as gain. In his Budget speech, April 10th, 1769, Lord North, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said—'A lottery being a tax on the willing only, though many might object to it as an encouragement of gaming, yet he thought the public would be right to avail themselves of the folly of mankind, especially as it laid no burthen on the poor; that lotteries were of various natures, and the more they were varied the more desirous the public were of running into them. He thought it good policy not to overstretch them, as that would be destroying the hen for her eggs;' so he proposed to make a profit of only £180,000, by issuing lottery tickets of the value of £600,000, at a price which would ensure the receipt of £780,000.

Brutal sports and brutal language, not yet expelled from our midst, then abounded to a horrible degree. Education, in a national sense, was not aspired after; scarcely conceived of. Primary instruction was left to 'dame' teachers and private schoolmasters; the Grammar Schools touched a scantling of the population; and the richer classes had resort to private tutors and the Universities. There were no National Schools, no British Schools, no Sunday Schools;—facts which have to be slowly pondered before our minds can comprehend what an abyss of ignorance was before millions of English children in the following century, had not a good Providence and good angels, in the shape of philanthropic men, risen up as the children's friends. It is difficult to estimate to what extent religion, in a vital and practical sense, operated in the society of that period. Where the heads of families were really pious, it is probable that more attention was given, than is now the rule, to the religious instruction and training of children and servants; but such a regard for Christian privileges and obligations was too seldom seen. Bishop Butler had been led thirty years before to compose his celebrated 'Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion,' by perceiving the extent to which scepticism had spread through the educated classes; and in a majority of both

Established and Dissenting churches an icy formalism ruled the pulpit and the pew. Wesley, Whitfield, and their disciples—in a word, modern Methodism—sprang up to protest against both scepticism and formalism, and to bring the God of the Bible very near to the souls of men. Writers not in the least tinged with Methodistic ardour have confessed the great blessings that were thus showered upon the English people; and we may undoubtedly refer to this religious enthusiasm, and its remarkable effects on individual character, much of the new life and zeal which began to distinguish a profession of Christianity throughout the kingdom. In 1769 this movement was in progress, meeting in some quarters with much opposition; and we have our suspicions that to some other reason than a love of social order must be referred the conduct of the Mayor of Gloucester in that year, who caused a Methodist preacher to be whipped out of that city on the alleged ground of his violent ranting. Popular ignorance, debauchery, and impiety could not but bring forth a crop of crimes. The towns swarmed with ruffians, and the waysides were haunted with footpads. Police arrangements were miserably neglected. Before a select committee of the House of Commons Sir John Fielding, the Bow-street magistrate, stated as to Westminster that 'the watch is insufficient, their duty too hard, and pay too small; that he has known sergeants in the Guards employed as watchmen; that the watchmen are paid 8½d. per night in St. Margaret's parish, and a gratuity of two guineas a year, out of which they find their own candles; that as they are paid monthly, they borrow their money of a usurer once a week; that commissioners of the respective parishes appoint the beats of their watchmen, without conferring together, which leaves the frontiers of each parish in a confused state; for that, where one side of a street lies in one parish and the other side in another parish, the watchman of one side cannot lend any assistance to persons on the other side, other than as a private person, except in cases of felony.' Sir John traced much of the crime complained of to 'irregular taverns,' where wine was sold under a licence supplied by the Stamp-Office commissioners without a magistrates' certificate. He said, 'the magistrates of Middlesex and Westminster have long held it to be a rule essential to the public good rather to diminish than to increase the number of public-houses.' Mr. Rainsforth, high constable of Westminster, ascribed many of the robberies to the neglect of the watchmen, adding, 'I have frequently found seven or eight watchmen together in an alehouse.' In the City of London between five and six hundred cases were tried annually at the

Old Bailey, and undetected offences of every description were rife. 'Tyburn tree' (in 1769 a gallows of new and stronger construction was put up) was ever and anon hung with human subjects. Four or five were sometimes executed at one time; and the circumstance that reprieves were frequently issued in the proportion of four to one of executions, for similar crimes, added to the zest with which transgressions of the law were planned and carried out. In the course of 1769 three men were consigned to Tyburn, who had been convicted of taking part in a series of turbulent outbreaks in Spitalfields, for the purpose of cutting out work from looms of masters and workmen who refused to comply with their terms. The civil power being quite unable to cope with these riots, called in the soldiery. Nor was this resort to military aid unusual. A disturbance in Drury Lane could not be quelled until a detachment of the Guards had arrived from the Savoy Barracks. Beggars and vagrants were a prolific race; but the poor-rates, which averaged about a million and a-half per annum, cannot be pronounced excessive, judging by our present standard, though then, as now, it was to drinking and vice that the major portion of the pauperism was really due. So far as paucity of population may be considered to favour the absence of pauperism and other social ills, the England of 1769 had a great advantage over the England of 1869. The inhabitants of England and Wales were then about seven millions—one-third of the present number. London and its suburbs probably included 750,000 souls, but there was not another city or borough in the British Isles which could claim 100,000 inhabitants. Bristol, then the second city of England for wealth, population, and commerce, approached that number, and Edinburgh followed next. No other city or borough contained 50,000 persons. Manchester and Salford united had about 35,000; Liverpool a much smaller number. Birmingham, noted for its smiths in the sixteenth century, had slowly increased in population and industrial power. The total cotton trade of this period is estimated to have fallen short of £250,000 annual value, and the exports of the great and ancient woollen manufacture were valued at under eight millions sterling a year. The commerce of the whole kingdom was a mere fraction of what it has since become. No electric wire spanned the land; no steamship stirred the sea. Internal communication was greatly limited by the state of the roads and the scarcity of conveyances. In winter the highways could not be depended upon; and the cross-roads were little else than quagmires. Mr. Mc.Adam had not then arisen to give his name to a species of roadmaking

which enables carriages to roll easily along in every weather. Not a railway had put its iron mark upon the soil; and the only canal open in 1769 (begun 1755, finished 1768) was one from St. Helens to Sandy Brook, a distance of twelve miles. The Duke of Bridgewater's canal of thirty-eight and a-half miles was then under construction—commenced 1737, finished 1776. The packman and the carrier were the only conveyers of merchandise, and very slowly did they travel. Even the post was tardy in its movement. It was not till 1784 that Mr. Palmer's plans for expediting the transit of the mail bags were adopted by the reluctant officials, and until then a letter posted in London on the Monday afternoon did not arrive till Wednesday morning or later at Bath, a distance of one hundred and ten miles. Just before 1769 the privilege of franking letters had been restricted owing to great abuses, and the scale of charges being but one penny for a distance under fifteen miles, and twopence between fifteen and thirty miles, was an advantage that was afterwards lost till the Penny Postage reform of January 10th, 1840. In the year ending April 5th, 1769, the gross receipts of the Post-Office were (for Great Britain) £305,058, and the charges of management £140,298. The gross receipts were £4,630,000 in the year ending March 31st, 1868.

A hundred years have seen not only a wonderful growth in the great towns, but an equal improvement in the conditions of public comfort and health. The antiquated style of building in populous places was so cramped and crowded, as to be inimical to freedom of traffic, and to a liberal supply of light and fresh air. The street and building improvements that have occurred within living memory indicate what must have been the confined and contracted appearance of the towns a century back. Nine-tenths of the changes which are now executed at great expense and toil are simply the undoing of what, in this respect, our ancestors did amiss. Paving and drainage were also in a wretched state. It was thought a great thing for the City of London to have spent £120,000 in several years on re-paving and new paving. The very centre of the city was engirdled by a nest of narrow streets. All the three bridges then in use (Blackfriars was not finished till the end of 1769) have been removed and replaced, and many others have been thrown across the Thames. Sanitary arrangements all over the kingdom were not worthy of a civilised community. The cesspool system, or worse, was universal. That which would have fructified the earth was allowed to taint the air. The rate of mortality (still unnaturally high) was half as high again as it now is. In London, in 1769, the christenings

were 16,714, the burials 21,847—(in Paris for the same year the births were 19,445, and the deaths 18,427)—and it was not till after nearly thirty years that the births gained upon the deaths. With an increased population such as England now bears, similar insanitary conditions would cause an annual havoc appalling to imagine. And if the general population suffered from conditions so insalubrious, what was the state of the prisoners? Humanity shudders in replying. The gaols of England were golgothas. It is sufficient to say that Howard had not then begun those inquiries which have left his name on the foremost page of his country's benefactors. The Periodical Press of that time, as compared with the same literary power in our day, can only be likened to a petty stream in comparison with the Father of Waters. The *Monthly Review*, *Critical Review*, and *Gentleman's Magazine* were the chief monthlies. The lighter but more polished effusions, on the *Tatler* and *Spectator* model, issued several times a week, had either ceased to appear, or had lost nearly all their better features. The daily newspaper press was represented by the *London Daily Post*, the *London Evening Post*, and the *Public Advertiser*, which were small in size, dear in price, and limited in circulation. A sale of 2,000 copies was the maximum of a daily paper. Not one of the great daily organs of opinion and intelligence now published had then appeared. The *Morning Chronicle* (now extinct) was started towards the latter end of 1769; but ten years afterwards, the 'getting-up' of a daily newspaper was such as would now be felt simply intolerable. Parliamentary reporting, which in 1769 was hardly known in the case of the daily papers, had advanced so far in 1779, that summaries were furnished the next day, but extended debates had to be served up in successive issues. The *London Chronicle*, in 1769, was published three times a week, and consisted of eight pages quarto, and, as appears from a volume now before us, the advertisements were mixed up with the other matter, no editorial articles occupied a distinctive place, and the paper used for printing was of coarse contexture. Yet the *London Chronicle* had not a superior, perhaps not a rival, in the class it represented. All the English newspapers of that period are estimated to have had a collective sale of twelve million copies per annum; a number which falls short by one-half of the yearly circulation now enjoyed by more than one London daily journal. From 1769, however, may be dated the more conspicuous exhibition of that political influence which the newspaper now exerts through its leading articles; only, that instead of 'leaders' of the modern stamp, the political writing was then executed by

contribntors who assumed such designations as best suited their topics or their tastes. The most distinguished of these was the anonymous writer who adopted the *nom de plume* of 'Junius,' and whose letters in the *Public Advertiser*, commencing in the January of 1769, and appearing at intervals till 1772, have retained much of their original celebrity. Their loftiness of aim ill-contrasted with the scurrility and venom which too frequently disfigured them; but 'Junius' had at command an amount of secret information, a brilliancy of style, and a keenness of invective, which drew upon him the public eye as by a resistless fascination. He gleamed as a meteor in the political heavens, scattering not a little of the terror with which the sight of a bearded comet distracted the votaries of superstition. The excitement produced by the feats of this literary swordsman culminated for a time, when, on the 19th of December, 1769, he charged down upon the King himself, whom he treated with a boldness that made the monarch wince, the courtiers curse, and the people shout. The identity of 'Junius' with one or other of the notabilities of that age has been frequently discussed; but even the most plausible hypothesis, supported by Lord Macaulay and a host of critics, has lost ground of late; and Sir Philip Francis is no longer so confidently regarded as the viziered knight who aroused the admiration and baffled the curiosity of contemporary observers.

The political situation cannot be described without a reference to the Sovereign, King George III. On the 1st of January, 1769, he had worn the crown a little over eight years (since October, 1760), and was still in the vigour of his early manhood; but at thirty-two King George possessed and displayed all those characteristics which have made him one of the best known of English monarchs. He was the first of his family who had been born and trained in England, but he had unfortunately been brought up by his mother in the resolution to be 'every inch a king'—that is, to govern as well as reign. Yet for governing wisely, either as an absolute or constitutional ruler, he was altogether unfitted. He was conscientious, chaste, frank, affectionate, and faithful—qualities that might have rendered him beloved and useful in a private station; but he was also narrow-minded, prone to prejudice, self-opinionated to a fault, and vindictively disposed towards those who opposed his wishes—peculiarities which made him one of the most pernicious of kings. The Whigs had set and kept his dynasty on the throne; yet because the traditions of Whiggism did not admit of his personal control over affairs of State, he did his utmost to exclude the Whigs from place and

power. He was in a measure successful, but from the first he was doomed to struggle against principles more powerful than any force of will and royalty he could array against them. He set the American colonies on fire, by asserting in the most offensive shape his own ideas of the imperial prerogative; and in the year 1769 he was the scarcely-veiled champion of a policy, which, if carried logically out, would have made the House of Commons the altar and sepulchre of the Representative system. Strange to say, the man over whom a great Constitutional battle was to be fought was utterly unworthy of the honour. John Wilkes was ugly in face, impure in life, and selfish in soul; but he was plausible and insinuating—even so sturdy a Tory as Dr. Johnson could not resist his social blandishments;—and he became the idol of the people as the object of attacks which imperilled their dearest liberties and rights. The year 1769 was, politically-speaking, a crisis-epoch. The Government had at its head the Duke of Grafton, more distinguished by his rank than for ability or virtue; and the really presiding minister was Lord North, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who pleased the King and 'led' the Commons. There were two Secretaries of State—Lord Weymouth and the Earl of Rochford, with Earl Hillsborough as a third Secretary for the Colonies. Lord Camden was the Lord Chancellor. These were the principal members of the Administration; but so incohesive were its elements, that Lord Camden in a debate, in the session of 1770, strongly concurred in the denunciations of the Earl of Chatham against the policy pursued by the ministry in the House of Commons in regard to the Middlesex election. It is true he was soon after compelled to resign; but that so honourable and noble a man as Lord Camden felt at liberty, while holding the Great Seal, to differ from and vote against the course strenuously upheld by his official colleagues, is a proof that executive unity and solidarity were then much less insisted upon than they are now. The Duke of Grafton's ministry, indeed, was almost daily expected to go to pieces, for it was a composite and ill-jointed body. When formed it had received the apparent support of the great Earl of Chatham, who, for a time, held the office of Lord Privy Seal; but in 1768-9 he had sunk into a state of political torpor (the causes of which have never been perfectly cleared up); and from this inactivity he did not emerge till after the House of Commons—the scene of his senatorial glory as William Pitt—had scandalously invaded that freedom of election whose surrender he foresaw would leave to English liberty nothing but the name. And the Parliament so acting

was a new one; for in 1768, as in 1868, there was a general election—not, however, in November (as in 1868), but in March. Bribery and corruption, at the earlier date, were powerful auxiliaries in the contest; they were far from discarded in the recent one; and it is a curious coincidence that as a Justice Willes, in 1769, presided at a trial for alleged bribery in Cornwall, so, in 1869, another Justice Willes has been trying election petitions charging similar misconduct on candidates and their agents.* The Parliament elected in the March of 1768 did not meet till November 8th, and re-assembled, after the Christmas holidays, on January 25th, 1769. Mr. Wilkes, who had been expelled from the late Parliament and outlawed, returned from France previous to the general election, and was elected one of the members for Middlesex, after having failed as a candidate for the City of London. His old popularity then revived, and he addressed very large assemblies, one of which, in St. George's Fields, May, 1768, was fired upon by the military with fatal effect to several persons. Great agitation ensued, which Wilkes, a thorough demagogue, did his best to inflame by printing a letter, until then unknown to the public, addressed by Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State, to the chairman of the Lambeth magistrates—Wilkes himself prefacing this letter by violent remarks, in which he charged the Secretary with having planned the 'massacre' in St. George's Fields. When Parliament re-assembled, Lord Weymouth indignantly complained of the libel, and after a conference by delegates between the two Houses, a resolution was carried in the Commons, February 3rd, by 219 votes to 137, denouncing Wilkes's charge as a libel, and expelling him on account of it. The freeholders of Middlesex re-elected him February 16th; and next day the House by 235 votes to 89 declared the election void, and Wilkes incapable of being elected to serve in that Parliament. A new writ was issued, but so intense was the feeling on Wilkes's behalf that no one was found bold enough to propose the only other candidate, a Mr. Dingley, and Wilkes was re-elected without opposition on the 13th of March. The Commons again pronounced the election void, and ordered a new one—an opponent to Wilkes coming forward in the person of Colonel Lutterell, a member, who resigned his seat

* The Justice Willes of 1769, when trying a charge preferred against a Cornish mayor of buying eighteen votes, declared that bribery had reached a pitch which threatened the utter ruin of the nation, and he avowed his wish to award the complainant, if possible, the full penalty of £3,000. The jury assessed the damages at £1,000. The judge, we are told, 'gained much honour and praise in the county by his behaviour on this occasion.'

in order to contest the county of Middlesex. Two other candidates appeared, and at the close of the poll, April 13th, the votes stood—Wilkes 1,143, Lutterell 296, Whitaker 5, Roach 0. On April 15th, the House decided by 197 votes to 143 that Colonel Lutterell ought to have been elected, and next day it decided, by 221 votes to 139, that Colonel Lutterell had been duly elected, and was entitled to sit and vote, which he did. The freeholders of Middlesex challenged this decision, and were heard by counsel at the bar of the House, but on May 8th, by a vote of 221 against 152, the previous resolutions were confirmed. In resisting these proceedings, great energy and eloquence were employed by both wings of the Opposition—the party attached to Mr. George Grenville, and the party which adhered to the Marquis of Rockingham, whose chief spokesman in the Commons was Mr. Edmund Burke; but the Ministerialists outvoted the unanswerable orators, and Wilkes remained excluded. At the general election of 1774 he was again returned for Middlesex, and permitted to sit, but it was not till after repeated failures, and another general election, that he was able, on the 3rd of May, 1782, to persuade the House, by a vote of 115 to 47, to expunge from its Journals the record of his expulsions in 1769, accompanied by a solemn declaration of the unconstitutionality of the conduct then pursued. So was concluded a controversy that should never have been opened, and concluded in the only way consistent with the liberties of the nation.

On American colonial affairs the Parliament and Government of 1769 were equally perverse and pertinacious. They upheld the policy of the last Parliament, which had imposed revenue duties collected at the colonial ports. These dues had brought in a paltry £20,000 a year, but the levy of them revived the animosities laid to rest by the repeal of the Stamp Act. Both Houses of Parliament, in 1769, passed, by large majorities, and embodied in addresses to the King, resolutions condemning the agitation which had broken out in Massachusetts and was extending to the other colonies. This procedure may be said to have determined all the subsequent dissensions and disasters, with the eventual separation of the colonies from the mother country, because it encouraged the King in his arbitrary purposes, and put an impassable bar in the way of measures of conciliation, until conciliation was too late to be effectual. After a century's experience we have improved, in this respect, upon the colonial statesmanship of 1769. Parliament was prorogued, by a speech from the Throne, on May 10th; but the irretrievable mischief was done. It was the minority, not the

majority, which reflected the political liberality and intelligence of the times. Nor was this extraordinary. The growing middle-class was very imperfectly represented, and the populace was coarse and brutal. Except in a few places, such as the City of London, Westminster, and Preston, where the local franchise was comprehensive, the borough representation was in the hands and pockets of titled or wealthy proprietors. Public spirit, with a few exceptions, had taken refuge in the counties where the freeholders were independent, and could afford to despise the frowns of a self-willed Sovereign, and a subservient House of Lords. County meetings were held by the freeholders of York, Surrey, Bucks (a Hampden presiding), Essex, Gloucester, and other shires, unanimously denouncing the conduct of Government and Parliament in regard to the Middlesex election, and 7,000 citizens of Westminster met in Westminster Hall with a similar object. The liverymen of the City of London were foremost in the struggle, and Alderman Beckford, though old and worn out, as he said, was elected by them a second time Lord Mayor, as a special mark of their displeasure against the Administration and the Court. Open turbulence was not wanting. A deputation from some of the Government's friends was assaulted on its way to St. James's Palace, and the Lord Chamberlain broke his staff of office in resisting the entrance of the mob. A number of rioters were captured, most of whom were soon let go, and when the five worst were sent for trial the grand jury threw out all the bills of indictment against them. Another and severer mortification the Government experienced on the 10th of November, when a suit of Wilkes against the Earl of Halifax, late Secretary of State, was determined. Wilkes claimed £20,000 damages from the Earl for having issued a warrant under which his desks were broken into, and his papers abstracted in 1765. At a previous trial, when the Under-Secretary was defendant, the system of general warrants was condemned as illegal by the Court of Common Pleas, and on the later occasion a verdict for £4,000 damages was returned, which, it was said, would have been much larger had not a Treasury minute come to light which provided that all expenses arising from this suit should be defrayed out of the Exchequer. The Irish policy of the Government had also caused much discontent in the sister country. In the Parliament (composed entirely of Protestants) one debate had grown so warm that swords were drawn; an important Government bill was thrown out by the Irish Commons; and when Sir George Macarteney, son-in-law of Lord Bute, and Secretary of State for Ireland, informed the

members that 'Ireland was a dependent government, and owed to England the highest obligations and the free exercise of its invaluable privileges,' we are told that 'the whole House became turbulent, and it was with difficulty the Speaker could bring it to order.' Foreign affairs, too, though outwardly smooth, did not please the critics of the Government, who alleged that its supineness had enabled the French to overrun and subdue Corsica. General Paoli, the Corsican patriot, was received with triumph by the people, who would willingly have fought for his cause against the French. Speculation, indeed, may well brighten at the thought of what might have been the effect of sending a British fleet to Corsica, with military aid to the gallant islanders. Then, perhaps, Napoleon Buonaparte, born on the 15th of August, 1769, would never have been a French subject, nor have entered the French service, nor have crossed swords at Waterloo with the Duke of Wellington, also born that year. In one respect the Government of 1769 might seem entitled to more commendation than their successors. The supplies voted by Parliament that year were £6,909,003; in this present year of grace the expenses of our Government will be ten times as great. But when we take into account that Ireland is now upon our list, that the population of Great Britain is thrice as great, and that more than two-fifths of our annual revenue is absorbed by interest on debts contracted before 1816, we are not disposed so hastily to assign the palm of economy to the Government of 1769. Taxation in some points is not so heavy. The 'Annual Register' of that year quotes from 'a humourous foreigner' the following remark:—'In England, the people are taxed in the morning for the soap which washes their hands; at nine, for the coffee, the tea, and the sugar they use for their breakfast; at noon, for the starch which powders their hair; at dinner, for the salt which savours their meat; in the evening, for the porter which cheers their spirits; all day long, for the light which enters their windows; and at night, for the candles that light them to bed.' No 'humourous foreigner' can now say all this concerning the taxation to which Britons are subject. From one burden of guilt we are certainly free—that of contributing to the support and extension of the slave trade. In 1768 there had been exported from the Western coast of Africa 144,000 negro slaves, of whom 59,440 were bought by British subjects at an average price of £15. 9s. We can thank God that that abomination is no longer to be laid to our charge. The times have changed when we have to record that Sir Samuel Baker has now entered the service of the Viceroy of Egypt that he

may help to suppress the slave trade on the districts of the Upper Nile.

Among the obituary notices of 1769 there are none of much historical interest. In that year there died the Duke of Dorset, a patron of letters, and, at an old age, David Barclay, grandson of Robert Barclay, the author of the 'Apology' for Quakerism; and it is added that David Barclay had enjoyed the singular distinction of receiving at his house in Cheapside three English kings when visiting the City. A number of centenarians died in that year, if the entries are correct, which the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis would have denied severally and altogether; but a brief account is given of a man said to have been then living in Aberdeenshire aged one hundred and twenty-one, 'of the middle size, and of a ruddy complexion.' His age was certified by an entry in an old Bible. Had a young man, celebrating his majority in 1769, been endowed with a longevity equal to that of this Scottish peasant, he would still be living to testify, from personal knowledge, of those differences and events which we have described in outline, and of a rate of national progress immeasurably greater in the last century than in any that preceded. It is hardly likely that the next century will be so fruitful in discoveries and appliances having to do with material processes and results; but in regard to moral and social reforms, there is ample room for all that wit can devise, that heart can yearn after, and that will can effect. 'Meliora' is the watchword of all sincere patriots:—the prophecy of all patriotic bards. The Golden Age is perpetually before us—never attained, but ever sending us scintillations of the brightness beyond. The Happy Isles give us glimpses of their shining shores, their purple hills, and their valleys of emerald green; and to quicken our pursuit they send us breezes rich with the odours of their spicy groves. This supreme excellence, this absolute felicity, is not all a dream born of fancy and the soul. 'In all labour there is profit;' we reap what we sow and while we sow; and if our national efforts after health, sobriety, prosperity, intelligence, virtue, and everlasting goodness are proportioned to the advantages possessed, the 'England yet to be' will become the heir of a dowry the most glorious in the memory of Time.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

SOMERSET, 'the pleasant land,' as its name signifies, is a kind of isthmus, connecting the ancient Danmonium with the rest of England. Twelve hundred and fifty years ago the Celts were endeavouring to hold their ground against the Saxons in the sea-bounded, mountain-traversed region we now call Devon and Cornwall. They were gradually driven farther and farther back, until the whole country became subject to Saxon rule. Long before that time, long before Saxon aid was sought so disastrously against the Picts, Somersetshire had become famous in English history. Probably there is no other county, except metropolitan Middlesex itself, which has played so important a part in the annals of this country. Just as its geology presents almost every stratification, so its archæology presents almost every epoch. There is the Druidical temple of Stanton Drew; there is the Belgic city on the high land above Bath; there is the Roman camp of Cadbury; and there is every kind of Gothic building, from the Norman abbey at Glastonbury to the richly-decorated 'perpendicular' towers of Wrington, and all those other beautiful churches which Henry VII. built out of gratitude to the men of Somersetshire for their faithful adherence to the House of Lancaster. It was in Somersetshire, according to the (not very trustworthy) tradition, that Joseph of Arimathæa landed with his companion, Simon Zelotes. The two Apostles, it is said, disembarked in Bridgwater Bay, and coming to Weary-all-Hill, which overlooks the modern Glastonbury, St. Joseph planted his staff there in token that he would rest from his wanderings. Both Apostle and staff took kindly to the soil. The first brought forth fruit in the shape of a converted people. The second brought forth flowers as miraculous as those which budded from Aaron's rod fifteen hundred years before. There some five hundred years later in the island valley of Avalon lay King Arthur, wounded to death, in the victory over his rebel nephew, Modred, at Launcelot; and thence his body was carried to the Abbey of Glastonbury for sepulture. Only a few miles from that place a king as noble as Arthur lay hid in Æthelingay—the Isle of Nobles, which he fortified and whence he sallied forth, now in the disguise of a harper to learn the plans of his enemies, and now at the head of his faithful followers to surprise and overwhelm them. The modern Athelney is the scene of King Alfred's retreat. It was there that

the King got chidden by the wife of the neatherd for spoiling her cakes;—the neatherd whom Alfred, remembering his hospitality and forgetting the chiding, persuaded to forsake his flocks for books, and to such good purpose as to become Bishop of Winchester. Seven hundred years later another king dealt very differently with another ecclesiastic. Scarcely one of the religious houses in England was more celebrated than the Abbey of Glastonbury. St. Patrick and St. Benedict had ruled it as abbots, St. Dunstan had wrestled there with the Evil One in bodily form. Its fame increased from century to century, and with its fame its wealth. In the 16th century the Abbot's household amounted to 300 persons, and 500 strangers were often entertained within its walls. They were eating and drinking, and knew not that the flood was upon them which was to sweep them away. It was a most destructive deluge. Not Glastonbury only, but five other abbeys, fifteen priories, three nunneries, one preceptory of knights hospitallers, three colleges, six hospitals, and many minor houses went down in Somersetshire alone. But Glastonbury was the crown of them all. It was a royal morsel worthy of the omnivorous appetite of Henry. For that reason, because it was a possession well worth defending, Abbot Whiting refused to surrender it at the King's command. He learnt very speedily that that command was not to be trifled with. He was torn from his monastery, dragged on a hurdle up to the Tor Hill, and was there hanged and quartered; his head was afterwards set up over his own abbey gate, and his limbs were distributed to Bath, Wells, Ilchester, and Bridgwater. The royal spoiler had many imitators. The King had seized the abbey lands, the nobles would seize the common lands. Bitter were the complaints of the commoners, and in 1549 Edward VI., by the advice of his uncle the Duke of Somerset, issued an order to restrain the nobles and the gentry from enclosing commons and converting them into pastures and parks, for their own use, to the great injury of the poor cottagers who depastured cows and geese thereon. The young king ordered all such enclosures to be thrown down, under heavy penalties. This order produced little effect. The robbers of the poor continued to remove their neighbours' landmarks until the people rose tumultuously and broke down the fences. The royal troops were then sent against the people, and the very men who had wronged them were entrusted with the task of reducing them to obedience. In what way one of these, Lord Stourton, did this is told at great length in Phelps's 'History and Antiquities of Somersetshire;' suffice it to say here that Lord Stourton was

guilty of the foulest treachery and murder, and was justly hanged at Westminster, with a silken rope. A little later followed the Sabbatarian controversy, which, beginning in an attempt to put down wakes on the Sunday, led to the promulgation of the royal decree, ordering the day to be celebrated with sports.

During the civil war Somersetshire was the scene of several important engagements. After the success of the Royalists at Stratton, in Cornwall, May 16, 1643, the victors, reinforced by a body of cavalry and by the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, overran the whole of Devonshire, and then a great part of Somersetshire. Sir William Waller was sent to restore the authority of the Parliament. A severe engagement was fought on Lansdowne Hill, about four miles to the north of Bath. But though the Royalist General, Sir Beville Granville, was killed, neither party gained a decisive advantage. Eight days later Waller was severely defeated near Devizes. This event was quickly followed by the capture of Bristol, under Prince Rupert, after a desperate resistance, in which the assailants lost 500 men. Before long, fortune changed. The defeat at Naseby was succeeded by a long series of Royalist disasters. Fairfax was sent into Somersetshire, to raise the siege of Taunton, then invested by Colonel Goring. This object was accomplished, and Fairfax also took Bridgwater, with a thousand officers, gentlemen, and clergy, and 1,500 soldiers. For this victory he returned thanks at Martock Church on the following Sunday. Next he took Sherborne and Nunney castles, and then advanced against Bristol. He spent ten days in preparing for an assault, but before making it besought Prince Rupert to spare a useless effusion of blood by surrender. The Prince desired time to communicate with the King, but Fairfax would admit of no delay, and the assault was commenced. The Prince then surrendered (Sept. 11, 1645), on condition that he and the garrison should go out with the honours of war. The news of the capitulation filled the King with dismay, for his uncle had assured him that he would hold out for four months. This abortive defence was only less disastrous than the defeat at Naseby. Four days later Farley Castle, some six miles from Bath, likewise surrendered, and the whole of Somersetshire was then subdued to the authority of the Parliament. Devonshire was next reduced, and the war in the west terminated with the fall of Exeter, April 9, 1646. Somersetshire contributed one of the most brilliant and able commanders to the Commonwealth that England had ever

seen. William Blake, who raised England's naval fame to its highest point, was born at Bridgwater in 1599.

Unhappily for Somersetshire, it became the scene of a very memorable tragedy forty years after the victories of Fairfax. The Western country was strongly Protestant. William of Orange was to experience this when he landed at Torbay in 1688. Three years before that, an ill-fated Prince was to make trial of Somersetshire Protestantism. The Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II., landed at Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, June 11, 1685. He had but a hundred men with him, yet so popular were both he and the cause which he represented, that in four days this number increased twenty-fold. At Taunton he was received with enthusiasm; and twenty girls of high social position presented him with colours and a Bible. Bridgwater, Wells, and Frome declared for him; but after hearing of the defeat of the Duke of Argyll in Scotland, he thought it prudent to retreat to the first of those three towns. Thence he advanced suddenly against the Royal troops, under Lord Feversham, at Sedgemoor. At first he threw confusion into their ranks, but being unsupported by cavalry, Monmouth's force was, after three hours of desperate fighting, utterly routed, and their leader was a few days later captured in the disguise of a peasant. When discovered he was found lying in a ditch, and so broken down by fatigue, privation, and fear, that on being taken he burst into tears. His death was followed by the infamous bloody assize, which was a theme of horror in many a Somersetshire household for long years afterwards. In the autumn Judge Jeffreys, attended by a troop of Col. Kirke's regiment, called, in bitter irony, 'Kirke's lambs,' opened the assize. Jeffreys visited Winchester, Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, Bridgwater, and Bristol. At every place his progress was marked by blood. But it was chiefly in the Somersetshire towns that he gave full licence to his lust of carnage. Macaulay has described the ghastly horrors of that memorable autumn in his own vivid manner, but at far too great a length for quotation. An older writer, Fox, the biographer of James II., has sketched the same fearful scene in a few vigorous words. Speaking of Jeffreys, he says:—

'He made all the West an Aceldama; some places he quite depopulated, and nothing was to be seen in them but forsaken walls, unlucky gibbets and ghostly carcasses. The trees were loaded with quarters, almost as thick as leaves; the houses and steeples were covered as close with heads, as at other times with crows and daws; cauldrons hissing, carcasses boiling, pitch and tar glowing, blood and limbs boiling, and he, Jeffreys, the great director of it all.'

This monster boasted that he had hanged more traitors than all the judges since the Norman conquest. The lowest estimate is 320; the highest 700. The number of prisoners whom he transported was 841. These were more wretched than the others. They were sold into slavery, and had to endure the horrors of the slave ship. Macaulay says :—

'More than one-fifth of those who were shipped were flung to the sharks before the end of the voyage. The human cargoes were stowed close in the holds of small vessels. So little space was allowed that the wretches, many of whom were still tormented by unhealed wounds, could not all lie down at once without lying on one another. They were never suffered to go on deck. The hatchway was constantly watched by sentinels armed with hangers and blunderbusses. In the dungeon below all was darkness, stench, lamentation, disease, and death.'

In vain did the saintly Ken plead with the brutal monster for mercy. There was but one way of obtaining remission of penalty—by bribes absolutely ruinous to those who paid them. Jeffreys declared afterwards, when his cruelties were brought up against him, that he had acted only in accordance with his master's instructions. This is possible; but the delight with which the Judge gloated over the misery that he caused was thoroughly spontaneous. Is it not strange that the holy and loving Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose heart bled as he witnessed these ravages among his flock, should have felt himself bound to maintain his allegiance to the man, who as Sovereign, had been responsible for it? But it is not for us to complain that Ken joined the non-jurors. It was while he was living in privacy at Longleat, a pensioner of the Marquis of Bath, that he wrote the 'Morning and Evening Hymns,' for which, far more than for his resistance to the Declaration of Indulgence, the Church owes him eternal thanks. There is little more that we need say of the history of Somersetshire. Bristol, which lies partly in that county, partly in Gloucestershire, did itself honour by electing Edmund Burke as M.P., did itself dishonour by the formidable riots and incendiarism that followed the rejection of the first Reform Bill.

Many illustrious men have been born or have lived in this county. We have already mentioned the most famous of them, Blake. His contemporary Prynne was born near Bath, in 1610. Seven years later Cudworth, one of the greatest theologians whom the English Church has ever produced, was born at Aller. Fifteen years later still, a scarcely less famous, and certainly more read, metaphysician, John Locke, was born at Wrington. Laud for two years was Bishop of Bath and Wells; and after him a very different man, whom we have named above, the meek and holy Ken. Henry

Fielding, the novelist, first saw the light at Sharpham Park, Glastonbury, 1707. This last name recalls many others whose owners were intimately connected with the chief city of Somersetshire. Early in the 18th century there came to Bath a young man, Ralph Allen by name, who had only his wit for his fortune. He was so happy as to win the favour of Field Marshal Wade, who gave him his daughter to wife. The Field Marshal did much more than this. He obtained for his son-in-law the farming of the cross posts, and so lucrative was the monopoly that it brought to its lucky holder £20,000 a year. Allen was a shrewd man, and an enterprising one. He thought that it would not be wise for the world to know how large his profits were. So in order both to disguise and to increase them, he opened the free-stone quarries on Combe Down, to the south of Bath. They were to him a veritable Ophir. These and his contract enabled him to build the palace now known as Prior Park. It has been for many years a college for training Roman Catholic clergy. In Allen's time it held inmates of a widely different character. Thither resorted Pope (who wrote in Allen's grounds the 'Essay on Man'), Warburton, Fielding, and many other men of note. The last we have mentioned put his host into a novel, and Allen is now perpetuated in the gallery of British fiction as the Squire Allworthy of 'Tom Jones.' Not far from Prior Park, in the lovely village of Claverton, in whose churchyard Allen is buried, there lived for some years, as rector, Richard Graves, the author of 'The Spiritual Quixote.' Later in the century Garrick was the bright particular star of the Bath theatre. It was in Bath that Wolfe, the conqueror of Quebec, resided before he went to his victorious death. There, too, Herschel made the observations which led to the discovery of a new planet. In that same city dwelt for a time Edmund Burke, and in our own day lived William Beckford, author of 'Vathek,' and Walter Savage Lander, author of the 'Imaginary Conversations,' and at Freshford, six miles from Bath, Sir William Napier wrote his famous history of the Peninsular war. In that city, too, less than a quarter of a century ago, resided occasionally a Frenchman who had rendered himself notorious and ridiculous; while twelve miles off, in a school on the Clifton Downs, was a beautiful girl of Spanish descent, all unconscious of the future—that future which would see the Frenchman Emperor, and herself Empress of France and Queen of Fashion. We must not forget that Somersetshire was for many years the abode of Coleridge, and Southey, and Hannah More. In the fruitful vale of Taunton, the witty Canon of St. Paul's, Sydney

Smith, lived as a country rector. On the shores of the Bristol Channel, where

> 'Twice a day the Severn fills,
> The salt sea water passes by
> And hushes half the babbling Wye,
> And makes a murmur in the hills,'

lies he whose memory has been handed down to all time by the finest threnody in the language—Arthur Henry Hallam of the 'In Memoriam.'

Somersetshire, like its neighbour Gloucestershire, is the seat of a twin bishopric. The union of Bath and Wells is of far older date than that of Gloucester and Bristol, which took place in our own time. In fact, Bath was never the seat of a separate bishopric as Bristol was. The cathedral was always, from the day that King Ina (704) established the ecclesiastical corporation, until now, at Wells. The chief church at Bath belonged not to a capitular but to a monastic body, and was an abbey, not a cathedral. Early in the 12th century, John de Villula was consecrated 'Bishop of Somerset.' Before entering holy orders he had practised as a physician at Bath. Subsequently to his consecration, he took advantage of a royal ordinance proclaiming that it would be to the honour and the dignity of the Church if certain sees were removed from small towns to places of greater note, and he obtained the union of the see of Wells with the abbey of Bath, rebuilt the latter structure, and was called Bishop of Bath. Subsequently, on many occasions, there were violent quarrels between the canons of Wells and the monks of Bath both as to who should elect the bishop and what title he should bear. Bishop Robert, the founder of the present Cathedral at Wells, decided that he would take his title from both places, that on a vacancy a certain number of canons and monks should elect the bishop, the Dean of Wells being the returning officer, and that the bishop should be enthroned in both churches. After his death the contention was renewed by the monks of Bath, who claimed the sole right of election. In consequence of these disputes the see remained vacant for many years. We need scarcely say that no such difficulty has occurred since the Reformation. The crown-appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells holds both titles. But the first is an empty one. The abbey at Bath is only a parish church, and its services, so far from being conducted on the Cathedral type, are intensely Puritan.

Somersetshire possesses not only the stately Cathedral at Wells, whose magnificent west front is peopled with more than 150 statues that Flaxman declares must have been brought

from Italy; not only romantic Prior Park, of old the residence of Fielding's 'Squire Allworthy,' now a Roman Catholic college; but also an institution to which public attention has been directed lately by a popular writer, the 'Agapemone,' or 'Abode of Love.' Henry James Prince, the founder of this institution, was born in Bath fifty-eight years ago. He was brought up at first for the medical profession, but eventually entered holy orders. He was from his youth a mystic, and studied the writings of the German, Gerhard Tersteegen. He was appointed to the curacy of Charlinch, a Somersetshire village among the Polden hills. Soon he began a species of revivalism not at all to the liking of old Bishop Law, who put the erratic priest to silence. Prince went to Suffolk for a time, and with like result. Bishop Allen was scandalised no less than his right reverend brother of Bath and Wells had been. Prince then openly seceded, together with some of his most ardent followers. After lifting up his testimony for awhile in worldly Brighton he returned to his native county, and at Spaxton, four miles from Bridgwater, he set up the Abode of Love. He announced himself as the 'Beloved,' and as such he exercised autocratic power among his believers. They entered the Agapemone, and certain of them, notably three young spinsters, contributed to it their substance. Then came scandals. The profane outside the Abode of Love hinted at something more than madness on the part of those who gave up their fortunes to Prince, and at very worldly wisdom on the part of those who profited thereby. There were legal proceedings, Government inquiries, and abundance of gossip. But the institution has survived all these—has survived certain revelations of a delicate character, with which we need not encumber these pages. The Abode of Love still exists. Whether or not it will survive its founder may fairly be questioned.

'Somersetshire,' says Mr. Acland, in his prize essay on the farming of that county, published in the Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, 'furnishes examples of almost every kind of soil, subsoil, and climate found in England.'

'The geology of Somersetshire includes specimens of nearly all the formations which appear on the surface of England from Wales to Norfolk: the grauwacke in the hills of Exmoor and Quantock; the old red sandstone and mountain limestone in Mendip; the coal measures among the hills near Bath; the new red sandstone and marls in the Vale of Taunton Dean and at the base of many of the hills; the lias which bounds the Bridgwater level like a sea cliff, or rises out of it in patches like islands; the oolite formations extending over the south and east of the county; the green sand and the chalk which appear in the Chard and Crewkerne hills and in the table-land between Somerset and Devon; and, lastly, an

extensive alluvial deposit partly covered by peat and fen land, which fills up the Bridgwater level.'

The following figures will present visibly the social and economical condition of the county:—

	Acres.
Total acreage	1,047,220
All kinds of crops—bare, fallow, and pasture	735,604
Corn	141,577
Green crops	70,965
Clover and artificial grasses	50,350
Permanent pastures, exclusive of hill pastures	458,688
Proportion of corn crops to all kinds of crops, bare and fallow	19·2
Proportion of corn crops to all kinds of crops, bare and fallow, for all England	33·2
No. of cattle, 173,687, being 23·6 to 100 acres; 15·4 being the average for all England.	
No. of sheep, 636,975, being 86·6 to 100 acres; 68·0 being the average for all England.	

In Somersetshire about one person in eight is engaged in agriculture, or nearly four and a-half times as many as in Lancashire. Nevertheless, Somersetshire is by no means wholly agricultural. It possesses both manufactures and mines. More than 8,000 women and more than 1,100 men are engaged in the manufacture of gloves, which is carried on chiefly at and in the neighbourhood of Yeovil. The woollen cloth manufacture, though less famous than it used to be, still engages about 3,600 persons. Altogether about 17,000 persons, out of a population of less than half a million, belong to the manufacturing class. Considering the reputation acquired by Bath stone, the oolite of which the whole city of Bath is built, it will excite surprise that the number of persons engaged in these and the limestone quarries of Somersetshire is but about 600. The explanation lies in the fact that all the principal Bath stone quarries lie just outside the borders of that county, just inside the borders of Wiltshire. At the eastern end of the Box Tunnel, on the Great Western Railway, is the entrance to the largest stone quarry in the world, whose workings extend for several miles. The tunnel itself is cut through the oolite, and the ground overhead is honey-combed with quarries. It is not until the traveller has crossed a narrow stream, some two miles to the west of this tunnel, that he enters Somersetshire. The piercing of that great mass of oolite, known as Box Hill, was one of Brunel's greatest feats. It was a most costly work, so costly that this and the tunnels through the limestone and the red sandstone between Bath and Bristol, rendered the construction of the twenty-five miles of line between Chippenham and Bristol as expensive as that of the

ninety-five miles between London and Chippenham. The fault, however, was not wholly Brunel's. He would have taken his railway through the proper channel, by the vale of Pewsey, past Marlborough, into the vale of the Avon; but the then living Marquis of Ailesbury interposed, and offered such opposition that the promoters of the line had to bore through Box Hill. This short-sighted selfishness on the part of a great landowner was speedily a cause of regret to him. His own peculiar borough of Marlborough was ruined. Seeing that, he attempted to obtain a line which should restore the fortunes of the place. Having done an irreparable injury to the promoters of the Great Western by turning them aside from their proper route, he endeavoured to do them a further injury by constructing a competing line through the very district which he had closed against them. The attempt succeeded, and must be reckoned as one of the causes why this magnificent railway pays no dividend to its unfortunate shareholders. It is pleasant to contrast with this conduct that of another nobleman. Lord Taunton not only offered no opposition to the construction of the Bristol and Exeter railway through his property, but finding, after a time, that the railway had increased the value of that property, he returned to the company a very large sum which had been paid him for compensation.

As Bath stone for the most part comes not from Bath, so neither do Bath bricks. These are made near Bridgwater, in a district which, though only about a mile in extent, is the only place in the world where they are manufactured.

'This curious circumstance (says Murray) is owing to a peculiar mixture of clay and sand, which the flood and ebb tides deposit in turn at these particular points. The sediment having been removed from the river is consolidated by drying, and cut into oblong masses, which are the Bath bricks, as well known in China as in England, in Damascus as in London—but why so called it is difficult to say. The business gives employment to a great number of persons; 8,000,000 bricks, valued from £12,000 to £13,000 being made every year.'

Not far from these works are those of the Dunball Company, for the manufacture of Portland and Roman cement. The coal district lies chiefly in another part of the county. Radstock is the centre of it. Frances, Countess of Waldegrave, is the chief coal-owner, and over five thousand persons are employed in raising this mineral. The lead mines of Somersetshire were once famous, but can now be hardly said to exist. They were situated in the Mendip Hills, and very curious are the old laws which governed their working. These date from Edward IV. In his time Lord Choke was sent to inquire into divers complaints which had been raised. It was then

decreed that any one before breaking ground to obtain ore, must receive permission from the lord of the soil; but (so early was 'fixity of tenure' sanctioned) when the leave was once granted, it needed not to be asked again. Similarly, when leave had been given to erect smelting places, that leave could not be withdrawn, so long as the premises were kept in tenantable repair and a tithe of the produce was paid in rent. It was also ordered that if any man stole lead to the value of one shilling and a penny halfpenny,

'The lord or his officer may arrest all his lead-works, house, and earth, with all his groofs and works, to keep them as safely to his own use, and shall take the persons that hath so offended and bring him where his house is or his works; and all the tools and instruments which to the occupier belongs he useth, and put him into the said house, and set fire on all together about him, and banish him from that occupation before the miners for ever. If that person doth pick or steal there any more, he shall be tryed by law, for that law and custom hath no more to do with him.'

Every lord was bound to keep two miners' courts every year, and swear twelve men of the same occupation, for redress of misdemeanours touching the minerals. The lord was permitted to arrest for 'strife between man and man,' or for his own dues when these were not paid. If any miner 'by misfortune take his death by earth falling upon him,' the workmen were bound to dig him out though he were 'forty fathoms under earth, and the coroner shall not have to do with him.' The amount of lead raised at West Chewton was estimated at £100,000. Some enterprising person noticing that there was an immense quantity of slag around Priddy Pool, from which the ore had been only partially extracted, resmelted this refuse, but the price of lead was so low that, though he obtained a considerable quantity, he did not profit much. About seventy years ago it was proposed to drive an adit six miles long through the Mendips, and if this had been done no doubt fresh veins of ore would have been discovered. But the project was abandoned. This is not the only great scheme unrealised. About thirty-five years ago it was proposed to construct a canal from the river Parrett to Seaton by way of Ilminster, Chard, and Axminster. The work would have been about forty-two miles in length, and its greatest elevation would have been 226 feet. It was to have been constructed of such a depth that ships would have been able to navigate it; and thus communication would have been established between the Bristol and the English Channels that would have saved the long and often dangerous voyage round the Land's End. The surveys for this work were made, but, a commercial crisis supervening, the project was abandoned. After that, canals gave place to railways. Within the last ten

years a line has been constructed which connects the two channels, but it has not been successful commercially, and of course only in a small degree carries out the original idea. In works of reclamation Somersetshire has long been prominent. An attempt was made by the abbots of Glastonbury to drain the great level of Brent Marsh, which lies between the Mendip hills and Bridgwater Bay. They cut a canal which reduced to a lake of 500 acres the waters that previously overspread the lowlands surrounding the abbey. The dissolution of the abbey was attended here, as elsewhere, by lamentable results. That change was accomplished ostensibly out of zeal for religion, really out of personal covetousness, and the great works set on foot by the monks were abandoned by their successors. Thus the reclaimed land in Brent Marsh became a bog. After the cessation of the American war in 1783, a general stimulus was given to agriculture, the attention of the landowners of Somersetshire was directed to the wastes in the western portion of the county, and an Act of Parliament was passed authorising drainage and enclosure. To carry out these works a sum of £60,000 was levied upon the proprietors in the district of the river Brue. This work was so successfully completed that application was made for powers to reclaim Brent Marsh, and this tract was reclaimed at a cost of £41,000. As far back as the time of James I., the draining of Sedgemoor had been in contemplation. That Sovereign, in fact, claimed the moor in order to effect this object. The inhabitants opposed the claim, and offered to surrender 4,000 acres to the King for his experiment. His death caused the project to fall through. Three hundred years prior to that, in 1304, the effect of draining in diminishing ague was pointed out, and an Act of Parliament was passed appointing Commissioners of Sewers for the district. At the present time there are thousands of acres in the great Bridgwater level capable of being at least doubled in value by perfect drainage and the subsequent application of mineral manures.

The word 'moor' is applied in Somersetshire not only to the marshes which border Bridgwater Bay, and which are in some parts actually below the level of the sea, but also to the mountainous region bordering Devonshire, and known as Exmoor. The central part of this district, comprising about 20,000 acres, formed the ancient Forest of Exmoor, and was enclosed by an Act of Parliament passed in 1815. At that time it was purchased by a Worcestershire gentleman named Knight, who proposed converting the forest into pastures. His object was better than the means he took to

realise it. He launched out into heavy and useless expenses. He encircled the whole forest with a ring fence, and commenced building a castellated mansion at Simonsbath, which he was unable to finish, and which soon became a picturesque ruin. His son and successor, Mr. Frederick Knight, was more fortunate because more moderate in his ideas. He called to his assistance Mr. Robert Smith, of Emmet's Grange, who subsequently became one of the most noted agriculturists in the West of England. This gentleman saw that the best way to make this region productive was to form hill-side catch-meadows; that is, to cut small water courses on the hill side, from which the stream is allowed to trickle down over the surface of the ground, and thereby make the ground yield luxuriant pasturage. Exmoor is famous also for its ponies and its deer. The value of the first has greatly increased of late years. In 1816 one could be purchased for under twenty-five shillings. Small as these horses are, they possess great endurance and are very long lived. Mr. Collyns in his entertaining 'Notes on the Chase of the Wild Deer,' mentions that these ponies will keep up with full grown hunters in a long day's chase, and have the additional advantage of knowing how to get over boggy ground in which their competitors would flounder and sink. Mr. Collyns has known the Exmoor pony reach twenty-three years of age. The wild deer is still to be found in the treeless forest. The chase of the deer has been carried on uninterruptedly since the days of Queen Elizabeth, and probably from a much earlier date. A day's hunt in that region will show how true to nature are the lines

> 'As pants the hart for cooling streams
> When heated with the chase.'

Wearied with the long run—two dozen miles is no unusual length—the stag will, if he comes across one of the small ponds with which Exmoor abounds, plunge into it and emerge with new life. Scarcely able to stand before, he will afterwards continue his flight as vigorously as though he had just commenced it. The discovery of hæmatite iron on Exmoor has not yet led to the disappearance of the deer, nor is it likely to cause the destruction of the moorland scenery. The drive from Lynmouth to Watchet is one of the most beautiful in England, and the view from the hill looking down upon Porlock is of surpassing loveliness. The Quantock hills, though they rise to a considerable height—Dunkerry Beacon being 1,668 feet above the sea—are generally more cultivated than Exmoor, and abound with

woods. Very different from both regions is the Vale of Taunton, which McCulloch says is the most fertile district in the kingdom. It rests for the most part on the new red sandstone formation. Here, and also on the rich grazing lands in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury and Cheddar, is made the famous cheese which takes its name from the last-mentioned place. This production is not, however, an object of unmixed satisfaction. The women do nearly all the work. 'It is a sad sight,' says Mr. Acland, 'to see a man standing by doing nothing, while his wife or daughter is turning many times in the day a weight of about half a cwt.' It was at North Peherton, between Glastonbury and Bruton, that, what was probably the largest cheese in the world, was made as a present for the Queen. The same dairy districts are noted for their clotted cream, which is almost, though not quite, identical with the better-known Devonshire cream. We must not leave the agriculture of Somerset without mentioning the very great benefits conferred upon it by the Bath and West of England Society. This association owed its existence to Edmund Rack, a literary Quaker, who settled in Bath in the year 1775. Three years later he published letters suggesting the formation of an association for the promotion of agriculture and arts, and his suggestion was at once adopted. For more than seventy years the society had but a feeble existence, but about twenty years ago a fresh impetus was given to it chiefly by Somersetshire men. It held yearly exhibitions and extended its operations from county to county, until now it has become second in importance only to the Royal Agricultural Society itself, and covers the whole of the south and west of England. The yearly volumes of the society's 'Journal' are most valuable contributions to agricultural literature.

The traveller through Somersetshire is struck by the luxuriance of the pastures, the stately timber in the hedgerows, and above all by the orchards. These last, if seen early in May, with their delicate pink blossoms hiding the leaves, or in September, with their ruddy fruit bending the boughs well nigh to the ground, are exceedingly beautiful. Unfortunately, the philanthropist cannot gaze on them with the same enthusiasm which the artist feels. The second does not know, as the first does, that though the fruit is fair to look upon, the apple tree is anything but a tree of life. The produce is converted into cider, and cider is the staple food, if food it can be called, of the Somersetshire peasant. In an article upon Devonshire, published in this magazine two years ago, we described the cider truck system,

as it prevailed in that county. It prevails no less in West Somerset. The joint authors of the essay on the cider system, which gained the prize offered by Sir Walter Trevelyan about a dozen years ago, published some interesting evidence on this subject from Somersetshire men. Mr. T. D. Acland, now M.P. for North Devon, says of the practice by which labourers are paid a portion of their wages in cider:—

'The masters and the men play into each other's hands; the women and children suffer; and the men in the long run. The labourer in a year takes off his master's hands about two hogsheads of cider, and satisfies one of his bodily appetites at the cost of fifteen per cent. of his earnings. The liquor refreshes and stimulates him, but wears him out; for common cider is not nourishing, but exciting, like spirit and water. West county labourers will never be what they might be as long as this system goes on.'

Similarly, Lord Portman remarks that 'the masters take an unfair advantage by stimulating the labourer to induce him to over-exert himself.' Sir Arthur Elton says that 'when the quantity of cider given is considerable—as, for instance, in mowing, when a man gets about a shilling a day—there cannot be a question that a money payment would be preferable.' Mr. R. Walters, of Perticombes Well, South Petherton, declares that—

'An abundant produce of cider proves a curse rather than a blessing to the ower classes of the district, for, when plentiful, the farmers, who depend upon a crop of apples for payment of a part of their rent, naturally expect the labourers to make use of it as part of wages; and in many instances they are compelled to do so. Their families derive no benefit, and the result is frequently poverty. In harvest times the case is worse, frequent intoxication distinguishing this period. Since the scarcity and high price of cider the cider shops have been much less frequented, and much less disorder and fewer breaches of the peace have occurred.'

Mr. Hansard, surgeon, of Montucute, was, if possible, more emphatic. He declared that men would frequently in harvest time drink from eight to twenty pints a day, and, as a consequence, would come home excited, and often fall victims to serious accidents. Referring to the then existing scarcity of apples, and consequent dearness of cider, he said:—

'The failure of the apple crop has had the same favourable effects on the general health of the labourer as the good drainage of a parish has on the health of the inhabitants generally; and in proof of this I may mention the flourishing condition of our Friendly Societies, the money paid to sick members being much less than usual.'

Some of the correspondents who supplied Messrs. Spender and Isaac with evidence in their essay thought that if the labourer were not provided with cider by his employer, he would go to the cider shop and get it for himself, and would then be more likely to form habits of drunkenness; but, as Mr. Hansard pointed out, the amount that the labourer

receives as part payment of wages only creates the thirst for this drink, and induces him to frequent the cider shop. Clearly, too, the system is in direct antagonism to the principles of political economy. If the labourer prefers to have a portion of his earnings in cider, he ought to be able to buy in the open market, and not to have forced upon him the nauseous, and often noxious, trash that the farmers now give him. As a matter of fact a large number of workmen would prefer to have their wages entirely in money, and the more intelligent they are the clearer is their judgment in the matter. Several years ago certain Somersetshire employers abandoned the cider truck system, and with the best results. Mr. Danger, of Huntstile, for instance, very wisely did not compel his labourers to work without cider, for this they would have thought a hardship which would have set them against the alteration. He left the matter to their own free choice. The men's wages were raised one shilling and sixpence a week in lieu of the cider payment, and the men who chose to have the cider had so much less money. The result was that as a rule, and especially during the winter months, they preferred the money.

The social condition of Somersetshire is by no means satisfactory. Some years ago Mr. Bentley spoke of it as having fewer schools and a higher rate of crime than any other county except Northampton. Present statistics would seem to shew that crime is certainly not on the decrease, although the offences are perhaps of a somewhat milder type than formerly. Wages paid to farm labourers are, according to Messrs. Spender and Isaac's 'Essay on the Agricultural Labourer of the West of England' (published in the Journal of the Bath and West of England Society, for 1858), eight shillings to ten shillings, with cider, three pints per diem, at from sixpence to tenpence per gallon. This is a higher rate than prevails in Devonshire and Dorsetshire; and Canon Girdlestone has lately incurred much odium from the farmers of East Devonshire through his efforts to raise the wages of the farm labourer by emigration. Of late some improvement, sorely needed, has been effected in the labourer's cottage, and attempts have been made to establish labourers' boarding-houses, but not with much success. What Somersetshire chiefly needs is not so much a semi-eleemosynary grant of money as an investment of capital on sound commercial principles. M. Leonce de Lavergne, in his most interesting volume, 'Economie Rurale de l'Angleterre,' was much struck by this fact. He was surprised to find so much suffering among the working classes of a county which has such important markets as Bristol and

Bath. He ascribed it to the excess of population, which had increased from 280,000 to 460,000 souls during the fifty years 1801-51, and had led to undue competition for the land. He held that the only remedy was either an increase of production or a decrease of population. Both changes have been at work to some extent. A portion of the 20,000 acres of waste land in Exmoor which scandalised him has been reclaimed, and the population has, like that of nearly all the agricultural counties, diminished. Between 1811 and 1821 the increase was 17 per cent.; between 1851 and 1861 it was only 0·2 per cent., which, taking Bristol and Bath into account, would imply a considerable reduction in the purely rural districts. It is not probable that this downward rate of progress will be checked. There is doubtless plenty of room for the employment of labour on Exmoor, but the question 'How will it pay?' cannot be answered in such a manner as to encourage any large investment of capital. Meanwhile, it is worthy of mention that a few members of that fast vanishing class, the yeomen who farm their own land, are still to be found in the neighbourhood of Bridgwater. Concerning them, Mr. Gabriel Poole of that town writes:—

'It is impossible to say where the gentry end and the yeomen begin. Numbers of the tenantry began life as labourers; then took some potato or teasle-ground at a high rent, then rented some cows, until they had saved enough to provide for themselves; then they took a field here, and another field there, till they had saved enough to stock a farm; and then they rent one.'

In that district, although many of the estates are mortgaged, wages are higher than in other parts of Somersetshire.

At the present time, when education is so prominently discussed, an article like this would be very incomplete without some reference to the intellectual status of the county. The report drawn up by Mr. C. H. Stanton, one of the assistant commissioners of the Royal Commission on Middle Class Education, presents anything but a satisfactory account. There are fifteen endowed schools in Somersetshire, but these, as in other counties, have a tendency to cluster together. Thus, Ilminster, Chard, Crewkerne, Langport, and Yeovil are all near together, but there is no endowed school west of Taunton, and none in the great agricultural district north of Shepton Mallet, and between the Mendip hills and a line drawn from Bristol to Bath. The education carried on at these schools is primarily for the upper classes, and there are a large number of private schools which must be placed in the same category. The instruction given at them Mr. Stanton found to be for the most part of the superficial character with which the report of the Royal

Commissioners has made us familiar. The schools for the lowest class—those supported by the parochial clergy or by the Nonconformist bodies—are probably as good as others of the same kind elsewhere. It is in the middle-class schools that Somersetshire is most wofully deficient. Many of the farmers will not, some cannot, afford £25 a year to send their sons to a boarding school, or, if they do so, it is only for a year, in order that their sons may get 'finished.'

'Boys of this description (says Mr. Stanton) I often met with, the earlier rudiments of their education having been learnt sometimes from a sort of nursery governess where there is a large family, or at the village school, or by lessons from the village schoolmaster during the evening. Such boys I have seen, and felt the profoundest sympathy for. Fine strapping fellows 'bloused with health and wind and rain,' are unequally yoked with sharp little boys from the town, half their age, less than half their size; where they were sensitive, as I believe was often the case, exposed to the perpetual mortification of the consciousness of intellectual infirmity, or when of a blunter feeling, themselves often doing injury to those around by the coarser exhibition of mere animal life.'

Altogether, Somersetshire is a county more fair to look at than really prosperous. It has had a stirring history; it has given birth to great men; it presents much physical and social variety; but it is by no means among the foremost counties in manufactures or agriculture, in education or morals.

THE GRETTONS, OF HIGHFLY.

'OWE no man anything,' is perhaps one of the least regarded of all the Apostolic injunctions. Whether it has been so in all the centuries of this Christian era, we are not called upon to decide; but concerning this enlightened nineteenth century, we are free to reiterate our assertion that folks in general too often disregard that portion of Holy Writ which commands them to keep out of debt.

Our commercial life is so interpenetrated by the credit system, that it seems impossible that it could ever be brought to thrive independently of it. And, indeed, it were vain to anticipate a time when the larger commercial transactions of nations could be conducted on the 'ready-money' system. That time will never arrive; the very conditions of things preclude the possibility of it. But in minor business transactions, amongst many families, a complete revolution might gradually be easily brought about; and what a blessed revolution it would be! 'Nobler modes of life' would obtain

amongst us, without waiting for millennium bells to usher them in. How much more honest and honourable the units composing this great nation, and, consequently, the nation as a whole, would become! We should have less of that anxiety, care, and shame abroad which wither up men's energies far more quickly than the hardest mental or bodily toil; we should have less of that mad and shameful struggle to keep up false appearances; we should see fewer of those deplorably long lists of bankrupts' names in our daily papers; we should have a few thousands less of that despicable *genus*, the 'fast young man;' we should have lighter hearts around us, and more peace and happiness in family circles than many thousands of our bonnie English homes can boast of under the present state of things.

Next to actual, downright crime, there is nothing like debt to plant thorns in a man's pillow, and scare sleep from weary eyes. The imagination of a Dante could not conjure up a spectre more horribly haunting than this one of debt; it clings to a man like his own shadow, and embitters his whole life, waking and sleeping.

But it must not be supposed that the suffering is all on the side of the debtor. Indeed, it often happens that the creditor fares the worst by far. Some folks are so devoid of conscience and every right feeling, that they would feel nothing of the 'incubus of debt,' though they owed money to a thousand men, and had no prospect of ever paying one of them a penny. Perhaps it would be too much to say that those who are anxious to pay their debts are the exceptions; but it is certain that a very large proportion of debtors care nothing for the inconvenience and trouble to which they put their creditors, and would never exert themselves to pay at all, did not a court of justice loom before them in the distance.

Of this class of persons were the Grettons.

Mr. and Mrs. Gretton were highly-respectable, middle-class people. They were prominent folks in the small town of Highfly, and were considered by everybody (excepting their creditors) to be in the height of prosperity. Mr. Gretton was regarded by his humbler fellow-townsfolk as 'a very fine man, grand in his way;' and by those of his own class, 'of military appearance, very *distingué*.' He did not wear long hair and spectacles, as many of his brother professionals did; but his light hair was pomatumed and parted behind in orthodox Rotten Row style, and he displayed a coarse, tawny beard and moustache, which any 'fierce hussar' under the sun might have envied. Whatever other folks thought, it was not to be doubted that Mr. Bernard Gretton, as he stalked

through the streets of Highfly, five feet ten in his creaking boots, thought himself a most charming and handsome personage. He stepped as though he thought it; he smiled upon his lady acquaintances as though he felt certain that they thought it, as, indeed, many of them did; for it cannot be denied that there are numbers of women who never look beneath a fine exterior for anything to admire in man.

Mrs. Gretton was a worthy spouse of such a specimen of humanity as fortune had favoured her with. She was pronounced to be 'a fine woman.' She was nearly as tall as her husband, ample in her breadth and in her mode of dressing, which gave her a most substantial appearance. She was always cool and placid in manner; very few things ever ruffled her ease and comfort. The little troubles which fret other women to distraction, broke against her as against a rock, and spent themselves without disturbing her. Feeling little herself, she felt very little for other people. Beggars in the street solicited alms of her with about as much hope of success as they would have had in kneeling at the foot of Nelson's column, and begging his stony honour to fling them a copper. Placid and heartless, with her cold, dark eyes, and plump, hard-set face, she held on her way through the world as if it had been created solely for her benefit; as if all that other people had to do was to help to make it as comfortable as possible for her, and not ruffle or thwart her in the very least.

This woman was the mother of five children: a fine growing family of two boys and three girls. The eldest was a lad of twelve years; the next two were girls. Digby, the young hopeful of twelve, attended a 'preparatory school for young gentlemen;' the two little girls were under the care of a nursery governess.

Mrs. Gretton was proud of her children, and she foolishly fostered pride in them. She thoroughly impregnated their minds with the fact that they were descended from the great Grettons, of Gretton Hall, Boshshire, and that, consequently, they were superior to all the people with whom they associated in Highfly. If their poor dear papa had had 'his rights' (whatever that might mean), he would not now be dependent on his talents for a living; he would be on a par with his relatives, who kept their carriages, and lived in style becoming an old aristocratic family.

Little Digby was duly inflated by all this, and adopted the tone of 'our family is far better than yours' to his schoolfellows, which procured him many a 'licking' from them that he would have escaped had he been less arrogant. Schoolboys, as a rule, have a decided aversion from the young prig who claims

to be the produce of some superior olive-tree, and they peck at him accordingly.

Geraldine, the eldest girl, was not thus impressed by her mother's reiterated accounts of their family's former glory and greatness. She was a simple, loving-hearted child, and more thoughtful and quiet than girls of ten years of age usually are. She was very dissatisfied with her family relationships. Her mother was cold and official in her manner, rather than maternal; and her father seemed to care for nothing but their getting on with their studies, that they might appear accomplished and brilliant in the eyes of the world of Highfly.

Poor little Geraldine felt that irrepressible heart-yearning which is part of the sorrowful lot of orphans, and of those children whose parents withhold from them that love and sympathy, and tender interest, for which all little hearts are more or less hungry.

Fortunately for Geraldine, the nursery-governess in whose charge she was, proved to be one who thoroughly understood and appreciated the child; and in time Geraldine learned to carry all her little troubles to Miss Bright, and looked to her for that advice and comfort which she could not get from her parents.

Miss Bright was a sensible girl, and she did her best to cultivate in Geraldine a spirit of love and ardent appreciation of all that is true and genuine in life, and a contempt for all that is false and empty and mere show. This was no difficult task, for Geraldine seemed possessed of an instinctive aversion from bombast and hollow pretences. There was little fear that she would lightly tread in her parents' footsteps, in their 'walking in a vain show.'

By the time she had grown to early womanhood, she had learned enough of their mode of living to harass and distress her much. She ventured to protest against many things which appeared to her foolish and sinful. This caused a complete breach between herself and her mother, and she became the 'henpecked' member of the family. Young Mr. Digby especially took upon himself to worry her with petty persecutions, of which young men of his stamp are highly capable.

Digby was now twenty years old, but much older than his years in the ways of the world. His training was bringing forth fruit, and the result was an empty-headed, vain, unprincipled youth, with an inordinate love of display, and with a sense of honour so small that it never interfered with any of his selfish purposes. He was not without talents of a certain order, and these he was now exercising under a well-known architect in the town. But his heart was not in his

work, and it was not to be expected that he would ever excel in it. He was engrossed by those unmanly, enervating pursuits which have such a charm for our 'fast young men;' billiard-playing, dancing, resorting to frivolous—not to say vicious—places of amusement, from all which a youth of sound, healthy tastes would soon turn in distaste and disgust.

His parents thought but little of his moral and mental growth; they looked at his outer man, and were highly satisfied. Was he not one of the handsomest young fellows in Highfly? Did he not look like a young lord in dress and manner? Was he not a credit to his family, even its most aristocratic branches? Mr. and Mrs. Gretton loftily answered these questions in the affirmative, and were satisfied.

True, the 'get-up' of this fine specimen of British youth was rather expensive to them, and Mr. Gretton sometimes ventured to deplore it to his wife; but she invariably silenced him with the assurance that it was an inevitable necessity—that the dear lad must make an appearance in the world, and be a credit to them; and what expense was he compared to some?

'If I could afford it, I should not say a word, my dear,' was Mr. Gretton's rejoinder; 'I am quite as gratified as you are to see him what he is, but I must see that he does not go too far in expenditure. I cannot afford everything, you know.'

'But you must afford what is requisite, Mr. Gretton. When Digby becomes established, he will be a wealthy man, and whatever debts we may incur for him he will then pay; meanwhile, our creditors must be willing to wait. I should like you to intimate thus much to Hillyer, the tailor, please, when you pass his way. He has had the impertinence to send twice for a settlement of the last bill.'

'When was it delivered?'

'Only nine months ago, just fancy!' said Mrs. Gretton, with a short laugh. 'Just let him know, Bernard, that we shall pay it when it is quite convenient to us, and that may be some time within the next five years!'

'At the same time, I must forbid Digby getting anything there or elsewhere without my knowledge and sanction. So long as these affairs were in your hands, Maria, I was content to say nothing, though I have had so much difficulty in satisfying and keeping quiet our numerous creditors, that I should have been overwhelmed with anxiety were I a man who permitted such things to fret him. But I cannot entrust Digby with the power to spend as he pleases.'

'But it is nonsense, my dear, to say that Digby must come

to you for every shilling's worth he wants. My children, with the exception of Geraldine, who is a crochety, niggardly girl, take after me; they are children of spirit and taste. That spirit must not be broken; it will be the making of them, Bernard; and that taste must be gratified as far as possible. Consequently, you must put no unreasonable fetters on Digby. Surely you have confidence in his gentlemanly instincts, which will never let him go far wrong, you may depend.'

Mr. Gretton silently acquiesced.

'What do you think of Geraldine?' continued Mrs. Gretton. 'She is opposing my wish to send her to a London finishing-school for a year or two—opposing it to the utmost. She wants to begin teaching music and drawing at once, and she is only eighteen. Fancy having the Smiths and Robinsons saying that we put our girl to earning money before she was out of her teens! And their girls are going to London. When I insist on carrying out my plans, Geraldine pleads and protests, and actually cries about it. I am afraid she is of an avaricious disposition; she seems so anxious to get money.'

'She hasn't showed herself very avaricious in other respects,' said Mr. Gretton. 'She is generally very unselfish, and has been the least expensive of our children hitherto.'

'I attribute that to niggardliness, Bernard. I have heard of misers wearing their clothes till they dropped off them bit by bit; now I really believe Geraldine would do the very same thing. I never yet bought her anything but she protested against it, and pronounced it superfluous. She cares nothing for fashion, and would wear the same clothes till they were threadbare, without ever thinking of the old fashion of them, I do believe. She is the only one—I am sorry to say it, but it is truth—she is the only one of our family who does not care to keep up its respectability and position. I'll venture to say she'd go out to-morrow as a nursery governess, if I'd let her! I am afraid Miss Bright instilled anything but proper ideas into her head: then she is naturally low in her tastes.'

'No, no; not low, my dear,' said Mr. Gretton, deprecatingly. 'I think Geraldine is quite refined and lady-like in her ways, though I grant she is not showy and brilliant, as I should like to see her.'

'I maintain that her tastes are decidedly plebeian, and, surely, that is low,' persisted Mrs. Gretton. 'I am sure she doesn't take after my family, and it is equally certain that she can't take after the Grettons, of Gretton Hall.'

'Just so,' assented Mr. Gretton.

'Well, what about this teaching?' asked Mrs. G.

'I will think about it, and speak to Geraldine,' was the reply.

'But you will not agree to it, Bernard?'

'Probably not, my dear; don't be alarmed.'

Geraldine's wish to earn money arose from her increasing knowledge of the state of their family affairs. She was thoughtful, observant, and conscientious; and as she came to see that all their family dignity was mere hollow pretence and wicked hypocrisy, and that it was maintained at the sacrifice of principle, she felt that she must do something in the way of making a stand for right and honesty. Things came to her ears which fretted her soul greatly; she felt persuaded that a crash and an exposure must inevitably take place ere long. As she looked at circumstances, and thought upon them, the wonder to her was that no crash had come hitherto. But she supposed that as long as the expenditure was conducted by her parents alone, they managed to keep it somehow under control. Now that Digby was taking upon himself to manage his own personal expenses, so far as purchasing was concerned, leaving them to murmur and pay at their convenience, it seemed to Geraldine that ruin must follow. For Digby was showy, extravagant, and unprincipled; and he lavished upon himself superfluities, at his father's expense, which were unbecoming in his position, even if he could have afforded them.

Geraldine little knew what scheming and contriving there had been in all the past years to keep their heads above the sea of debt in which they were immersed. But now it appeared to her that nothing could ever possibly set them straight, unless, indeed, one of her father's grand relatives should happen to die, and leave them a little fortune. Mrs. Gretton often spoke of this, and seemed to reckon on it as a certainty; but it inspired Geraldine with very little hope.

It frequently came to the girl's knowledge that her parents were being dunned for money; and in some instances the repeated postponement of payments seemed to distress and harass the creditors; for they owed money to men of all degrees. Proprietors of large and well-established concerns could afford to take promises instead of cash from Mr. Gretton sometimes, without suffering in consequence; but there were creditors of lower degree, on whom the repeated delays entailed most distressing inconvenience.

Of this class was a young man who had opened a shop in Highfly a year or two previously. It was not a large shop; but he kept first-class goods in the drapery and outfitting

line. He came to Highfly from a large London house, bringing with him an excellent character, and the savings of eight or nine years of faithful service. It was quite a nice bit of capital to begin with; and he was full of hope that success would attend his efforts. He was a native of Highfly, and when he went to London, at the age of sixteen, he left behind him a widowed mother, and a girlish friend who was destined to be his wife. Now he had both with him, and a very happy little family they were. Old Mrs. Saunders and young Mrs. Saunders agreed beautifully together; and George Saunders was strong in his determination that nothing should be wanting on his part to make his business successful, and so to bring prosperity to those dependent on his exertions.

Young Mrs. Saunders threw her heart into his work, and undertook to serve in the shop herself, and help him in keeping the books, so that he might not incur the expense of an assistant at first. Saunders issued circulars to the Highfly matrons, begging their patronage and support, and he had not to beg in vain; for those who went to his shop once, invariably went again and again: they met with such civility and attention, and were really quite satisfied with the goods that were proffered them for sale; there was no puffing-up of unworthy articles—all were genuine, and cheap, too.

Mrs. Gretton was one of Saunders's ready patronesses. She rustled into his little shop with a grand patronising air, and delighted the obliging shopman by giving him a large order. She condescended to praise his taste in the selection of his stock, and promised him that, although she had an account at Riggems' (the largest drapers in the town), she would be able to give him a little support, as she had a large family, and required many things in that line. She languidly selected a great pile of articles, not one of which she really needed, and not one quarter of which she would have bought, if she had had to pay for them there and then. This is the great evil of the credit system as practised by families; it is a temptation to them to indulge in extravagancies, which a ready-money purse would peremptorily forbid.

'This will make a beginning to a little account,' said Mrs. Gretton, as she rose from her chair, which she had occupied fully an hour. 'If I find nothing to complain of in these goods, you may depend upon an amount of my patronage, and my recommendation also.' And amid the thanks of the elated shopman, she sailed majestically out.

Mr. Digby, too, condescended to favour Saunders with his patronage. Digby found the shop greatly to his liking. Shirts, fronts, collars, &c., of new and elaborate make,

glorious ties, and the daintiest French kid gloves, took his fancy immensely, and caused him to be one of Saunders's most frequent customers. These items being constantly added to Mrs. Gretton's 'little bill,' increased it to such a length, that it could no longer be called little—at least Saunders and his wife did not call it so. When, at the end of six months, they made it out and sent it in, they were glad to think how capitally it would help them to meet the bills which would soon fall due to their London houses.

Of course Mrs. Gretton did not pay. She took not the slightest notice of the bill. She never did of any bill until it had been sent in two or three times, and then she merely deigned to say it was not quite convenient to settle it at that particular time, but she would attend to it shortly.

Saunders suffered by others, too; Mrs. Gretton was not the only matron in Highfly who graciously got into his debt, and ungraciously neglected to pay. And Saunders, being a beginner, did not like to press them or compel them to pay, lest he should offend them, and drive such ready buyers from his shop.

In the course of a year or two this told unmistakably upon him. What he had in hand when he decided to come to Highfly was not sufficient to get him such a stock as he needed to begin with; but he was sanguine that his efforts to please, and strict attention to business, would soon bring him such a run of success as would enable him to go on capitally. Vain expectations! when his supporters were such as Mrs. Gretton.

One day she sent Geraldine to the shop for some little things, and Mrs. Saunders served her. The little woman appeared heavy-eyed and dejected, very different from what she was when they first began business, Geraldine thought. Presently Mr. Saunders came up, fidgetting round his wife, as if he wanted to say something to Geraldine. At length, he said, 'You'll excuse me, miss; but would you kindly ask Mrs. Gretton if she could oblige me with a settlement of her bill this week?—Even a part of it would do me an immense service just now. It has run on now rather longer than I feel I can afford to allow, at present, not having thoroughly established my business yet. I hope you will excuse my mentioning it to you, miss; but sometimes I fear that the servants don't deliver my requests to Mrs. Gretton, as I have called several times within the past year.'

'I will tell mamma what you say,' promised Geraldine, kindly.

When Mr. Saunders had returned to his desk, Mrs.

Saunders ventured to try to smooth matters, as women will, by being apologetic and confidential. 'I am sure, miss, my husband would not mention payment to one of his debtors were he not really pushed into a corner for money. Our business is very good, but it is nearly all credit; if we could just get in steadily what is owing to us we should have no anxiety; but, as it is, we sometimes hardly know which way to turn. It would oblige us very greatly if you would take the trouble to lay this before your mamma, though I feel quite ashamed to trouble you.'

'Don't mention that,' said Geraldine, touched by the little woman's anxiety and timidity, 'a year is a long time for a tradesman to wait for money.'

'O it is nearly two years now,' said Mrs. Saunders, 'and really that is not considered very long, and perhaps we should not feel it so, either, if we were more established.'

Geraldine felt both ashamed and sorry as she walked home. It was just at this time that her mother was so desirous that she should go to London to school. 'I think mamma must be insane to wish me to go to school and put her to such needless expense, when she is obliged to keep these poor people waiting for money so long,' she said to herself, with a vehement determination to withstand such an arrangement to the utmost. 'I will not be adding to the dreadful home expenses any longer, I *will* earn money.'

Full of interest and sympathy for Saunders and his wife, Geraldine gave their request to her mother at once, with supplementary pleadings of her own. Mrs. Gretton listened to her unmoved, and, when she had done, quietly said, 'It is very much like Saunders's impertinence to speak to one of my children about his bill. I have a mind to say I will withdraw my support from him. You seem unduly concerned about him, Miss Gretton. Pray don't agitate yourself: he will be paid when I find it convenient to send to him.'

'But consider, mamma, how anxious he is, and how dreadfully he wants it, and how long it has been owing. He says even a part of it would be a very great help to him,' said Geraldine.

'Mind your own business, and let me hear no more of this,' said Mrs. Gretton, with a sternness that silenced Geraldine.

It so happened that within that very same week, which was about Michaelmas time, Geraldine was aware of three or four applications at the house for money. One was from a jeweller to Master Digby, another was from the tailor, a third from a milliner for Mrs. Gretton, and each applicant seemed to

Geraldine like a messenger of evil, threatening the family with destruction. A fourth was Mrs. Saunders, who requested to speak with Geraldine.

Curious and wondering, Geraldine went down to the hall, to see who might want to speak to her at the hour of nine in the evening. 'O, I beg your pardon,' said Mrs. Saunders, nervously, and with the same heavy, anxious look in her eyes, 'but I know you are very kind, and I ran out to the post for my husband, as he is unwell, and unknown to him I am come to ask you if you mentioned that to your mamma, miss. To-morrow is the day my husband has to meet a bill at the bank. I don't exactly understand about it, but I know that if it isn't met it will be almost ruin to us; and he has been so unfortunate in trying to get some bills in this week. He is so anxious, that I am dreadfully concerned about him; and I thought if I could prevail upon Mrs. Gretton to let us have thirty or forty pounds to-morrow, it would lift a load of care from us.'

'Thirty or forty pounds,' said Geraldine; 'is it so much?'

'It is about seventy altogether, miss; because, you see, Mr. Digby's bill was reckoned in with it, as your mamma directed, and his was over twenty.'

'Well, I hope mamma will be able to do something; I will speak to her again,' said Geraldine.

And she did speak, but with no success. The only feeling that moved Mrs. Gretton was indignation at her creditor's 'impertinence.'

Then Geraldine spoke in secret to Digby, and begged him not to be getting in debt, and having foolish, extravagant things. But he only laughed at her, calling her a niggard and a prude, and one who knew nothing of a young gentleman's requirements. 'I must keep up an appearance,' he said, 'and as I have no cash to do it with, excepting what I can borrow from generous friends, I must adopt mamma's plan; and if she doesn't grumble, surely you needn't. Dishonourable, did you say? Ha! ha! There are different notions of honour, and no doubt yours and mine differ.' And with a twist of his perfumed person, Digby carried himself out of the room, and so ended the unpalatable conversation. A few days elapsed, and, to Geraldine's great surprise and grief, the news reached her that Saunders had become a bankrupt. 'Ah, I thought he was going a-head too fast for a young beginner,' said Mrs. Gretton, calmly. But the thought that now his affairs were in the hands of lawyers, and that, consequently, it was of no use trying to delay paying

her bill much longer, did rather move her. 'When I must I must,' she said, which meant that now she must speak to her husband about it.

Geraldine went out directly to see Mrs. Saunders. She found the little family of four—husband, wife, the widowed mother, and a young baby—together in the gloomy house. The husband was ill in bed. Geraldine felt somehow guilty as Mrs. Saunders's pale, tear-stained face met her at the door. 'My family might have prevented this trouble,' thought Geraldine. And she was wearing at that moment things that had been bought at that place and never paid for. 'It is the last *unearned* dress that I will ever put on,' said Geraldine, with an earnest purpose in her heart.

She went into the desolate home and tried to comfort the young mother. 'O, I was so afraid at first, miss, that he would have to go to prison,' she said with a sob. 'But I think it will all be cleared up for us, and his character vindicated. I am sure we've lived poor enough to try to make the business answer, and pay every man his own; and it will be seen, when things come to be investigated, that we've been careful. Our bills and the stock will cover everything, I'm sure; but then we shall be left penniless to begin life over again; and all my husband's hard-earned savings are swamped. If we could have got our bills in, I'm sure we should have gone on and made a good business in time. But Saunders was too obliging and merciful; and now this affair has so prostrated him, that I'm afraid he'll never be himself again. He frets so, you know, miss, to think that he has me and baby and his mother to bring this trouble upon. But I don't mind it a bit,' added the brave little woman, 'only for his sake.'

'Well, in the midst of all your distress, Mrs. Saunders, you have the solace of knowing that you have been honest and energetic. This trouble may indeed be called a misfortune, not a fault.'

When Mr. Gretton heard of it, and learned what was required of him, he spoke more sharply to his wife on the subject of debt than he had ever done in his life before. Digby, forsooth, must be accumulating debts now. 'Well, it will just come to this,' said Mr. Gretton, 'I shall have to run away.'

'My dear,' said Mrs. Gretton, calmly, 'that is what you said ages ago, and you are here yet.'

'And trouble enough I've had to keep here,' he said. 'Such a fight as it has been, with loans, and promissory notes, and duns innumerable! Remember, I can never

endure public exposure in Highfly. A man of my family would have his spirit utterly broken by public exposure. Digby is playing fast and free with my name; I have been threatened with legal proceedings by Silver, the jeweller, this very day; and, to tell you the truth, I could turn my pockets inside out this moment for all that is in them; and there is none anywhere else, I'll assert. What do you think of that? And now, here's a demand for seventy pounds for dress! Pshaw! the thing's ridiculous.'

'Seventy pounds for dress for such a family, for two years,' said Mrs. Gretton. 'What is that, I should like to know, including as it does a deal of Digby's? You would not have him go shabby, Mr. Gretton? At present he would not disgrace a nobleman, and I rejoice to see him so nice in his personal appearance and manner. You ought to be proud of your son.'

Mr. Gretton was proud of him, and would sooner have owed a large sum of money than have seen his son go about shabby. Still, in spite of all his vanity and want of principle, Mr. Gretton was beginning to feel that a check must be put upon spending, one way or another, or the consequences would be disastrous. All his life long up to the present moment it had been only by brazen daring and skilful, dishonourable manœuvring that he had kept himself free from the law. His affairs were in such a complicated condition that the least exposure would entail immediate and irremediable ruin upon himself and his family. But he secretly determined on not suffering exposure. 'When the climax comes I shall run,' was his decision.

At this juncture Geraldine's appeal to be allowed to get money by teaching, met with little opposition from him. Much to her joy, and greatly to Mrs. Gretton's chagrin and disgust, she got his consent to her going among her friends in a new character—as a canvasser for pupils. She was more successful than she had ventured to anticipate. It surprised her to meet with so much kindness from those of her acquaintances to whom she applied. The fact was, she was greatly respected for her amiable and humble character, and frank, unassuming manners. In the course of a fortnight she had obtained seven pupils; and it was with a glad heart that she devoted herself to their improvement.

Through another six months the family struggled on, keeping up their false appearances as usual, visiting and entertaining visitors, until at length the crisis came. Mr. Gretton succeeded in getting from a gentleman of his acquaintance, named Kepp, a loan of thirty pounds (which he vehe-

mently promised to return during the week), and with that he made off to Liverpool, intending to go to America. But suspecting and outraged creditors had for some days been watching his every movement, and the consequence was that he was laid hold of as he was strutting about the deck of a steamer smoking his cigar with a bland and careless air; and back to Highfly he was escorted, there to be lodged not a little less ostentatiously than he had been accustomed to be. A few days sufficed to make his home a complete wreck. Mrs. Gretton would not, or could not, act in any particular. She was utterly broken down. If some one had come and borne her off to the workhouse, it is likely that she would not have resisted. She dreaded to be seen; she could not speak to any one.

The family was turned out of house and home. Happy was it for them, then, that they had the despised Geraldine to turn to. She was as brave as a lion, and stood up for them all. She went out and took two rooms for her mother, herself, and the younger children. They needed three at least, but it could not be afforded; for rent, food, and everything else would have to be paid for out of her earnings, so they would have to suffer many a want which they had hitherto never known.

It so happened that the rooms were the very ones which the Saunderses had occupied when they had to give up their house and shop. Geraldine had called to see them there; and now, knowing that they were in a little cottage of their own, she at once tried to get the rooms, and succeeded. Saunders was now serving at Riggem's, and his wife and mother took in sewing. They hoped to be able to commence business again in time; but at present they could not see their way clear.

Geraldine heard with great distress of her father's last act of dishonesty, in borrowing money from Mr. Kepp. She very much respected Mr. and Mrs. Kepp, and had often visited them in days gone by. They had three children, old enough to receive instruction in music and drawing from Geraldine, and she begged to be permitted to teach them, with a view to offsetting the debt which her father owed. This was agreed to; and twice a week Geraldine went there. She had now almost as many pupils as she could attend to, and thankful, indeed, was she for 'leave to toil.'

When Mrs. Gretton had somewhat aroused herself from the helpless state in which this turn of affairs had plunged her, she began to see that, after all, she was no more to be shielded from the consequences of evil-doing than other folks. She

actually found herself on a par with the Saunderses and other 'low' people, who had got themselves into trouble through being 'a little too fast.' And her husband had actually got himself into prison like any common debtor! To think that one of the high and mighty Grettons should come to this!

Mrs. Gretton began to feel, too, what a treasure Geraldine was. Poverty made her look upon things with new eyes, and she now saw that Geraldine was indeed an excellent girl—brave, self-denying, forgiving, strong to do and suffer for those dear to her. Mrs. Gretton's manner became gracious, gentle, even kind towards her; and this so inspired Geraldine with thankfulness, that, notwithstanding their discomforts, the disgrace attached to their name, and the fact of her father's being in prison, she was happier than she had ever felt in her life before since the careless days of childhood. For now they were no longer hypocrites, riding the high horse at the peril of those who regarded them at far more than their worth; they were living in genuine honest style now, though in poverty and disgrace, which would be their lot many a weary year yet.

Digby suffered the most keenly of any of the family. He would have shared his father's fate, but for the fact of his being a minor. Now, however, he was just on the eve of his twenty-first year, and would henceforth be a responsible member of society. He found a far more comfortable home with the gentleman in whose service he was than Geraldine could have given him. But the young fellow fretted under his sense of poverty, not because it made him in some degree dependent upon others, but because it debarred him from those circles of society in which he had pre-eminently moved. It mortified him intensely to hear the whispered sneers of fast companions about his poor and disgraced condition, to have the cold shoulder turned upon him, to be shut out from those gay scenes in which he used to take so much delight, and to be denied those elegant little personal adornments which he deemed necessary to the make-up of a handsome young man of family.

The change of circumstances wrought in him no hatred of the extravagance that had brought them about—no manful determination to redeem the good name of the family by sturdy honesty and brave effort to become independent of those who despised toil and poverty. On the contrary, he fretted in a puny, sentimental spirit, and nothing but stern necessity would have made him deny himself any of those superfluities which he had been wont to indulge in. His unprincipled habits and notions were too deep-rooted to be

overturned by this storm of adversity, which he did not allow himself to feel only so far as it hurt his vanity.

His pecuniary wants harassed him beyond measure. 'I *will* have money; I *must* have money,' he would sometimes say, with criminal impatience and desire. No one would trust him with a shilling's worth of anything now; of course it was not to be expected: and he could neither beg nor borrow of any of his former friends. The more honourable among them were disgusted with his want of principle; the less honourable did not deem him a desirable acquaintance, now he had no money.

Digby put forth his hand to evil against his kind employer and benefactor. He made a dazzling show as of old before his former companions, much to their surprise; but it was only for a brief time—like the blaze of a meteor, and was succeeded by deeper darkness than before. The darkness of a prison followed it; and this gay young man, whose dishonesty was unmistakably largely due to the direful training to which he had been subjected, this scion of the grand house of Gretton, found himself, at the age of twenty-two, utterly disgraced—condemned to five years' penal servitude for robbing his employer. The verdict which many a tradesman in Highfly, smarting for the family's former extravagance, pronounced upon the young man was, 'Served him right.'

Meanwhile Geraldine was the only one of the family who had brought any prosperity and happiness to it as yet. She kept brave and busy, so that she might minister to the needs and comforts of her mother and the younger children. The next daughter, Alice, was now eighteen, and after considerable effort Geraldine succeeded in getting a situation as nursery governess for her. Alice had not Geraldine's unselfish disposition, and she went to the situation, not with the hope of being able to lighten Geraldine's burden in maintaining the family, but for the sake of getting a better home and seeing a little change.

Geraldine struggled on without thought of reward; but reward came as it always does, sooner or later, to those who walk in integrity, and labour for love. Mrs. Kepp regarded her not only as the instructor of her children, but as a dear friend; and she invited the young girl to make one in her happy family circle as often as Geraldine could possibly spare an evening. On these occasions she frequently met Mrs. Kepp's brother, Mr. Verner, who was holding a superior post in one of the banks. Geraldine greatly enjoyed his society, and was gratified by his apparent enjoyment of hers; but she never permitted herself to think of him as anything but a

friend whom she esteemed and respected. She sometimes felt very deeply the pain of the stigma which attached to her name on her father's and brother's account; and although no one could utter a word of reproach against herself, and she felt herself a lady in spite of her poverty and hard work, she never imagined that any one in Highfly would be willing to ally himself with her disgraced family, least of all a man of Mr. Verner's position and superior ideas. She did not even wish it.

'I can suffer what I have to bear very well alone,' she would sometimes say to herself; 'but I could not bear the thought of having one whom I loved to suffer with me. It would be selfish in me to wish any gentleman to stoop to me and take part of my burden of shame upon his shoulders; and I never could marry any but a gentleman.' It is not necessary for us to explain that Geraldine's idea of a gentleman was not the common one relating to money and position. Education, refinement, and goodness were her standards to measure men by.

It was precisely by the same standards that Mr. Verner measured women; and he saw in Geraldine one whom he could feel proud to call his wife, notwithstanding her reduced status in society, her poverty, and the disgrace that had fallen upon her name. She was not mistaken in fancying that he enjoyed her society: he enjoyed it heartily, and he felt drawn towards her as not all the fascinations of the Highfly belles had ever succeeded in drawing him. This poor, little, brave girl of twenty-one, acting such a womanly part in the world, in a happy, self-renouncing spirit, and with staid independence, seemed to him as superior to the fashionable Highfly young ladies who patronised him with their smiles, and practised their arts upon him, as superior to them all as the violet is to flaunting poppies. Geraldine did not seek his love; but he rejoiced to bestow it upon her freely and without reserve: and he felt honoured by her reciprocation of it.

It was revealed to her just at the right time. It was on the birthday of one of Mrs. Kepp's children, and a special gathering of young friends was held, to which the child would have Geraldine invited. Geraldine tried to be excused, for her youngest sister was ill, and she could scarcely bear the thought of leaving her at night, especially for a festive scene. But little Master Kepp, whose birthday it was, would take no denial. Geraldine was a particular favourite of his, and his party would be incomplete without her. So she went, upon the condition that she should be allowed to leave early. Of course dear uncle Verner was there, too, and when at nine

o'clock Miss Gretton wished the merry party good-bye, he volunteered to escort her home. Geraldine would almost rather have gone alone; for her heart was sick with anxiety for her darling little sister, and she looked at everything in life through the medium of that anxiety, and, consequently, saw everything miserably distorted. She felt that she could not talk to Mr. Verner. The night was lighted by a full moon, and though the way home was rather long, she had no girlish fears of walking it alone. She told Mr. Verner so, and earnestly begged him not to leave the party.

'If you have any objection to my going,' he began, 'perhaps——'

'Indeed,' interrupted Geraldine, 'it is purely on your own account that I wish you not to go.'

'If that is all, I may tell you that I'm afraid it is as much on my own account as yours that I wish to go,' he replied, drawing her gently through the hall, and taking her hand within his arm directly they got outside. 'I am exercising a friend's prerogative, you see, without so much as saying "By your leave,"' he said, with momentary gaiety.

'Yes, thank you,' said Geraldine, absently; 'pray don't keep a slow pace on my account,' she added, 'you don't know how fast I can walk when I like, and I do like this evening: I am so anxious to get home. I have been thinking of my little sister all the evening, and I am sure it kept me from making myself agreeable; but I really could not help it.'

'I could see you were troubled about something,' said Mr. Verner, kindly.

'Ah! I feared it could be seen,' responded Geraldine, 'I am so sorry. It is not often that I have so little control over my feelings; but to-night, in spite of the gaiety, everything seemed so dark to me. I feel to be losing some of the strength which has hitherto sustained me so well for what I have to do and bear. Possibly it is because I am a little over-tired: I did not get my sleep last night.'

'Poor child!' said Mr. Verner, taking the hand that lay so softly on his arm, and holding it in a firm pressure, 'I fear you are doing too much, and taking upon yourself more than you can bear. I often think of you with much concern. You must really take more care of yourself. I wish I could lighten you of some of those cares that press on you too heavily: could you not bring some of your troubles to me, and let me help you to bear them?'

The tone in which he spoke—so earnest and tender—almost brought tears to Geraldine's eyes; but she smiled at his request, and said, 'What could you do, Mr. Verner?'

'A great deal, dear Miss Gretton, if you would only give me the right.' Then he paused, and they took several steps in silence.

'Does it not lighten our care to have some one to share it,—some one to love us more than everybody else on earth, who will sympathise tenderly with us in every sorrow, and add to our joy when we are happy?'

'I should think so,' answered Geraldine, softly, 'though I have not had much experience of it since my good governess left us years ago; and I don't expect it in the years to come. Yet I should not say this,' she added, quickly, 'for dear mamma is now mindful of me; but I feel I ought not to speak of anything distressing to her.'

'Geraldine,' said Mr. Verner, in a very low voice, 'do you think you could ever come to regard me as that friend above all earthly friends who would have a right to make you an especial care, and give you such love as brightens the most gloomy lot? Let me say,' he added, rapidly, 'that whether you will take it or not, it is yours, and must be for ever.'

Geraldine looked up in his face; the moonlight was upon it, and she saw that it was earnest, and full of an eagerness which she had never observed in it before. She withdrew her eyes, and a deep blush overspread her face. Her feet felt unsteady, and she put her other hand on his arm, clasping it round, and leaned her head against his shoulder as they walked, with a momentary feeling of perfect rest and satisfaction. She felt too weary to be demonstrative in word or act,—to appear flurried or astonished. Yet she was astonished in a quiet way.

He paused a moment as she leaned against him, and said, anxiously, 'Are you ill?'

'No, no,' she replied, drawing him on, but making no other movement. There were no people near them, and she kept her head in its new resting-place.

'My darling!' he said, tenderly smoothing the soft face that leaned against him; 'is this an answer of consent to my question?'

'No, don't take it as such,' she replied, lifting her head; 'possibly you have not fully considered what you are doing, Mr. Verner, and I cannot allow you to commit yourself. Yet you are not wholly ignorant of the history of our past.'

'I know sufficient to make me sympathise most heartily with you, and more than that, dear Geraldine,—to make me esteem you above every woman I ever knew, and to love you with my whole heart. I want to know only one thing more to make me feel a happiness in your society that I have never yet enjoyed. Will you tell me,—answer me just one question?'

'If I can,' whispered Geraldine.

'You can,—you must,' he replied, with an earnestness almost vehement. 'Just this, dear Geraldine; you know something of me; we have been often together, and I have grown to love you very deeply: is this love mutual? Do you—can you ever—love me?'

All that Geraldine had been trying during the past year or two to consider pure friendship now showed itself to be what it really was,—love sweeter than life, stronger than death.

Again her head sank against his shoulder, and unwittingly holding his arm in a closer clasp, she said, very softly, 'May I confess it?'

'Yes do, darling.'

'Well, I think I have loved you ever since I knew you, Mr. Verner. I do love you. But,' she added, with a start, 'indeed we ought not to be talking thus. Many things imperatively forbid it.'

'Nothing shall forbid it, Geraldine. Nothing shall come between our love, my own darling,—mine from this hour, *God-given*, I am firmly persuaded; for I have asked you of Him, and He has blessed me with what I deem the most precious of His earthly gifts.'

And nothing was permitted to come between them, for though Geraldine showed him everything connected with herself and her family in the very worst light, to dissuade him from incurring any odium or unpleasantness by marrying her, still he was blind to everything but her own dear self. He knew her to be blameless and pure with regard to the family-doings; and 'I am not going to marry the whole family, Geraldine; but only you,' said he.

It was a great comfort to Geraldine to have such a friend during the remainder of the time that she had the responsibility of the family upon her. That was only about a year from the time that Mr. Verner claimed her as his future wife. Then Mr. Gretton was released from prison, and he returned to Highfly, a humbler and a wiser man. He was wishful to leave the town with his wife and the younger children, and, beginning life again in a simple, unostentatious way, resume his old work for their daily bread.

'No, papa,' urged Geraldine, 'stay here and vindicate your character. We have found many kind friends since you have been absent, and they have learnt to respect us just for what we are worth in ourselves. There are at least a dozen of my pupils that I am sure I can get transferred into your hands at once, and you will soon get more, and be able to have a nice

little house, and some new furniture; and O, papa! perhaps in time, by practising strict economy at home, you may be able to give some of your former creditors their due. It would take time, but I think you might be able to put some by, little by little, paying for everything as you go along, as we have been doing since we left our home. God would surely prosper and bless you in your efforts to do this; and what a joy and comfort to the mind it would be to live honestly, if in ever such a poor way, and owe no man anything but love. Haven't we sinned enough against God and our fellow-men in keeping up appearances, and haven't we brought sufficient and terrible punishment upon ourselves?'

'Indeed, yes,' said Mr. Gretton. 'In the silence of my prison I have seen ourselves in our true light. What sinful years of fraud and hypocrisy we spent! We have reaped just as we sowed, and I freely admit that we have suffered most just retribution. We have been made to feel what we caused others to feel. But in the future, until my life's end, things shall be different. You, my good child, Geraldine, are the only one of the family who stood up for justice and right, yet you have suffered with the rest, and more than the rest, I fear. But now you are to be blessed with pure happiness and prosperity. This is as it should be, and I thank God for blessing you.'

Happier days than the family had ever before known now dawned upon them. They lived in poor and unpretending style, and Mrs. Gretton become so changed that she defied fashion as if she were a Quaker; and they all confessed that whatever of show, fashion, and luxury they ignored for the sake of being honest and humble, seemed to be made up to them in solid comfort and happiness.

'Dear me!' said Mrs. Gretton, one day, as she bustled about getting tea, her husband sitting on a hard Windsor chair by the kitchen fire, happier than a king; 'dear me, Bernard, to think what fools we were in the past years, struggling to keep up grand appearances at the sacrifice of peace of mind, honesty, happiness—everything that makes us now so contented and so respected in our simple, little home! Depend upon it, Bernard, it is for our highest good and happiness that the Bible exhorts us to obey the commands, "Walk honestly," and "Owe no man anything."'

STATISTICAL DATA FOR SOCIAL REFORMERS. No. II.

EXCISE RECEIPTS FROM INTOXICATING DRINKS.

THE Commissioners of the Inland Revenue, in their Twelfth Report, lately issued, deal with the accounts of their department down only to the 31st of March, 1868. Surely a little more alacrity is possible, and it would, at all events, be very convenient for those who wish to verify, with the least avoidable delay, the fluxes and ebbings of the great commercial streams. It is of no use complaining, we suppose, that the Excise authorities group their statistics according to the Budget cycle, and not by the solar year; but, bearing this difference in mind, we may extract some useful information from the latest official missive of Somerset House. Between the gross and net receipts from every species of tax there is a considerable margin; but taking the net receipts of certain articles for the last ten years there is the following result (all the totals having respect to the *United Kingdom*):—

From March 31,	To March 31,	British Spirits.	Malt.	Sugar used by Brewers.
1858	1859	£8,950,196	£5,412,777	.....
1859	1860	9,773,960	6,648,881	.....
1860	1861	9,225,538	6,208,813	.....
1861	1862	9,618,291	5,866,302	.....
1862	1863	9,399,707	5,389,909	.....
1863	1864	9,692,515	6,092,736	.....
1864	1865	10,176,731	6,394,553	£4,544
1865	1866	10,437,168	6,421,260	10,509
1866	1867	10,855,849	6,816,336	33,294
1867	1868	10,511,530	6,302,419	63,370

The hop duty ceased in 1862, and was replaced by an increased duty on brewers' licences. The above table conclusively shows that an increase of duty on spirits has been followed by an increase in the Excise receipts of upwards of a million sterling. The great question of the morality of taxation on articles whose common consumption is pernicious to the State, in a word, social poisons, has been hotly discussed. To impose a tax on such articles for the sake of raising a revenue from their use, is indisputably immoral; but to restrict their use by taxation is, so far, a national benefit. As the alternative of free trade in them, taxation is right; as the alternative of prohibition, it is wrong. Cowper, eighty years ago, saw and stigmatised the baseness of the apology summed up in the fact—'The Excise is fattened with the rich result of all this riot.' The chief objections to this taxation—(1) that it gives a national sanction to a national curse; and (2) that it makes a department of the Government interested in sustaining a great abuse.—are strictly unanswerable; yet to abolish taxation, and so permit unrestricted production and sale, would lead to greater evils; and there is no escape from the difficulty but legislation (after due preparation of the public mind), which will prevent the influx of such money into the national exchequer, by permitting the exclusion of the national bane from the channels of commercial traffic and exchange.

LICENCES ISSUED BY THE EXCISE.

The licences of all kinds issued by the Excise in the year ending March 31, 1868, were 2,428,236; and the number of these connected with the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, with the amount of duty charged, was the following:—

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	U. Kngdm.	Duty chrgd. £.
Brewers	36,371	242	124	36,737	357,597
Dealers in beer	4,363	85	889	5,337	17,651
Do. additional licences to retail...	2,441	...	749	3,190	3,516

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	U. Kingdm.	Duty chrgd. £
Dealers in spirits	4,574	403	502	5,479	57,530
Do. additional licences to retail	2,510	...	...	2,510	7,901
Dealers in wine	3,046	66	134	3,246	34,083
Retailers of beer (publicans)	68,879	351	15,528	84,958	107,956
„ spirits „	67,698	12,013	15,223	94,934	616,214
„ wine „	32,359	4,487	5,590	42,436	93,699
„ beer and cyder (not publicans)	53,227	967	...	54,192	162,664
„ wine (to be consumed off the premises)	2,424	1,991	134	4,545	10,471
„ beer, &c., on board packet boats	214	96	52	362	380
„ spirits (grocers) Irld.	...	...	387	387	4,140
Distillers and rectifiers	117	128	62	307	3,223
Malsters	5,087	464	145	5,696	15,885
Malt roasters and dealers in roasted malt	23	2	8	33	530
Refreshment houses	6,106	...	77	6,183	5,024
Do. selling wine	2,591	...	18	2,609	9,728
Sweets, makers and dealers	91	18	14	123	646
	292,121	21,513	39,636	353,270	£1,582,838

It must not be rashly inferred that these 353,270 licences represent that number of licencees or licensed shops. Many of the licencees hold two or three licences, and the number of liquor sellers, and of shops for sale, was stated in *Meliora* for April. The tea dealers of the United Kingdom numbered in the same year 177,712, of whom 72,914 resided in houses rated at less than £8 per annum. The produce of licences from this source was £69,591. The manufacturers of tobacco were 581, and the dealers in tobacco 279,716, whose fees amounted to £73,425. Under the head of 'tobacco,' in the Appendix, a table is given showing that the consumption of tobacco in this country continues to increase:—

Year.	Population of U. Kingdom.	Pounds weight cleared for consumption.	Average consumption per head. lb. oz.
1841	26,700,000	23,096,281	0 13¾
1851	27,347,000	27,734,786	1 0¼
1861	28,887,000	35,413,846	1 3¼
1867	30,145,000	41,053,612	1 5¾

That the consumption of tobacco has nearly doubled in twenty-six years is not an omen for good. Either the number of smokers has greatly increased, or the lovers of the pipe and cigar are now more ardently addicted to their use than they were in 1841; and more 'cloud-blowing,' whatever be the cause, will not tend to clear the intellects or sweeten the breath of the men who are, or are to be. Women have not yet taken to smoking as they did to snuffing in the last century; and who does not hope that this method of competing with the masculine gender, and of extending the domain of woman's rights, will long continue unused by the softer and (as to this particular practice) the wiser sex?

MAGISTERIAL REDUCTION OF LICENCES.

It may be laid down as axiomatic, that no reform of the licensing system which does not provide for a large reduction of licences can claim to answer to its name. There is an inveterate tendency among licensing magistrates to avoid interfering with 'rights of property,' though all the rights of civilisation are mercilessly sacrificed by the present system and its administration. If any one doubts the justice of this censure let him turn to a parliamentary return for the metropolitan district, printed in 1856, showing the number of new licences granted and the number of licences taken away in the years 1850-1-2-3-4-5. The number granted was 520; the number taken away (out of 6,000 public-houses) thirty-nine, of

which seventeen only were permanently forfeited. Can credulity the most extravagant imagine that in any five years only thirty-nine licences, out of 6,000, were legally rescindable for misconduct, contrary to their terms and tenour? And if the forfeiture was not enforced, who was to blame? A much more recent parliamentary return has been published, having reference to the years ending September 29th, 1866-7-8, and to the counties of Bedford, Buckingham, Cambridge (with the Isle of Ely), Essex, Hertford, Huntingdon, Leicester, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Oxford, Rutland, Salop, Stafford, Suffolk, Warwick, and Worcester. The population in 1861 is given (excluding the boroughs) as 3,545,267; the public-houses and beerhouses (on the three years' average) at 10,142 and 9,973. The houses proceeded against in the three years were 1,686 public-houses and 2,659 beershops, of which number 1,363 public-houses and 2,282 beershops were fined. These were not all distinct houses; no doubt many of them had been repeatedly fined; but this fact, while implicating fewer separate houses, renders more surprising the further fact, that in these three years only twenty-nine public-houses and five beershops were deprived of their licences, the aggregate cases of drunkenness proceeded against by the police were 27,338, of which 19,918 cases were subjected to fine and 3,054 committed for trial. The mockery of magisterial control which could permit so few licences to be forfeited is almost equalled by the mockery of police supervision which could take cognisance of a yearly average of only 9,129 cases of drunkenness as the collective outcome of a year's tippling in 20,115 drinking-houses, scores of which are denounced by the police and magistrates as centres and *foci* of all imaginable debauchery and crime. A similar return has been published as to thirty-four boroughs (Birmingham, Leicester, Norwich, Wolverhampton, Coventry, &c.), with a collective population of 990,092 in 1861. These boroughs had in the same three years (ending September 29th, 1866-7-8) an annual average of 4,582 public-houses and 3,112 beershops. During the three years 1,189 public-houses and 1,819 beershops were proceeded against, and 958 public-houses and 1,468 beershops were fined, yet the public-houses deprived of their licences were fifty-one and of the beerhouses one! In the three years there were 14,994 cases of drunkenness apprehended by the police, 7,698 followed by fine and 2,994 by committal; the yearly average being, respectively, cases 4,998, fines 2,566, committals 998.

DRUNKENNESS AND CRIME IN CONNECTION WITH BOROUGH PUBLIC-HOUSES AND BEERSHOPS.

A return obtained by Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, furnishes various particulars as to the police condition of Bradford, Derby, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Salford, Sheffield, Stockport, and Sunderland. It is not easy to summarise a sheet bristling with figures, but we shall first of all give the totals (which are omitted from the return) under the various headings adopted:

Population of the cities and boroughs named, census of 1861		1,845,622
Number of indictable offences in the year ending September 30, 1868.		16,190
Number of offences per 1,000 of the population		nearly 9
Number of persons apprehended for indictable offences		5,461
Number discharged for want of evidence		2,009
Number discharged for want of prosecution		771
Number committed for trial		2,681
Number of known thieves		2,540
Number of known thieves to 1,000 population		about 1½
Number of licensed houses:—		
Public-houses	5,273	
Beerhouses	6,447	
		11,720
Number proceeded against:—		
Public-houses	553	
Beerhouses	1,950	
		2,503

Number convicted:—		
Public-houses	401	
Beerhouses	1,697	
		2,098
Number deprived of licence for misconduct:—		
Public-houses	19	
Beerhouses	9	
		28
Number of inhabitants to each licensed house, according to the census of 1861		157
Drunk, and drunk and disorderlies:—		
Number proceeded against		31,948
Number convicted		23,712
Number discharged		8,236
Number proceeded against to 1,000 population		about 17

Of course there are great inequalities in the relative proportions of different places. These may be exhibited by extracts from the return:—

	No. of indictable offences per 1,000 population.	No. of known thieves to 1,000 population.	No. of inhabitants to each licensed house.	No. proceeded against as drunk, and drunk and disorderly per 1,000 population.
Bradford	2·89	1·045	193	2·683
Derby	1·74	1·671	125	6·081
Hull	2·13	1·02	191	9·727
Leeds	5·416	2·08	220	6·584
Liverpool	10·491	1·124	166	32·556
Manchester	22·964	2·098	132	28·195
Newcastle-on-Tyne	3·751	1 656	131	16·03
Nottingham	·966	1·596	162	2·401
Salford	9·139	1·318	156	6 219
Sheffield	2·63	0·653	132	5·519
Stockport	1·042	0·384	205	16·331
Sunderland	1·05	0·476	149	7.327

This table illustrates (what is often unjustly charged upon statistics as peculiar to them) the unreliableness of comparisons where the conditions are diverse. It is well known that as to apprehensions for drunkenness, both the rule and practice differ greatly in different towns; and an anomaly presented by this table—the excess of indictable offences in Manchester over those in Liverpool—is explained by the circumstance, that in the Liverpool statistics a large class of offences are omitted, the addition of which would raise the proportion from 10·491 to 27·201 per thousand population. The Manchester return, if similarly treated, would only be raised from 22·964 to 28·745 per thousand. and would still leave out of sight the very important fact that the gravity of the indictable offences in Manchester is, in general, very much less than in the sister and sea-port town. For the reason above given, also, it needs not excite surprise that the proportions of indictable offences and of arrests for drunkenness, and drunk and disorderly conduct, to population, do not agree quantitively with the number of drinking-shops. The number of drinking-houses is an element, but simply one element, in the power of the liquor-traffic for mischief. Size, attractiveness, and position are also elements very powerful for evil, and will often nullify the otherwise greater influence for evil which number would exert. What all evidence past and present abundantly proves, is (1) that drunkenness and crime of all kinds are everywhere mainly produced by the drink-traffic; and (2) that the drunkenness entered on the public sheet is but a fraction of the intemperance prevailing in drink-shops and disseminated by them. It will be observed that while 2,098 of these

public-houses and beershops were convicted of breaking the law, only twenty-eight were deprived of their licences for misconduct.

The following statistics extracted from a contemporary* are of the profoundest interest and importance, and, unless their accuracy can be successfully impeached, deserve to command the serious attention of all our statesmen:—

WASTE OF THE NATION'S WEALTH EVERY YEAR BY INTOXICATING DRINKS.

I.—Money Annually Spent in Intoxicating Liquors.

1. Ardent Spirits (29,413,153 gallons in 1868)	£30,253,605
2. Malt Liquors (24,903,696 barrels in 1868)	59,768,870
3. Foreign Wines (15,151,761 gallons in 1868)	11,363,805
4. British Wines, Cider, Perry, &c. (say)	1,500,000
	£102,886,280

II.—Loss of Wealth Annually Incurred in the Production and Retailing of Intoxicating Liquors.

1. The land now devoted to the growth of barley and hops used in making intoxicating drinks, would produce food of the value of not less than	£13,000,000
2. In the manufacture of strong drink there is a loss of capital and labour, worth at least	15,000,000
3. The labour of the retailers of intoxicating drinks, and of their servants, numbering 500,000 or upwards, would be worth, at the low estimate of £50 each, per annum	25,000,000
	£53,000,000

III.—Expenses and Burdens Annually Arising from the Use of Intoxicating Liquors.

1. Loss of labour and time to employers and workmen by drinking—estimated by the Parliamentary Committee of 1834 at	£50,000,000
2. Destruction of property on sea and land, and loss of property by theft and other crime, the result of drinking habits (say)	10,000,000
3. Public and private charges by pauperism, destitution, sickness, insanity, and premature death—traceable to the use of strong drink (at least)	10,000,000
4. Cost of police, prosecutions, courts of justice, support of criminals, losses to jurors and witnesses;—taking the proportion of criminal cases due to drinking (at least)	3,000,000
	£73,000,000
Great and ignoble total of the yearly loss of wealth to the British nation by intoxicating drinks	£228,886,280

WHAT COULD BE DONE WITH THE WEALTH ANNUALLY WASTED IN INTOXICATING DRINKS BY THE BRITISH NATION.

Wealth annually wasted	£228,886,280
Deduct as not available for general purposes	50,000,000
Available from annual loss	£178,886,280

This sum, if applied to the liquidation of the National Debt (which was £797,031,660 on March 31st, 1868), would effect this great undertaking in a little over four years, and thus save the country for ever the payment of the interest on the debt, which amounted in the year ending March 31st, 1868, to £26,571,750.

* The Temperance Times and Permissive Bill Journal, April 15th. (Curtice and Co., 9, Bookseller's Row, Strand, London.)

Or, it would form a fund to buy up all the railways in the United Kingdom in less than three years; the nett receipts of which (in 1866 they were £19,352,681) could then be annually devoted to the public service.

Or, it would pay in ONE YEAR all the expenses of a complete drainage system, and a water supply for every large town in the kingdom; and by so doing lower the rate of mortality and raise the standard of health and comfort over the whole country for ever.

Or, if this enormous sum were ANNUALLY collected and appropriated, it would suffice to do as follows:—

1. It would compensate the Exchequer for the loss of the Revenue from Intoxicating Liquors	£23,000,000
2. It would pay the Interest of the National Debt	26,571,750
3. It would allow all the taxes on tea, coffee, sugar, and chocolate to be remitted, and ensure the people 'a free breakfast table'	9,000,000
4. It would assign to public works of utility, such as drainage, harbours, lighthouses, reclamation of waste lands, &c., &c.	50,000,000
5. It would appropriate for the purposes of a complete system of free public education, public libraries, schools of design, art establishments, &c.	25,000,000
6. It would allow for public parks, gardens, baths, gymnasia, and other means of health and recreation	5,000,000
7. It would permit as grants for the relief of destitution and sickness, (under judicious management without demoralising the recipients)	10,000,000
8. It would assign for the gradual re-building and improvement of villages, towns, and cities	25,000,000
	173,571,750
Unappropriated	5,314,530
	£178,886,280

NOTE.—All this expenditure being ANNUAL, and much of it re-productive, the ANNUAL SURPLUS could go to form a great National Reserve Fund available for purposes of social advancement and defence.

Can the correctness of these calculations be veraciously assailed? The attributed waste of wealth is classed under three divisions, the last of which may be considered exceedingly moderate, and the two others are unassailable unless on the theory that the use of intoxicating beverages is of some substantial value to mankind. Even those who contend for the affirmative, would generally allow that there is an abuse of such liquors extending to one-half or two-thirds of the quantity consumed; so that, by that amount, the wealth expended on their production and purchase is admitted to be wasted. It is no objection to these calculations to say that the money so spent goes to the creation of certain forms of industrial operation, and thereby to the support of a certain portion of the population: for if the operations are not productive of wealth (or what is for the weal of society), all that is done is so much loss of productive power, and all money spent in the articles produced is paid for nothing, the only useful result being that so many people (employed in the traffic) are fed, clothed, &c., *at the expense of the nation.* It will be observed that the author of these statistics assigns £50,000,000 as an equivalent for the wealth thus absorbed, and takes only a balance of £178,886,280 as wealth capable of being applicable to purposes of the greatest social usefulness and worth. The general deduction—one very humbling to our pretensions as an enlightened people—is, that we waste in alcoholic liquors, year after year, an amount of available resources sufficient to make us the happiest and most prosperous nation beneath the sun.

SELECTIONS.

DINING HALLS.

A MEETING which took place recently, under the presidency of the Earl of Shaftesbury, will give a great impetus in the metropolis to the movement which has for its object the establishment of places of refreshment for the working classes, with all the advantages and none of the evils incidental to public-houses. For some years past, in various parts of the country, a trial of such places has been made, and wonderful unanimity prevails as to the success of the experiments. In Shrewsbury, for example, a building was erected at a cost of £4,000, containing dining, recreation, and reading-rooms. An additional sum of £200 was spent in enlarging the premises, which was recouped in the course of two years and a half from the profits of the undertaking. No less a number than 2,000 meals, of an unexceptionable kind, are provided at a reasonable rate each week, and so eagerly do the workpeople in the town, as well as the agriculturalists who visit it on market day, avail themselves of the advantages thus offered, that arrangements are about to be made to increase the size of the building. In the course of five years, 1,000 persons using the refreshment-room have entered their names in a temperance pledge-book kept on the premises. A kindred institution is that known as the Westminster Club. It differs, however, in this respect, that none but members who pay ½d. per week can participate in its benefits. The present number of members is 27,478, and the library contains between 200 and 300 volumes. At Aldershot a club-house was erected in 1863, involving an outlay of £6,000. Within the walls of the building are coffee, smoking, and reading-rooms, and a lecture hall capable of seating 700 persons. The little town of Market Lavington, with a population of 1,500, is in happy possession of one of the most successful of these working men's clubs. The structure in which its operations are carried on is admirably planned, containing within its area a coffee-room—which, the report of last year states, was so well patronised, that it would not have been too large if it had been three times its present size—lecture, smoking, reading, and recreation rooms. Every department of the institution pays its own way. At Tunbridge Wells the refreshment department was originally in the hands of a committee, but at the end of four years it was made over to a manager, who can now boast that the receipts for the provisions supplied have risen from £600 to £1,200 per annum. The Eastbourne Institution, which at the outset cost £3,000, and has lately been much enlarged, is in advance of most of the others in this respect—that it has dormitories attached to it. Shaftesbury Hall, Prince's-road, Notting-hill, London, has been opened about two years, its promoters being anxious to give to the working classes a public-house, *minus* intoxicating drinks. They have, therefore, so arranged it, that, in addition to the bar, where artisans can obtain all they may require in the way of refreshment, they can carry on the various organisations which are inseparably connected with their position and pursuits. Thus loan societies, benefit societies, and discussion classes are all held on the premises, being managed by the working men themselves. Lectures and entertainments are also provided, and opportunities afforded for moral and religious instruction. When first the public-house was opened, the supply of refreshments was limited to tea and coffee, but at the present time anything that is requisite for the working man in the way of food, and drinks not intoxicating, may be obtained between five in the morning and eleven at night. The catering department is under the direction of an efficient manager, who undertakes it on his own responsibility, paying a certain weekly sum for the premises. About £22 per week are received from the sale of refreshments. It was at Shaftesbury Hall that the meeting took place, and the proceedings were rendered specially interesting by the presence and speech of Mr. Corbett, whose efforts in Glasgow in providing cheap refreshment-rooms have acquired wide and deserved reputation. Mr. Corbett stated that he was

led to engage in the enterprise from the conviction that, except in places where they were exposed to the temptations incidental to drink, there were no convenient and comfortable houses of resort where the working classes could obtain cheap and wholesome food. Looking carefully at the question of provisions, he came to the conclusion that the real cost of a cup of tea, a bowl of soup, or an egg, was about ¾d. each, and thereupon determined to establish the principle of penny rations. Having taken a suitable hall in Glasgow, he fitted it up in a way that would render it attractive. No sooner was the hall thrown open, than it was found that the public would eagerly avail themselves of the advantages which it offered, and, in the course of a very short experience, it proved to be entirely self-supporting. He was desirous that it should be understood that while he had gone into the matter from philanthropic motives, he determined to carry it out upon strictly self-supporting principles. He had looked at it from first to last in a commercial light. When the working men and others entered the rooms for refreshment, they did not feel that they were the subjects of patronage, but were perfectly independent. The first hall he had opened having proved so successful, the plan was extended, and at the present time there were twenty-five of these places in full working order in the city of Glasgow. What he had done was this. Taking a map of the city, he had fixed upon the spots where he thought such establishments were most required, and then he had opened them, and the result had been that a gross profit of £10,000 or £11,000 had been obtained. The expenses of the refreshment halls were about £8,000, which gave a net profit of about £2,000 per annum, a profit as net as any obtained from any of the business transactions in which commercial men were engaged. As to the provisions supplied at the refreshment-rooms, they were of the best quality, though they were simply cooked. This latter plan was adopted, as it was thought that if the food was disguised by the artifices of cookery it might be regarded with a suspicious eye by the working classes. From a paper containing some statistics, he found that 44,800 bowls of porridge, 58,352 cups of coffee, 75,000 cups of tea, 21,594 slices of bread and butter, 27,600 eggs, 148,016 plates of beef, 225,344 plates of potatoes, 99,344 basins of soup, and 135,000 plum puddings, were consumed in the course of a month. The reasons why halls such as he had established in Glasgow were not sometimes successful were, that they were placed in the wrong localities, or were built in the wrong way. His own idea had always been to have comfortable, well-lighted, and well-ventilated rooms, about 100 feet long by 40 feet wide, lighted from the roof, and some 30 feet in height. He thought he might say of the rooms in Glasgow, that they were as well lighted, as well warmed, and as airy as any of those in which gentlemen were in the habit of taking their dinners. Referring again to the secret of the non-success of similar rooms elsewhere, Mr. Corbett expressed the belief that it arose from the want of unity of management. In order to carry out the principle properly, there should be one directing head. Where that was obtainable they would be sure to answer commercially. In his own case he had been repaid the whole of the capital he had laid out, with the exception of investments in the buildings, and had made a profit of about £7,000, which, in accordance with a resolution he had formed, he had handed over to various charitable purposes. Without entering into details, he might say that the kitchen of his establishment covered an area of a quarter of an acre in extent, and that the milk of 120 cows daily was taken for their use. There needed to be no doubt whatever that in London such rooms would prove eminently successful. The metropolis was specially fitted for such an undertaking, but it ought to be carried out in some other way than through the medium of committees, which, as a rule, were weak, and not adapted for such work. As the great difficulty in London in the way of establishing these refreshment places would be obtaining suitable halls, he would suggest that a committee should be got together for the purpose of providing these. Let the committee provide the buildings, and then let them place the refreshment department in the hands of energetic and competent managers, who would have it under their own control, and would find it to their advantage to conduct it efficiently. He specially commended this view to the attention of the

Earl of Shaftesbury, and would be delighted to find that his lordship took it up. At the conclusion of Mr. Corbett's speech, a committee such as he had suggested was appointed, the Earl of Shaftesbury expressing his full concurrence in the movement which had been the subject of consideration.—*Western Morning News.*

AN ENGLISH PHOTOGRAPH, BY AN AMERICAN.

Custom may blind the eyes and deafen the ears of Englishmen to the sights and sounds of vice among women that startle the foreigner at every turn; but this monster—Custom—is a part of the ill-treatment of Englishwomen. No man has a right to accustom himself to crime. Custom permits women to drink gin at public-houses in the most frequented streets. Custom admits women, unattended, to the upper galleries of all the theatres. Custom permits prostitutes to take entire possession of the Haymarket and its vicinity after ten o'clock at night. Custom opens dance-houses and promenade concerts for the express accommodation of prostitutes, although the authorities who license them know that they are simply places of assignation. Custom sets apart certain districts of London for the residences of lewd women. Custom keeps open night-houses, in order that prostitutes may be able to get drunk after the regular taverns have closed at midnight. Custom is responsible for all this; but Englishmen are responsible for the custom. The police and the magistrates are powerless to suppress many acknowledged haunts of vice in England, because there is no public opinion to sustain them. Nay—as public opinion cannot be neutral, it tacitly declares itself in favour of vice, and forces the police and the magistrates to aid and abet the very institutions they were created to annihilate. In other countries, crime hides itself from the eyes of the policeman, and trembles at the very name of a magistrate. In England, it puts itself under the protection of the law, and transforms the law's officials into its own agents and instruments. The police mount guard, in order that nobody may interfere with the criminal; and the magistrates actually assist him to collect his infamous dues from his victims.

Hogarth never painted, nor Dickens described, worse scenes than those enacted in the licensed night-houses. One morning, I recollect, long after the legal hour for closing the establishment, the police visited a night-house near Leicester Square. The house is arranged with a neat little shop—in which nothing is ever sold—opening on to the street. Passing through the shop, you go up-stairs, and find yourself in a small room, furnished in a light Parisian style, and with a large table in the centre. Around the table, on the night in question, were a dozen courtesans and as many of their admirers, laughing, drinking, singing, shouting, and bandying coarse jokes. A young lord, with more money than sense, was calling for bottles of 'fizz'—slang for champagne—and giving his I O U to the bar-tender for the amount. Suddenly there came a knock at the baize door, and the porter was heard to call—'Be still a moment, please, ladies; here's the police.' I happened to be waiting on the stairway for a friend, and saw the whole *modus operandi*. 'Who is it?' asked the landlord. The porter mentioned the policeman's name. 'Take him a glass of sherry; that's all right,' was the response. The fun and noise went on. Half-an-hour afterwards, there was another knock, another inquiry, another name. 'Here, Mary, you must go down to him,' said the landlord. The riot and rampage were louder than ever. Another knock: three policemen this time; the thing was growing more serious. The drinking-room was thrown open, and the three policemen marched in. The courtesans had vanished through another door, but betrayed their presence not less by their giggling and talking, than by the muffs, cloaks, and gloves they had left in the room. Their admirers were sitting quietly around the table, smoking peacefully. 'Lodgers?' asked one of the policemen.

'Certainly, sir,' replied the landlord. The women tittered loudly. 'Good night,' said the policeman, and the three guardians of the peace marched gravely away. This, drawn from life, is a night inspection by the Haymarket police in 1868. Justice is said to be blind; but are her representatives deaf as well? If so, how much did it cost to blind and deafen them?—*English Photographs by an American.* London: Tinsley Brothers.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Report by the Committee on Intemperance for the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. Printed and circulated by order of the Lower House, with copious Appendix. London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer.

This is by far the most valuable Report on Intemperance that has appeared for many years. In some respects its importance is unique. Considering its source,—the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury,—and the class of readers to whom it especially appeals, it is the first and only thing of its kind. And apart from its origin and destination, it is replete with the results of a most thorough examination by circular, of witnesses, including not only the parochial clergy of the province, but also the judges, police magistrates, recorders, and coroners of England and Wales, the superintendents of lunatic asylums, the governors and chaplains of prisons, heads of the constabulary throughout Great Britain, and the masters of workhouses throughout England and Wales; from all of which classes copious answers to questions have been returned, showing the extent, causes, results, and desired remedies of intemperance. Of these answers abundant selections have been made, and are printed in the appendix to the Report; they present, we are assured, a fair and impartial sample of the whole, afforded by witnesses entitled to be heard on the subject, with which from their respective positions they must be necessarily so fully acquainted as to give authority to their statements.

It is impossible in a brief notice to give any adequate notion of the varied contents of this most instructive and invaluable volume. In a subsequent number of *Meliora*, we shall supply copious details drawn from this source; at present we can only indicate the course taken by the inquiry as developed in this Report and Appendix. Of the age at which intemperance begins, we have the evidence of clergymen and governors of workhouses; of the beer-shops as causing intemperance, that of clergy, chief constables and superintendents of police, governors of workhouses, and coroners; of the causative action of all public facilities for drinking, that of clergy, governors and chaplains of prisons, chief constables and superintendents of police, an asylum superintendent, and governors of workhouses; of samples of disproportion of public-houses, etc., to population, that of clergy, recorders, chief constables and superintendents of police; of the evil of paying wages at public-houses, that of clergy and a workhouse chaplain; of the part payment of wages in drink, that of clergy, coroner, landowner, and governors of workhouses; of the meeting of clubs at public-houses, that of clergy, recorder, superintendent of asylum, and governors of workhouses; and of statutes, mops, etc., that of clergy, chief constables and superintendents of police, and governors of workhouses. Further on, clergy, coroners, and recorder give testimony on the adulteration of liquor; clergy on police corruption; clergy and governor of workhouse on the effect of intemperance on the work of the Church; judges, magistrates, recorders, clergy, governors of workhouses, governors and chaplains of prisons, and chief constables and superintendents of police on intemperance and crime; clergy, superintendents of asylums, and coroners on disease, lunacy, and sacrifice of life; clergy, superintendents of asylums,

and governors of workhouses on the unwise prescription of alcohol as medicine; governors and chaplains of prisons and workhouses on the benefit of withdrawing intoxicating liquors; and Sir C. Trevelyan and Sir John Bowring on the obstruction to the gospel by intemperance. Besides all this evidence, we have more by clergy, recorders, magistrates, coroners, superintendents of asylums, governors of workhouses and prisons, chief constables and superintendents of police on general and particular remedies for intemperance, including asylums for inebriates, cottage allotments, coffee rooms, penny readings, improved dwellings, education, special teaching of laws of health, training of females in domestic duties, temperance societies, bands of hope and total abstinence, Sunday closing, early closing, reduction in number of public-houses, change of licensing authority, enforcement of penalties, special inspection, and detection of adulteration, *popular restraint on the issue of licenses, and good effects of having no public-house or beershop.* Lastly, there is given a list of parishes in the province of Canterbury in which no public-house or beershop exists;—a list, we must say, of surprising length. The whole of the evidence thus given in a volume of 238 pages is carefully and methodically arranged; and it is preceded by the report of the Committee of Convocation, which, under the able and most laborious, arduous, and self-denying chairmanship of the Ven. Archdeacon Sandford, undertook, carried out, and now causes to be published the results of this remarkable and most instructive inquiry.

A Narrative of the Cruelties Inflicted upon Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting during the Years 1861 *to* 1865, *in consequence of their Faithfulness to the Christian view of the Unlawfulness of War.* Published by order of the Representatives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. With a few Introductory Remarks by Joseph Crosfield. London: Edward Newman, 9, Devonshire-street, Bishopsgate.

THAT the days of heroism are not all gone by; that fidelity to what is believed to be Christian principle can still stiffen the back, nerve the breast to bear, and defy all the tortures that can be inflicted, the pamphlet before us gives abundant proof, if proof is required. It shows, too, that the Society of Friends still remains true to its ancient testimony concerning the unlawfulness of war. It is a lovely doctrine,—this of non-resistance to evil,—if we did but live in a world where it could be consistently adopted. But, in principle, international war and civil war are the same; and (leaving war international out of the reckoning) how we are to exist in this world without civil war we hold to be an unsolved problem. The whole difficulty would be abolished, if murderers, burglars, and all other workers of criminal iniquity, would but respect the peace principle, and have some regard for the welfare of society. This, however, they decline to do; hence the necessity for a police force. Now there are two things to be remarked in a police force;—first, the police; and second, the force. If we could have the police without the force, the peace-principle, in civil life, could be established; but as the force is indispensable, and the police, in the last resort, would be useless without it, the peace-principle goes to the wall. For force—disguise it by what name we may—means war, and nothing short of it. The policeman implies the truncheon, and if one policeman and one truncheon be not sufficient, then two, a dozen, or a score; and if these fail, then must come in the red-coated policeman, the man of the rifle, the bayonet, and the sword. The soldier being thus, in fact, a policeman; and the policeman being in his turn a soldier in a blue coat, and his function that of waging war against the disturbers and enemies of civil society,—as that of the soldier, rightly considered, is to take into custody or to put in a place or state of safety to society the international foes of moral law and order, where is the consistency of renouncing the red coat whilst accepting the blue? Admit that the magistrate is not to use the sword under any circumstances, then, indeed, the peace-principle is saved, but at the expense of the very existence of society. Allow that the magistrate doth not and ought not to wear the sword in vain, and what becomes of the peace-principle? If it be lawful to use whatever force is necessary to fend off a murderer from one's wife or family, it cannot

be unlawful to use whatever force may be necessary to keep off a thousand or a hundred thousand. In both cases the principle is the same. He, therefore, who holds that war is unlawful, must show how civil society is possible without a police force; how harmless people can escape slavery or worse, whilst murderers, depredators, and evil-doers of all kinds are allowed to work their will with impunity. And the Christian who believes that civil society without police protection, or in principle what amounts to it, is impossible, must conclude, of course, that whatever be the precepts of Christ which in their literal sense appear to prescribe entire non-resistance, this, at any rate, must be an exaggeration of their real meaning. To the good people of whom the pamphlet before us speaks, no such consideration would appear to have presented itself. 'The Christian view of the unlawfulness of war' has been taken for granted; and what has remained, of course, has simply been, to carry it out in all honesty and fidelity. And for this we pay the honour that honesty and fidelity to principle must always receive, even when these are to some extent combined with inadequacy of observation and reflection. The peace-principle is in itself so lovely,—it brings with it such airs from heaven,—it breathes so consentaneously with all that is most saintly and angelical, that we cannot withhold from it our admiration and reverence, whilst we sigh to know that in this world at present it is not entirely and consistently practical. Towards its full realisation all true civilisation must constantly be tending. May the time speedily come when it will be susceptible of a much more thorough embodiment in institutions and customs than, unhappily, it is now.

Apart from the peace-principle, much respect is due to the assertion of the right to choose one's side in a war, and again, of the right to be consulted as to whether one will or will not devote one's self to the occupation of a soldier on either side. In times of supreme need, authorities assume the right to press all men into the service; and if a man chooses to stand on his individual right to decide whether or not he will apply his energies in soldiering, and is willing to abide by all the consequences of his decision, we may both admire his courage and respect his principle of inaction. From this point of view, the resistance so stoutly and bravely offered to enlistment by the 'Friends' in the Southern States during the late civil war, may be rejoiced in by many who fail to see the practicability of the full peace-principle. And although the narratives given in the pamphlet before us are inartistically and baldly framed, they suffice to enable us to discern the existence and ability of a heroism in many cases that really deserves to be called magnificent.

In his introductory remarks, Joseph Crosfield observes that 'since the rebellion in Ireland there has been nothing which can be compared to the faithfulness of these Friends in the Southern States. In Germany some of the Friends have undergone severe personal suffering, and in Norway also several young men have been repeatedly imprisoned because they would not violate their consciences by taking up arms; but the state of things revealed to us in this narrative is on a larger scale, and shows a whole community firmly yet meekly resisting what they felt to be unlawful for them as Christian men to comply with, and patiently abiding the consequences.'

Our readers will like to see the following extracts from this very interesting 'Narrative:'—

'In the spring of 1865 about forty men professing to be in search of conscripts, came to a mill belonging to J. D., of Cane Creek, Chatham Co. The miller was first hung up by a rope three times to force him to betray his sons, who were hidden. Upon hearing the screams of the miller's wife and children, J. D. went out to the crowd. The same information was demanded of him, but he assured them of his entire ignorance as to their retreat. He was at once seized and carried into the barn. A rope was tied around his neck, and thrown over a beam, while he was mounted upon a box. Then, beginning to tighten the rope, they said, "You are a Quaker, and your people, by refusing to fight and keeping so many out of the army, have caused the defeat of the South," adding, that if he had any prayers to offer, he must be quick, as he had only five minutes to live. J. D. only replied that he was innocent, and could adopt the language, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." They then said they would not

hang him just then, but proceeded to rob him; then ordered him under a horse-trough, threatening to shoot him if he looked up. While lying there he could hear them hanging up the miller three different times till the sound of strangling began. After finally extorting a promise from him to find his sons they left, charging J. D. to lie still till they came back with some others to hang. They did not return, however, but went on to one of his Methodist neighbours, whom they hung until unconscious, and then left him in that state; and the next night they found one of the missing conscripts, whom they hung until dead. Such were the persecutions at the hands of violent men, of which many instances could be given.'

'J. G., of —— Co., was conscripted in the autumn of 1862. About two months before this his fear of the coming evil was so great that he left his home and family, and escaped to Tennessee. But finding that the step did not result in peace of mind, he returned and quietly awaited the result. In about two weeks he was arrested and carried to Camp Holmes. In a few days the conscripts were all summoned and offered bounty money if they would now volunteer. J. G. and two others refused the offer. An attempt was next made to entrap them by giving them a paper to sign, without which they were assured they could have neither money nor clothing. They were adroitly told of the great need they might soon have of the latter, or if not needing it themselves, of the good they might do in giving it to the needy. These offers were steadily refused, and the wily arguments met by the open assertion that "all war was opposed to the whole spirit and teachings of the Gospel and the mission of the Christian. His weapons, they said, were not to be carnal but spiritual." Bundles of clothing were, however, soon tossed to them, with many offensive epithets, and they were now told that they must either obey orders or be shot; and that if they did not fire when in battle the men behind were ordered to shoot them. J. G. replied, "You have me here, and may inflict on me any punishment you will; but I cannot do more than submit to what you inflict. My hands are clean of the blood of men, and I intend *to* keep them so, cost what it may."

'An attempt was then made to force the bounty money upon them, but in vain. One of the officers now came forward and said, "Boys, I want to give you some good advice. Take your clothing and money and go along. Obey your officers and do right, or else you will be put under sharp officers of Col. S., who will have you shot into strings if you don't obey. Just put away your Quaker notions now and do right. What regiment will you be sent to?" Refusing to commit himself by any choice, he was ordered to Richmond, Va.; but while on his way he, with several others, was released through the efforts of Friends, and the payment of the five hundred dollars required.'

'S. F., who had become a member with us after the passage of the Exemption Act, and could not avail himself of it, was arrested in the Twelfth Month, 1864, and taken to Salisbury. On refusing to take a gun he was subjected for two hours to the brutal punishment known as bucking, in which the person is placed in a stooping position, the wrists firmly tied and brought in front of the knees, with a pole thrust between the elbows and the knees, thus keeping the body in a painful and totally helpless position. After this he is made to carry a pole for two or three hours, and then tied during the night. The next morning he was tied up by the hands for two hours. The same afternoon a gun was tied to his right arm and a piece of timber to his neck. Unable longer to endure the weight of it, he sat down in order to support the end of it upon the ground, when he was pierced by a bayonet. They then bucked him down again, and gagged him with a bayonet for the remainder of the day. Enraged at the meekness with which these cruelties and indignities were borne, the captain began to swear at him, telling him it was useless to contend further; he must now take a gun or die. As the captain proceeded to tie the gun upon his arm, S. F. answered quietly, "If it is thy duty to inflict this punishment upon me do it cheerfully—don't get angry about it." The captain then left him, saying to his men, "If any of *you* can make him fight, do it—I cannot." Two young men now appeared with their guns, telling him they were going to take him off and shoot him. "It is the Sabbath," he replied, "and as good a day to die

as any." They, however, took him to the colonel of the regiment, who, more inclined to mercy, advised him to consult a lawyer and procure exemption, if possible, but assured him that if not so released he must take his gun or die. Two days after his gun was tied to his arm with great severity, and a strap passed around his neck, by which he was dragged around nearly the entire day. The next day the bucking was resorted to. A Friend, who visited the camp at this time, remonstrating against such cruelty, it was given up, though he was still retained as a prisoner till the surrender of Salisbury, not long after, restored him to his family.'

'S. W. L., of Randolph Co., N.C., was another of the number who proved faithful unto death. He had been a member of our religious society but a few months when he was arrested as a conscript and sent to the camp near Petersburgh, Va. Upon his arrival he was ordered to take up arms. This he refused to do, and as a punishment was kept from sleep for thirty-six hours. As this did not move him, for about a week after he was daily bucked down for some length of time, and then suspended by the thumbs for an hour and a half. Being still firm in his refusal to fight, he was court-martialed and ordered to be shot. A little scaffold was prepared, on which he was placed, and the men were drawn up in line ready to execute the sentence, when he prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Upon hearing this they lowered their guns, and he was thrust into prison. Not long after he was sent to Winder Hospital, at Richmond, Va., where, after a long and suffering illness, the end came in his peaceful release for a mansion in heaven. A few lines from an officer in the regiment to which he had been assigned closed the suspense of an afflicted family, when his widow and his seven children were left with little other legacy than the like precious faith. "It is my painful duty to inform you that S. W. L. died in Winder Hospital, at Richmond, on the 8th of December, 1864. He died, as he had lived, a true, humble, and devoted Christian, true to his faith and religion. . . . . We pitied him and sympathised with him; . . . . but he is rewarded for his fidelity and is at rest."'

The Laws of Vital Force in Health and Disease; or, the True Basis of Medical Science. By E. Haughton, A.B., M.D., M.R.C.S.E., &c. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged, pp. 88. London: John Churchill and Sons, New Burlington-street.

THE author has collected, revised, and re-published, in this little volume, several articles that have formed part of The London Medical Review, The Journal of Health, or The Medical Mirror, and to these has added other material, all tending to explain and illustrate what he deems to have been when he first stated it, a new theory of medicinal action. He holds, firstly, that the nervous system is the chief agent in the production and cure of diseases. He next enunciates the dictum that health is three-fold in its essential characteristics, and that hence disease is so likewise; consequently, that every form of morbid action is referable to one single type. He names, as the primary essentials of health, 'sufficiency of working power,' 'regularity in the rate of its evolution,' and 'proportionate distribution of the same to the various organs of the body.' On the other hand, disease consists in aberration from this condition of the vital force, either in respect of quantity, proportion, or time, thus giving rise to 'diminished vitality,' 'disturbed nervous equilibrium,' and 'functional irregularity,' and originating all these whenever there is any departure from the healthy standard in any one respect. The chief efforts of the physician should in every case, he says, be directed to increase general vitality, to restore nervous equilibrium, and to regulate periodic action. Such are the cardinal points of the author's theory, and to these he adds some very sensible accessories; as, that the enormous value of hygeine should be more fully insisted on than has hitherto been usual; that constant and needless interference with nature is adverse to recovery and cannot be too much deprecated, as tending to defraud the patient and degrade the physician; that no class of remedies should be neglected for which there is the testimony of educated and intelligent observers, but that each practitioner should be left free to use whatever means he may judge most fit. How far the author's theory (that the

whole art of curing diseases consists in increasing the working power of the human machine, and restoring the equality and regularity of its action) is what it appears at first sight,—nothing more than a somewhat vague and unfruitful generalisation, having no visibly useful bearing on medical practice, we must leave the medical profession now or hereafter to decide. We are glad to find the author affirming that 'whilst alcohol, when given as a palliative, acts isopathically in *delirium tremens*, antipathically in exhaustion, and allopathically in dyspepsia' [always supposing these three statements to be strictly correct], yet that none of these actions represent any increase of vital power. With regard to the action of alcohol in cases of exhaustion, he observes that 'it is true we may rouse the powers which exist in the body by alcoholic stimulation, but every sign of life which is thus elicited leaves in the body just so much less vitality than it had before, unless advantage is taken of the temporarily-increased evolution of vital force by the application of other remedies, or the alteration of surrounding conditions.'

Minnie's Mission: An Australian Temperance Tale. By Maud Jean Franc. Pp. 296. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, Crown Buildings, 188, Fleet-street.

So long as intemperance continues to desolate families, so long will temperance tales continue to be written, and have a claim to be circulated and read. Whether the supply is in excess of the demand, as tested by the booksellers' balance sheets, we cannot authoritatively state; but it appears to be a perpetually increasing quantity, and this indicates at least that an ever-increasing number of thoughtful minds are being impressed afresh with the evils of strong drink, and are desirous to contribute their earnest contingents to the great army of suasion. The writer of 'Minnie's Mission' is a lady who appears to have lived for some years in Australia, and to have become profoundly touched by the miseries superinduced by drinking customs on colonial life. And she has written this volume in order to reveal those miseries, and to show, first, what needs to be attempted, and, second, what may be accomplished, by all who agree with her in deploring their existence.

Minnie is a young immigrant who in the course of events is consigned to Australia, and being adopted cordially into the family of an uncle near Adelaide, finds and accepts a temperance mission amongst them, full of difficulty in the outset, but ending at last in a complete success, making itself evident just when a sudden attack of disease carries off the amiable and faithful missionary. The story is simply told, without any great display of literary skill, but in an earnest and thoroughly Christian spirit, and will make itself acceptable to all who love this qualification. Glimpses of Australian scenery and life give a pleasant local colouring to the tale. The volume is neatly printed on good paper and handsomely bound in cloth.

The Hydropathic Record and Medical Free Press; Devoted to the Advocacy of Hydropathy, Hygeine, and Neurotherapeia. Malvern: *Advertiser* Office. London: Heywood and Co., Strand.

Several numbers of this new medical journal have been forwarded to us. In that for May, we find an article on the Permissive Bill. 'There can no longer be any doubt,' the author says, 'that the United Kingdom Alliance is a power in the country, which our whisky-drinking and beer-manufacturing senators would do well to pay attention to. All that is asked is that one neighbourhood shall not have the power of forcing intemperance upon another—a request so reasonable that we cannot for a moment contemplate its final rejection by the representatives of the nation. It would be just as easy to stop the advance of the tide as to prevent this measure, or some modification of it, from becoming the law of the land. We have but little sympathy with those who would not sacrifice some social enjoyment to promote such an object; but, in good truth, there is no sacrifice in the matter. After this measure passes, many a family, which was always in pecuniary difficulties, will taste the blessings of independence. Many a home, which insanity, vice, or shame used to darken, will be full of joyous faces, and brightened with the light of heavenly truth, before unheeded; whilst there is no individual in the community who will not be a gainer by the almost total absence of street brawls and of the disgusting

and blasphemous language which, under the present system, one cannot help hearing shouted aloud in the public thoroughfares of almost every great centre of civilisation.

'Oh! sisters and brothers dear:
Oh! husbands, and mothers, and wives,
It is not right to call "good cheer,"
What costs eternal lives!

To make a long argument short, the Permissive Bill will not diminish liberty in any locality which has not felt and pronounced it to be urgently necessary; nor will the people of any neighbourhood desire to perpetuate its operation, when the conditions which called for it have finally passed away.'

Bible Exercises for the Family Reading, for the Cottage Meeting, and the Temperance Bible Class. By Mrs. Lucas-Shadwell. London: W. Tweedie, 337, Strand.

The publisher, in his advertisement to the work, remarks that he feels assured that it will be a great help to many who are engaged in leading members of Temperance Societies to a fuller knowledge of the Scriptures, and that it will be found equally effective, as well as interesting and instructive, for fireside readings, especially on Sunday evenings, when the family meets for social intercourse. The publisher's remark is not without justification. The notes have small pretensions to originality; they assume to be scarcely more than compilations and adaptations from valuable works on Scripture, gathered up with the simple object of giving all the information within the author's reach to the class of working men and women whom she has taught weekly for some years past. But she has consulted some good authorities in popular literature in selecting her materials, and has thrown much earnestness into her treatment of the subject of the volume, which is, 'The Wanderings of the Israelites, a Type of the Christian's Pilgrimage to the Heavenly Canaan.'

Poems. By A. E. Hawkins. Pp. 250. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.

These poems are evidently the outcome of a good and gentle spirit that feels healthily, thinks justly, and sings with ease. We have not found in them anything that is very original in its form or manner, or that burns itself in upon the mind of the reader with its fire. If none but first-class poetry should be printed, these poems have no claim to that distinction; but there are large circles of readers who take pleasure in verse of no higher rank than that of such as abounds in this volume.

Essays, Sketches, and Poems. By Andrew Wallace. Pp. 198. London: Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row.

'The Old Apothecary Hall, a Story,' 'Complaint of the Poor,' 'Monkton Castle,' 'Life on the Railway,' 'The Sea Storm,' and 'A Run into the Highlands,' are the principal sketches in Mr. Wallace's volume, and reveal his possession of some pleasing descriptive power. Amongst the smaller essays are one on Total Abstinence, and another on the Permissive Bill, and these enable us to congratulate the author on his clear insight into some of the urgent necessities of the age. A tone of quiet good sense is everywhere observable in his writing; and most of the sketches, and some poetical pieces which occur here and there in the volume, give evidence of his devotion to evangelical Christian doctrine and sentiment.

The Scattered Nation. A Monthly Magazine. Edited by C. Schwartz, D.D. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The editor of this magazine is a Hebrew Christian, and his desire in carrying it on is especially to be made useful to his Jewish brethren in helping to convince them that the Messiah has come. The number for May contains part of a tale of Jewish life in the time of our Lord, by the Rev. Dr. Edersheim, of Torquay; portion of a brief introduction to the study of the Books of Daniel and the Apocalypse; an article showing that the Saints of all ages are fellow-heirs; critical notices of Jewish sermons; an account of Hebrew Christians in Spain; the continuation of an article on Israel's present position and significance in the history of the world, and of a treatise on the fundamental principles of modern Judaism; and sundry other matter interesting to readers of the class for whom the magazine is designed.

Old Jonathan; the District and Parish Helper. London: W. H. Collingridge, Aldersgate-street.

In its new shape, 'Old Jonathan' has a very much improved appearance, and must be still more acceptable as a gift, and more likely to please as a purchase, than in its former somewhat awkward shape and size. The publisher, Mr. W. H. Collingridge, of the *City Press*, 117 to 120, Aldersgate-street, has taken into partnership his brother, Mr. Leonard Collingridge, who for many years has filled a position of confidence with him. The business will in future be carried on under the title of W. H. and L. Collingridge.

Topics for Teachers: A New Work for Ministers, Sunday-school Teachers, and others, on an entirely Original Plan. By James Cooper Gray, Halifax, author of 'The Class and the Desk.' London: Elliot Stock.

The monthly numbers recently issued continue to give copious and well-arranged information about countries, natural objects, and persons mentioned in the Bible. The illustrations on wood and the coloured maps add much to the usefulness of the work, which, as it advances, proves itself to be one of great value to Sunday-school teachers and other Bible students. The ninth part, now out, concludes the first volume.

Tracts of the Weekly Tract Society for the Religious Instruction of the Labouring Classes. 62, Paternoster Row, London.

These tracts are printed in very large clear type, and having a little attempt at ornament at the top of the first page, are rather more attractive at first sight than tracts are wont to be. As they are almost all written in narrative form, with persons and conversations introduced, they will be more easily read, and are more likely to be read through, than compositions in more didactic style. They are very well adapted for perusal by the less intelligent of the members of the labouring classes.

The Hive: A Store-house of Material for Working Sunday-school Teachers. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

An admirable help for the Sunday-school teacher. It has now reached its 18th number, and appears in monthly pennyworths, which are worth much more than the money charged for them.

The 'Neal Dow' Melody Book: A Collection of Temperance Hymns and Songs, with a number of Popular Tunes printed in the Tonic Sol-Fa Notation. By William Burgess. Glasgow: 30, Hope-street. Manchester: Tubbs and Brook.

A selection of forty-eight good average temperance songs and eighteen hymns, with music, as specified in the title.

National Education from a Temperance Standpoint. A Lecture, by W. R. D. Gilbert, of Plymouth. Plymouth: William Brendon and Son.

A very valuable tract,—well conceived, and no less well written. We strongly recommend it.

Self-Culture and Self-Reliance Under God the Means of Self-Elevation. By William Unsworth. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

Full of good stimulative advice for working men.

The Appeal: A Magazine for the People. Price One Halfpenny. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Church. A Monthly Magazine. Price One Penny. London: Elliot Stock.

The Devon and Cornwall Temperance Journal, Advocate of the Permissive Bill, and Organ of the Devon and Cornwall Temperance League.

Meliora.

CIVILIZATION AND HEALTH.

1. *A Physician's Problems.* By Charles Elam, M.D., M.R.C.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

2. *The Fortnightly Review,* August 1st, 1869. Art. II. Influence of Civilization on Health. By John Henry Bridges.

3. *Macmillan's Magazine,* August. Art. I. Roman Imperialism. II. The Fall of the Roman Empire.

EVERYBODY believes in civilization, with a credulity that is quite marvellous, considering how few ever seriously inquire what it means, whence it arises, and whither it tends. It is one of those terms that conveniently describe anything, from a new patent to the opening up of a new region to trade, or a new kingdom to thought. We positively toy with the word, as if it expressed all the potentialities of humanity, and so willingly pardon anybody who uses it that Buckle writes a History of Civilization in England without ever staying to define what he meant by the term, and it does not strike us as being at all strange. It is true we can gather from his work what he would have us mean by it, namely, the decay of superstition, the increase of useful knowledge, and the growth of general conception of life and of the universe. But such definitions are inadequate. They leave out of view those aggregations of the social body which reveal tendencies as plainly as anything else. A nomad might be free from superstition, wonderfully wise, and possessed with a grand notion of what Fichte calls the divine idea of the universe, but he would be a nomad still, a splendid barbarian, it might be, but not a civilized being. We find the same haze about the consciously ambitious definitions of others. Civil-

ization is the manhood of the race, says one; when men are quick of thought, strong of will, pregnant with invention, and prone to induction. But at no time is it a fixed quantity; it shifts its basis and has its periods of efflorescence and decay. It is despotic and material in Egypt, religious in Palestine, intellectual in Greece, legal and administrative in the Roman empire, agricultural in India, industrial in Great Britain and North America. 'I believe with you,' writes Dr. Arnold to the Archbishop of Dublin, 'that *savages* could never civilize themselves, but barbarians I think might.' Here, again, civilization is the resultant progress of outside forces acting upon inside qualities, or, in other words, the development of natural capacities. What, then, is the true state of nature, if, indeed, such a condition can be admitted? A simple pastoral life, patriarchal, romantic, and tribal. But is the opposite of this necessarily a civilized state? A nation of sea-kings would not answer to any of these simple conditions, and might yet be uncivilized, shedding blood freely, rioting in rude health, and with fuller conceptions of natural forces, of earths, and metals, and shipbuilding, and other arts. Civilization, observes another, taking a more modern estimate, is the conquest of mind over matter. Granted. The old Prometheus brought fire from heaven, and was chained to an incombustible rock for his pains; the new Prometheus chains the fire, sublimes the rock, and moves freely through space, speaking his thought along the bed of the sea. But this conquest alone is not civilization. A German prince, travelling in this country, saw a stonebreaker by the wayside, and observed, 'He is a true conqueror; he rises on the ruins he makes.' Does merely material progress produce this effect upon man? We doubt it. The domination of the sensible is of itself a species of grandeur, but it does not express all we mean when we use the word civilization. Nor, if we alter the term, and speak of intellectual progress, do we exhaust its whole meaning. It is moral, as well as intellectual and material, or it hardly deserves to be honoured. Unless our moral acquisitions keep pace with industrial and scientific progress, we are so much the less civilized. Our sympathies ought to be wider, our wills stronger, our morality higher and clearer, or it is of little use that we know more, can reason better, and talk fluently about the law of continuity and the variegated woof of things. Thus all definitions are faulty. Civilization varies like colour, but like light it is a compound, and history is its re-distributing prism. It is not what we can do, but what we are, what we feel and not what we possess, the character of the individual as well as the magnitude

of the nation, the sweep of the mind as well as the greatness of its visible results, the sensitiveness of the moral power as well as the freedom or completeness of our ecclesiasticism, that constitute civilization. It is of no use pointing to imports and exports if the people are miserable, to giant mechanisms if our minds are mean and shrivelled, to great cities if they only serve to breed disease and sin, or to our marvellous acquaintance with the constitution of the sun if we are ignorant of the common laws of life, and legislate as blindly as the despots and Parliaments of the dark ages.

We have pressed home these few obvious considerations, because we cannot fail to discern that a readiness to sing pæans to civilization on every fitting or unfitting occasion is working disastrous results, vitiating our imaginations, and withdrawing our attention from problems that we ought to face and solve, ere their self-solution brings confusion and dismay. We have previously dealt with certain political aspects of the question,* and we now propose to glance at some of the physical ones. A true civilization should bring all a man's powers, or a nation's powers, to the same high level. The industrial ought not to debase the intellectual, nor the moral the physical, nor the social the individual. There ought to be no combination of good architecture and bad masonry. Life ought to have some rhythm and proportion, and we ought to keep watch and ward on every known evil and possible source of imperfection. It is of little use perpetually making inductions that satisfy our vanity, unless we turn elsewhere and reason freely about those that should deepen our humiliation. We can do the first any day of our lives, amidst the shows and panoramas of things visible and tangible; but we less frequently see the shadows, the dark lines of the spectrum, the high price we pay for our external progress. The traveller, who mounts a pyramid, does not think of the numberless human beings that perished in the work of its construction, any more than the open-mouthed rustic, bewildered by the bustle and magnitude of modern city life, busies himself with speculations as to the tendencies behind all he sees, and the vast waste-heaps, or kitchen-middens, that our civilization offers to the exploration of the curious and the philosophic. We are proud to call our progress a conquest, and point to the decay of plagues, of barbarisms, of famines, and of cruel struggles for existence, temporary supremacy, or the raw materials of commerce. But there is the abyss on the other side; there are new diseases,

* "The Limits of State Action."—*Meliora*, No. 44.

degenerations, new crimes, neglected laws, early deaths, insanities moral and material, and the fierce race and rush of things, bearing down the noble and the brave, the pure, the good, and the true. Suppose an intelligent nomad amongst us, civilised in mind, beyond us in the range and sweep of his physical knowledge, or at any rate capable of putting it to more heroic practical service. What would he think of us? We may crush it down into a sentence, 'Surely these people are mad!' He would say we were wise enough to know how much air an adult ought to consume in the twenty-four hours, yet cramped him in workshops, and rooms, and narrow streets, so that he could not possibly get it, or, if he managed to get it, only in a smoke-contaminated condition. He would remark that we knew the importance of water, yet polluted our rivers by sewage or manufacturing refuse; could tell precisely how much food was necessary to support life, and yet paid small heed to its purity or its goodness; believed in virtue, yet cared more for convicted vice, bodily, than for struggling honesty; understood the physical harmony of the body, taught its principles of action in our special schools, yet allowed one part of our system to bear all the strain, and brought up our youths in ignorance of the mischief such a course of action inevitably produced; gloried in the progress of our large towns, and the low death-averages of most of them, without understanding the real agents, their possible failure in the future, and the steps necessary to raise the health of the town-bred, as well as preserve the character of the reserves upon which we are so constantly and insensibly drawing; deprecated infanticide, yet made no effort to diminish the terrible mortality amongst the children of our thickly-populated districts; and preached the sanctity of life, whilst we increased its anguish by our competitions, diminished its vigour by our luxuries, excused its lassitude by our inventions, heightened its sensibility by our cultivation, and shortened its duration by our compression.

So heavy an indictment would not be absolutely true, and yet it would be justifiable to make it, seeing that we are at present more amusing ourselves with palliatives than with actual remedies, and painfully yield attention to all who seek to startle us from our somnolency. In many directions we are astir, wisely resolving to combat with the dangers that beset us; but our efforts are without system, we theorise where we ought to act, and whoever would proclaim a crusade is deemed an alarmist, and finds himself in rude collision with public bodies, vested interests, and defiant ignorance. The medical men of our large towns could tell us much had they

time, but they devote themselves steadily to abating the effects of evil rather than removing their causes, and as yet there is no professional chair devoted to public hygiene to give them the necessary stimulus in their early student life. Thus the large field of social and sanitary science is irregularly worked, and the toil is of the most thankless character. Reformers are never so much esteemed as discoverers; they irritate men's minds, and do not feed their vanity or lull their consciences. Social science for the million is laughed at by cultivated persons who would die of *ennui* without a summer health-tour, break down in their duties continually without a private physician's advice, and perish in a year in one of their workmen's cottages or labourer's abodes. They will flock in crowds to hear speculations about flint-weapon-men, glacial epochs, or the wandering of Sirius; but discuss sewage, physical education, agricultural labourers, compulsory sanitary enactments, or the alarming growth of cities and towns, and they cease to be interested, or pronounce them vulgar, or get into a passion, or become arrant sceptics, or endeavour to discomfit an opponent by a joke and annihilate him with a maxim. This neglect or distaste can be measured in another way. Compare the number and position of serials dealing specially with these questions with those devoted to simple amusement or the furtherance of class interests, or the relative proportions of physical and general subjects discussed in ordinary 'heavy' periodicals, or in Parliament.

Let us, however, deal for a time with a real problem, and do our best to divert attention from other subjects to one that is of vital concern for us all. We refer to the growth of our large towns, and the manner in which they are affecting the national health and character. The subject is an old one, ever recurring, and yet almost inexhaustible. We live in an age of great cities and towns. The stream of population sets in toward them from all points of a wide circumference, and year by year they go on increasing in bulk and numbers. Streets are added, green fields disappear, and the mighty mass moves outward, with far-reaching *antennæ*, as though it possessed a consciously conquering spirit. The new comers are mostly from the agricultural districts, attracted by the promise of higher wages, more regular employment, and a gayer, brisker life. The greater proportion of them are young men and women, or newly-married persons with small families, who have acquired a good stock of health elsewhere. We may quote here to advantage one of the parallelisms drawn by Mr. Herbert Spencer in his clever but somewhat fantastic essay, 'The Social Organism,' because it illustrates the influx just

spoken of, though more intended to show the character of commercial movements:—

'In the lowest societies, as in the lowest creatures, the distribution of crude nutriment is by slow gurgitations and regurgitations. In creatures that have rude vascular systems, as in societies that are beginning to have roads and some transfer of commodities along them, there is no regular circulation in definite courses; but instead, periodical changes of the currents—now towards this point, and now towards that. Through each part of an inferior mollusk's body the blood flows for a while in one direction, then stops and flows in the opposite direction; just as through a rudely organized society the distribution of merchandise is slowly carried on by great fairs, occurring in different localities, to and from which the currents periodically set. Only animals of tolerably complete organizations, like advanced communities, are permeated by constant currents that are definitely directed. In living bodies, the local and variable currents disappear when there grow up great centres of circulation, generating more powerful currents, by a rhythm which ends in a quick, regular pulsation. And when in social bodies there arise great centres of commercial activity, producing and exchanging large quantities of commodities, the rapid and continuous streams drawn in and emitted by these centres, subdue all minor and local circulations: the slow rhythm of fairs merges into the faster one of weekly markets, and in the chief centres of distribution, weekly markets merge into daily markets; while in place of the languid transfer from place to place, taking place at first weekly, then twice or thrice a week, we by and by get daily transfer, and finally transfer many times a day—the original sluggish, irregular rhythm becomes a rapid, equable pulse.'

Something very much resembling this is constantly going on about our large centres. They draw to them, as we have said, constant supplies of men and women from the surrounding districts. The tendency of population everywhere in a healthy community, not devastated by war or averse from marriage, is to go on rapidly increasing; but the natural rate of increase itself will not explain the growth of English towns, and those who have watched the history of any one place for twenty years or so, will readily admit the influx in question. Where a new branch of manufacture springs up, or starts into rapid development and prosperity, this immigration can be seen and felt. Where it simply draws from other small towns, the effect is seen very speedily in diminished stature and in remarkable precocity. The result of the ordinary agricultural, or, as in the case of London, picked general, immigration is twofold,—the death-rate is reduced, on the one hand, and the new comers plunge, with a temporary impunity, into all the gaieties and dissipation provided for a hard-worked population, on the other. Life, social, commercial, intellectual, is busier, and presses more heavily in these great centres. With the mass there is either no time or no disposition for refining pursuits, and their only relief to a wearying repetition of crowded hours is a round of fierce dissipation, in which all persons are agreed in admitting the immigrant stands unrivalled. The general results of this city life, tempered though it may be by healthful relaxation,

are well known. The body rounds earlier, or wastes earlier, the complexion becomes sallow, or ashy pale, and the general motions of the body are quick and impulsive. Few things betray habitat more than gait and the poise of the head; it takes a rustic recruit months and months of drill to walk with his legs instead of lifting them up as though the spring had fixed itself in its back; and, when he has learnt to walk well, he lets out the secret of his origin elsewhere. The nervous system grows in power and irritability, and hence physical endurance, such as pure and continued muscular exertion entails, is lessened, but for short periods is increased, whilst the brain can bear a tension that would drive a plain rustic mad. Narcotic stimulants too often follow and increase this irritability, and the increase does not tend towards real power.

But this is by no means all. Some of our large towns have sprung up on healthy sites, and others on unhealthy ones, and the manufactures carried on in them are frequently unhealthy, bring the sexes together earlier than would otherwise be the case, and with good wages lead to early marriages and feeble offspring. The open spaces in our large towns are few, the atmosphere is full of unconsumed carbon and noxious gases given off from coal and in manufactures, the water supply can no longer be taken from the springs with impunity, and in a hundred other directions new evils arise. When infectious diseases make their appearance, even ordinary infantile affections, they rage with virulence in the crowded parts. The food supplies have also to be carefully watched, or human cupidity will take advantage of common ignorance. The interment of the dead, the cartage of refuse, the removal of manures, the outlet of the sewage, all demand attention. A constant fight has to be kept up by individuals and by the authorities to provide for health, safety, easy communication, and the punishment of the predatory and the deliberately selfish. Need we wonder if, under such nicely-balanced conditions, with such adverse forces about, in air and water, house, street, soil, and food, health should suffer, doctors flourish, children die, and men decay? Wealth, the increasing number of medical charities, facilities for suburban living, for baths, and the like, are to be reckoned as favourable to health; but it is a moot point whether some of them do not tend to hereditary deterioration by the preservation of the sickly, who incur the responsibilities of parentage with a recklessness that is quite appalling.

Of the fact of such town-growth there is no doubt. 'In 1811,' says Mr. Bridges, 'there were fifty-one towns containing above 10,000 inhabitants, and these towns contained twenty-

four per cent. of the population. In 1861 there were 165 of these towns, containing forty-four per cent. of the population. In 1811 there were sixteen towns over 20,000; in 1861 there were seventy-two; containing nineteen per cent. of the population in the first case, and thirty-eight in the second. In 1811 there was no town in England, except London, with a population over 100,000; in 1861 there were twelve such towns, and they contained one quarter of the population.' We have not therefore magnified the possibilities of deterioration and evil. Nor is the fact of immigration less doubtful. According to Dr. Morgan, of Manchester, if we divide the population of London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham into two parts, those above and those below the age of twenty, more than half the adult population is immigrant. Out of an adult population of 2,200,000, only 1,000,000 is 'native and to the manner born,' or five out of every eleven. The two places most noted for their high health-rate, or what is almost but not quite the same thing, low death-rate—London and Birmingham—draw ninety per cent. of their immigrants from the agricultural and ten per cent. from the industrial group of counties. Where there is no such agricultural influx, or conditions of labour aggravate ordinary town life, the death-rate is correspondingly high, and more especially amongst the infantile population whose viability is a pretty good test of the general strength of the community. Thus, in Liverpool, one out of every four children that are born dies before it is a year old, and the death-rate is thirteen per cent. up to five years old. In the cotton towns the rate is one child out of every five up to a year old, and ten per cent. up to five years. In England at large the average deaths for the first year are one in six, and in some favoured agricultural districts one in ten, or for the first five years exactly half that of Liverpool. Nor are these survivors all 'the fittest'—to use Mr. Herbert Spencer's phrase for natural selection. In Liverpool the death-rate drops to about the same as elsewhere between the ages of ten to fifteen, where, curiously enough, it is alike—about 500 per 100,000—in healthy and unhealthy populations; but the rise is gradual after that period, and at mature life (forty-five to fifty-five) is 3,500 per 100,000. We have thus two markedly fatal periods, that of infancy and that of reproduction, and many of those who escape the perils of the first succumb to those of the second. But we may judge of the health of great towns in another way. Take the number of medical men, and notice the rate of increase in their ranks, and how rapidly it rises when a town passes 50,000 inhabitants and is pretty prosperous. We should like to see the number of

ineffectives amongst the adult males tabulated in the same way as in army returns, and the number of days of sickness in the year per head. We imagine this would startle us much more than a mere death return, and possibly indicate some of the recurring maladies to which the inhabitants of large towns are liable, and which, when not positively fatal, so far undermine the constitution as to lessen all future power of resistance to disease.

How are we to meet this problem? We cannot hinder the influx into the great towns without impeding our industrial civilization. We have to accept the fact, and make the best of it. 'There are two forces available for the renovation of society,' remarks Mr. Bridges, 'the first is capital, and the second scientifically trained intellect;' but at present neither is employed. The manufacturer accumulates wealth, too often regardless of the lives shortened in his service, and the landed proprietor, who might influence him, will not, either by precept or example. We have professors by the hundred of all things under the sun and about it, but, so far as we know, not a single chair devoted to hygiene or sanitary science. The first thing we need is 'a consolidation and revision of our whole sanitary legislation,' followed by a national system of health inspection. 'The few medical officers of health whom we at present possess,' says Mr. Bridges, 'are elected by local authorities, not the likeliest of electing bodies to choose men resolute to put the laws against nuisances into force. Moreover, by the present system, the outlying rural or semi-manufacturing districts are utterly neglected. Two hundred medical inspectors, sufficiently, not extravagantly, paid, devoted exclusively to public work, trained not merely in the ordinary curriculum, but also in a special course of hygiene, would cost the country from £60,000 to £80,000 a year, half the cost of the Leeds Infirmary, one-third the cost of an iron-clad ship.' Ignorance must be combated by beginning at the source, and incorporating 'a very short and very simple catechism of health' into our national curriculum. We must have more breathing spaces in all our large towns, wider streets, roomier houses, purer water, less adulterated food. Working men are themselves active in shortening the hours of labour, and the extension of the Factory Acts is curbing the cupidity and recklessness of employers. The first duty of a municipality is to make a town healthy; afterwards, let them make it beautiful. Money is often wasted in fine public buildings that would prove a much more remunerative investment if laid out in promenades, gymnasiums, cricket grounds, and open squares. Local taxation is very much complained

of just now, but throwing poor-rates on the consolidated fund will not remove sources of disease and decay. We may afford to laugh at alarmists, and turn our science in any direction but the right one so long as our population goes on increasing at the present rate, and our revenue shows few signs of diminishing elasticity; but there are two facts we ought to bear in mind in all our forecastings—the first is, the growing disinclination to marriage amongst the middle-classes, except upon £300 a year, and the second is, the deterioration of our reserve and agricultural stock. The first, if we are to believe Professor Seeley, is akin to the main cause of the fall of the Roman empire. Other empires fell through division and disintegration, as did the Saracen empire, the Seljukian empire, the Mogul empire, and as the Ottoman empire is doing before our very eyes. But Roman civilization was military,—that is destructive; it gained, but did not keep; won wealth by conquest, and lost it in luxury. The real root of the evil was a stationary population, and this was attested in the time of Polybius and the Second Punic War. 'Julius Cæsar when he attained to supreme power found an alarming thinness of population. Both he and his successor struggled earnestly against this evil. The grave maxim of Metellus Macedonicus, that marriage was a duty which, however painful, every citizen ought manfully to discharge, acquired great importance in the eyes of Augustus. He caused the speech in which it was contained to be read in the Senate: had he lived in our day he would have reprinted it with a preface.' The Lex Julia was an enactment consisting 'of a number of privileges and precedences given to marriage. It was in fact a handsome bribe offered by the State to induce the citizens to marry.' The Professor adds, 'The same phenomenon—a stationary population—had shown itself in Greece before its conquest by the Romans.' The first effect of an industrial civilization is to promote early marriages and large families; the second will be, we fear, to reduce both. The double danger deserves consideration. We are keeping up our present rapid increase by the first, and misery and degeneration so frequently succeed that we are the more in danger of rushing to the other extreme.

What shall we say of our reserve stock of health and future town population? Our 'bold peasantry' are far from being their country's pride; they are its disgrace. The yeoman has almost disappeared, and the agricultural labourer is worse off than ever, and his class is more numerous. The sturdy and adventurous seek a home and an independency in our colonies, and leave behind the sickly and the spiritless. Wages are

low. Women and children are underfed, and all are miserably educated. We have been joking about the matter hitherto, and even now are not quite certain what to do with such human specimens, most of our generosity taking the shape of prizes at agricultural shows. But we must wake up, and reach these classes in many ways. It is our duty to begin by trying to improve the landlords. They must provide good houses, and schools must be had somehow, either through local rates, or by the Consolidated Fund. Something like hope must be infused into these children of the land, and it can only come by moderately and cheaply gratifying their natural earth-hunger. To the peasant-soldier of France, says M. Michelet, the acquisition of land is 'a combat; he goes to it as he would to the charge, and will not retreat. It is his battle of Austerlitz; he will win it.' There is no such hope for the present agricultural labourer in this country. He has only three openings; to live and die like his father before him, to press city-ward and lower wages, or to enlist as a soldier and fight, if fighting there be, or serve his time out to retire upon a pension and job away the remainder of his days. And yet every peasant is an integer in our health-capital, and ought to be tended as carefully and nourished as lovingly as we look after our own children who are to be the sires of future races. The agricultural counties of England are our great hunting grounds. Towns will grow and large bodies will attract; but, unless the new comers bring health with them, we may expect some decline of national prosperity, which will be more gloomy than the failure of our coal-fields, more fatal than the paralysis of our manufacture.

We come now to more individual considerations. We have complained that the term civilization should be used, and not defined; we have spoken of health, and never so much as hinted at a definition. It will be difficult to find anything better than what Mr. Bridges gives us. Here are two definitions—'the greatest energy of every part, compatible with the energy of the whole;' 'Being able to do a good day's work easily.' We prefer the first one, because it seems to us to avoid the fallacy, so common in some analyses, of taking the rude savage as the type of health, or muscular endurance as its one indispensable condition. There cannot well be a greater mistake. A state of nature may render a man's flesh firmer and more readily inclined to heal, and enable him to do extraordinary feats, but it reduces him to a compound of muscle, digestion, and sex. There is no balance of functions; animality is predominant, and the energy of the brave is expended in the minor and more automatic directive

functions. It is degraded, and cannot be elevated without years of culture and centuries of hereditary transmission. It is not so with the muscular system. Bulk and fibrine may be facts of inheritance, but a healthy civilized man may acquire physical strength in a thousandth part of the time that it would take for the savage to acquire brain-power. True health varies with the character of the demands civilization makes upon the organism. Where there is no polity to administer, no excessive thought required in any one but the singer and the story-teller, health is capacity for endurance, for hunting, for war, for out-door life in the woods or the plains. But it is folly to suppose this type of health is the only one. When we shift the stress of life to another basis, we must make another ideal, taking care to violate no ordinary conditions or laws of life in its creation. A city merchant, or a professional man, can get through an amount of mental exercise in four or six hours that would positively destroy the brain of a wild man by rupturing its vessels. In the state-of-nature man dreams, he does not think, and his life is composed of violent activities and temporary collapses. We find excessive exertion produce the same effect in civilized races. The Greek athletæ ate enormously and slept away half their time, and yet they were healthy men. We doubt whether any human being, who answers to the rude primitive health type, would live as long as a modern whose life should not show either physical or mental excesses. He would certainly be unable to compete with a modern gymnast. We see, therefore, that health has no fixed standard except obedience to the simple laws of life, and if we would make it compatible with a high industrial civilization, we must not attempt to restore the nomadic type. There is plenty for us to do without such efforts. As the *Times* very cleverly put it, in a leading article Dr. Elam quotes, there are good playing and good working constitutions, and the terms indicate the exact point of difference between the old and the modern standard. We can get a higher kind of activity out of the latter, and our main duty is to see that it does not imperil the functions that minister to it. To do this there is need of more physical education than we at present think necessary, not only in earlier life, but right through to full manhood. The virtuous gymnast grows in height and breadth until his thirty-sixth year, and there is no reason why a moderate amount of gymnastics, of a simple and general kind, should not be indulged by all adult males up to and even beyond that period. The nervous and muscular systems are beautifully adapted to each other, and the exercise of the second soothes and clarifies the

action of the first, whilst the exhaustion of nervous energy withdraws power from the muscles, and leads to their wasting and softness. It is doubtful, however, whether we can ever have the maximum of brain-energy simultaneously with high physical energy, or a perfect balance of all the powers, but there is no reason why they should not alternate. The present writer has been ridiculed by his friends many a time for conditioning for extended mental efforts, but he has in every case discovered its wisdom as well as its necessity. Where physical exercise is taken in abundance, there may be short, sharp spells of brain labour, but weariness soon supervenes, and the body conquers the will. For months of continuous labour it is therefore best, for days of intentional strain it is impolitic to take excessive out-door or gymnastic exercise. When the work is done, resume, with care, the cultivation of the body, and it will be soon found which plan is best.

'There has been a pastoral age, and a hunting age, and a fighting age. Now we have arrived at the age sedentary,' says Pisistratus Caxton to Albert Trevanion, Esq., M.P. It is quite true. We sit half our time, and then complain if we are not strong. And here it is our duty to correct a common error. Mental pursuits are not unhealthy in themselves. They as plainly tend to longevity as virtue does. 'Not long ago,' says Dr. Elam, 'a friend reviewed with us the names of the six or eight upper wranglers for the last twenty years. With very few exceptions, these and nearly all the "double first" men are alive and well at the present time. A stronger proof could scarcely be imagined that even excessive brain-work has little or no destructive influence upon life and reason; if, indeed, it does not compel us to recognise its directly conservative tendency. Contrast this with the effect of hard bodily training, as manifested in boating. We have complete and reliable information as to the history of two boats crews of picked men, within the last few years, not one of whom is now alive. Such havoc was surely never experienced amongst mental athletes.' This position is further strengthened by tables and averages we have not room to cite. Hence we reach the general proposition, that whatever tends to ennoble life—art, culture, religion—tends to strengthen and extend it. We see here the designing hand of Providence. What, then, are the lessons of this law? They are many. Good scholars are the sons of scholars. Suddenly adopted studious habits, in an unprepared constitution, are hurtful and often fatal. We must beware how we overwork the young when the brain is tender, the bones soft, the constitution unformed. We must extend our physical

knowledge so as to be able to interpret the hints of the body, and take care to obey them. 'Not what is *done*, but what is *neglected*, seems to be the *fons et origo malorum*.' If the simple laws of health are despised, the student will suffer, no matter whether he be a divine or a materialist. The worker, also, must learn to understand his own body, and the condition of its highest labour. He must mistrust all sudden bursts of inspiration, purchased at the cost of violated laws, or by mechanical or chemical means. 'Spend on your genius, and by system,' is a wise man's advice to the few, that ought not to be despised by the many.

A sadder part of our subject remains. It is not enough to have pointed out the general tendencies of city life or suggested how health may be improved; we must take a glimpse, and it can only be a glimpse, of the too frequently sad physical consequences of civilization on the race. We are just beginning to understand the laws of inheritance, to see that what is a tendency in the parent may become a passion in the offspring, to recognise that the moral writes itself out in the facts of physical structure, and that when we desire the emancipation of the will we must pay some heed to the imperfections of organization. Dr. Elam has written an essay on natural heritage that, in spite of hesitation and defect, deserves to be widely read and seriously pondered. He is a firm believer in the double law of inheritance, uniformity and diversity, and illustrates its operation by many new and interesting facts. Acquired and habitual vice, he says, transmits its corruption just as much as physical disease, and the one is not more potent than the other. If our cities breed a bad type, moral or physical, the type is propagated, the one issuing in criminality, the other in disease and extinction of the special line. Diseases, according to Dr. Gull, are but 'perverted life-processes, and have for their natural history not only a beginning, but a period of culmination and decline. . . . . The effect of disease may be for a third or fourth generation, but *the laws of health are for a thousand*.' It thus happens that the racial type tends, in the long run, to maintain itself, and all evil hindrances are eliminated, though at an expense of life that is frightful to contemplate. So far as we can make out, brain-power follows the law of uniformity and physical imperfections also, but there are so many exceptions we cannot be absolutely sure which law will operate. The sons of clever men, whose nerve-power has been exhausted, are sometimes shallow and idiotic, and occasionally a genius will start from an apparently obscure line. Very much depends on marriage or inter-marriage, though we

cannot enter here into the large question of consanguinity. 'Amongst ancient families quick men are abundant,' observes Mr. Knight, 'but a deep and clear reasoner is seldom seen.' There is the luxury-imbecile, as well as the imbecile of the poor. The curiosities of inheritance are, indeed, manifold. A physical affection in the parent may become a mental one in the offspring, or *vice versâ*, and Jewesses of ravishing beauty will spring from parents inexpressibly ugly. Independently of directly vicious tendency, inherited from parents, Dr. Elam calls attention to the enfeeblement of will which follows the use of nervine stimulants or indulgence in sensual delights. This is unhappily so common as to need no facts to illustrate it. We see gifted men swayed, like aspen leaves, by every breath of impulse, and criminals influenced by an imitative instinct to a most remarkable degree. Our criminal epidemics are due to this enfeeblement of the will, and possibly some of the wonders of mesmerism might be referred to the same cause. 'Some persons,' says Dr. O. W. Holmes, the American medico-novelist, 'talk about the human will as if it stood upon a high look-out, with plenty of light, and elbow-room reaching to the horizon. Doctors are constantly noticing how it is tied and darkened by inferior organization, by disease, and all sorts of crowding interferences; until they get to look upon Hottentots and Indians—and a good many of their own race too—as a kind of self-conscious blood-clocks, with very limited power of self-determination; and they find it as hard to hold a child accountable in any moral point of view for inherited bad temper, or tendency to drunkenness, as they would to blame him for inheriting gout or asthma.' But we cannot pursue this sad and complicated subject further, and must leave its lessons to enforce themselves. 'Each of us,' again to quote Dr. Holmes, 'is only the footing-up of a double column of figures that goes back to the first pair. Every unit tells, and some of them are *plus*, and some *minus*. If the columns don't add up right, it is commonly because we can't make out all the figures.'

J. S. MILL ON 'THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN.'

THE shades of Mary Wollstonecroft and Lady Morgan are avenged. The fingers that penned the 'Vindication of Women's Rights' in 1791, and 'Woman and her Master' in 1840, belonged to minds of no common order; but none

would have been more intensely gratified than those literary champions of their sex, could they have foreseen the arrival of 'the hour and the man' in the publication of this masterly essay by one of the ruling intellects of his day. He can command what they could not—an audience of which the great majority is composed neither of sneerers nor triflers; and whatever influence such views are qualified to exert on the reformation of society, cannot but be largely and immediately exerted, when the integrity and ability of the advocate are acknowledged by the civilised world. And it admits of no doubt whatever that the thinking part of the community is settling down in earnest to the consideration of the cause he has undertaken. Old commonplaces are receiving a rigid sifting, and old prejudices are melting before an honest desire to look the facts fully in the face, and to do what is best for both great sections, male and female, of the human race.

We shall first of all attempt to discharge our duty as reviewers, by presenting a condensed statement of Mr. Mill's train of reasoning, following up this epitome by some reflections of our own upon Mr. Mill's argument and the question at large.

Undue prolixity cannot be charged against the author of the 'Subjection of Women,' for his discussion occupies but four chapters, barely extending to 188 pages, in leaded type; and in thus compressing his advocacy he has been guided by a judicious regard to the nature of the subject and the state of the public taste. A big book, however great the name upon it, would have been little read, and Mr. Mill, within the bounds of this short treatise, has said nearly all, in substance, that can be advanced in the maintenance of his proposition. The meat is strong, if there is not very much of it; and those who are not satisfied with its quality would have turned away with disgust from an ampler dish. Without a word of preface Mr. Mill commences his first chapter by stating his object to be to explain the grounds of one of his earliest convictions—'that the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side nor disability on the other.' This task, he says, is very arduous, for it has to contend with feelings 'the most intense and most deeply rooted of all those which gather round and protect old institutions and customs.' Ordinarily the burden of proof is allowed to be with the affirmative, and on those who

contend for restrictions or prohibitions; but in this case the principle of female subordination is supposed, from universal usage and popular sentiment, to have a presumption in its favour 'superior to any conviction which an appeal to reason has power to produce in any intellects but those of a high class.' But the authority of men over women did not spring from 'a conscientious comparison between different modes of constituting the government of society'—though, even then, the original considerations might, in the roll of ages, have ceased to exist; but the present system rests on theory only, and was never the result of any experiment or design having the good of society as its object. 'It arose simply from the fact that from the very earliest twilight of human society, every woman (owing to the value attached to her by men, combined with her inferiority in muscular strength) was found in a state of bondage to some man. Laws and systems of polity always begin by recognising the relations they find already existing between individuals. They convert what was a mere physical fact into a legal right, give it the sanction of society, and principally aim at the substitution of public and organised means of asserting and protecting those rights, instead of the irregular and lawless conflict of physical strength.' Thus originated the system of legalised slavery, slowly yielding at last to those ideas of justice which have also changed the once universal slavery of women into a milder form of dependence, but a state having, after all, no other or higher source than the law of the strongest. It is this fact which seems so incredible to the general public, who, because the law of the strongest is no longer professed as the ground of action, cannot suppose it to operate here. Yet, in former ages, the law of superior strength was the rule of life—a rule only modified by compact and promise, or by the growing strength of the once inferior classes. Military despotism even yet extensively flourishes, despite splendid examples of the contrary system; and it is not, therefore, surprising that the dominion of man over woman, though having no other origin than brute force, should have continued to our own time. This is a power in which the whole male sex is interested, who have peculiar reasons for maintaining it, while 'each individual of the subject class is in a chronic state of bribery and intimidation combined.'

To the objection that the government of the male sex is natural, and hence unlike slavery, etc., Mr. Mill replies, 'Was there ever any domination which did not appear natural to those who possessed it?' Slave-rule, absolute monarchy, and the very law of force itself, have all seemed natural,

because common; and 'the subjection of woman to man being a universal custom, any departure from it quite naturally appears unnatural.' To another objection—that the rule of man over woman is not one of force, but accepted by woman voluntarily—Mr. Mill replies, that a great number of women do not accept it, as appears from numerous protests and agitations; and many more, it may be presumed, would cherish similar aspirations if not taught to repress them as contrary to the proprieties of their sex. 'It must be remembered, also, that no enslaved class ever asked for complete liberty at once;' and women are not likely to rebel collectively against the power of men, because their masters 'have put everything in practice to enslave their minds,'—training them in the belief of an ideal of character the very opposite to that of man; 'not self-will, and government by self-control, but submission, and yielding to the control of others;' and this means of influence the selfishness of man has used to the utmost by representing to women 'meekness, submissiveness, and resignation of all individual will into the hands of a man as an essential part of sexual attractiveness.' But the whole progress of society is opposed to the doctrine of man's government of woman, for that progress has consisted in casting-off the notions of a fixed condition of life irrespective of individual capacity and choice; and if the principle of free competition is right, 'we ought to act as if we believed it, and not to ordain that to be born a girl instead of a boy, any more than to be born black instead of white, or a commoner instead of a nobleman, shall decide the person's position through all life—shall interdict people from all the more elevated social positions, and from all, except a few, respectable occupations.'

The fact that the condition of woman has been approaching nearer to an equality with that of man, during all the progressive period of history, offers a presumption, though not a proof, that complete equality must be attained. To say that 'the nature of the two sexes adapts them to their present functions and positions, and renders these appropriate to them,' is met by Mr. Mill with the denial that any one knows, or can know, the nature of the two sexes, as long as they have only been seen in their present relation to one another. 'What is now called the nature of woman is an eminently artificial thing—the result of forced repression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others.' The subject is one on which 'nothing final can be known so long as those who alone can really know it, women themselves, have given but little testimony, and that little mostly suborned.' We know, he says,

next to nothing of women as they are, and 'the greater part of what women write about women is mere sycophancy to men;' even literary women, 'in this country especially, are themselves such artificial products that their sentiments are compounded of a small element of individual observation and consciousness, and a very large one of acquired associations;' and so it will remain 'as long as social institutions do not admit the free development of originality in women which is possible to men.' Room for trial must be afforded: 'One thing we may be certain of—that what is contrary to women's nature to do they never will be made to do by simply giving their nature free play.' Those who speak of wifehood as the natural vocation of woman, yet act as if they believed that it would not be chosen were women permitted other means of support and occupation.

Chapter Two treats of the marriage contract and the harsh conditions as to the woman formerly affixed to it—even yet 'the wife is the actual bondservant of her husband; no less so, as far as legal obligation goes, than slaves commonly so called.' All her property is his, and even the contrivance of marriage settlements merely preserves the principal from the husband's control,—the income is his as soon as it falls into his wife's possession. What is hers is his; but 'the maxim is not applied against the man except to make him responsible to third parties for her acts, as a master is for the acts of his slaves or of his cattle. I am far from pretending that wives are in general no better treated than slaves; but no slave is a slave to the same lengths, and in so full a sense of the word, as a wife is.' Over their children she never has any legal rights; even after he is dead, she is not their legal guardian unless by will he has made her so. If she leaves him he can compel her return, or he may seize whatever she may earn or otherwise receive. A judicial separation can only now be obtained in cases of desertion or of extreme cruelty. Liberty of re-marriage is even then not allowed. 'No amount of ill-usage, without adultery superadded, will in England free a wife from her tormentor.' Mr. Mill discriminates between the wife's legal position and her actual treatment; and the marriage-tie affords the strongest example of the 'feelings and interests which in many men exclude, and in most greatly temper, the impulses and propensities which lead to tyranny;' but the elements of good do not justify the potentialities of evil. No institution is to be judged of from its best instances, and in every grade of the scale from virtue to vice are to be found men to whom are committed all the legal powers of a husband. The wife is subject to personal violence, on which

there can be little check unless after a first or second conviction she should be entitled to a divorce, or at least a judicial separation. Mr. Mill pourtrays in very eloquent terms (pp. 64-66) the misery to which, short of the worst excesses, the lust of power may subject its domestic victims; and he eulogises the value of putting the bad propensities of human nature under such legal restraints as may induce their repression, 'until repression in time becomes a second nature.' He grants the wife's power of retaliation, which has 'the fatal defect—that it avails most against the least tyrannical superiors and in favour of the least deserving dependants.' The corrupting effects of marital power are tempered by personal affection, a common interest in children and others, the wife's real importance, and her acquired influence by familiar intercourse; but much of the power thus exercised by the wife is for evil, because without regard, and often in opposition, to interests outside the domestic sphere. To the objection that a deciding authority must rest somewhere, Mr. Mill replies that, of two persons, one needs not be absolute master, still less needs the law decide which of them it shall be. It does not do so in business partnerships. 'The natural arrangement is a division of powers between the two; each being absolute in the executive branch of their own department, and any change of system and principle requiring the consent of both;' and the practical decision might greatly depend, 'as it even now does,' upon comparative qualifications—age, mental characteristics, and the like. The objection that wives would never be satisfied with anything short of unlimited sway, is answered by the popular admission that women are better than men, and by their self-sacrifice for the family good. The wilful woman is given a fictitious advantage by the law as it is, since it 'practically declares that the measure of what she has a right to, is what she can contrive to get.' Mr. Mill argues that the equality of married persons before the law is 'the only means of rendering the daily life, in any high sense, a school of moral cultivation,' the ground of which must lie in that sense of justice which claims nothing which is not as freely conceded. Mr. Mill admits that numbers of married people, probably a great majority of the higher classes, 'live in the spirit of a just law of equality;' and he claims the support of such for the principles he advocates. They must not imagine that this spirit of equality prevails with others because it does so with themselves. The objection that 'religion imposes the duty of obedience' on the wife, is rejected as an aspersion on Christianity. On the right of a woman to her own property, Mr. Mill lays down the rule that 'whatever

would be the husband's or wife's if they were not married should be under their exclusive control during marriage,' and where the family's support depends on earnings 'the common arrangement, by which the man earns the income and the wife superintends the domestic expenditure, seems to me the most suitable division of labour between the two persons.' Yet faculties specially adapted for some other pursuit might be exercised where provision was made against loss to family interests.

In chapter Three Mr. Mill advances to consider the admissibility of women to 'all the functions and occupations hitherto retained as the monopoly of the stronger sex.' The objection of a mental inferiority in women is shown to be irrelevant, since competition would prevent 'important employments from falling into the hands of women inferior to average men or to the average of their male competitors. The only result would be that there would be fewer women than men in such employments; a result certain to happen in any case, if only from the preference always likely to be felt by the majority of women for the one vocation in which there is nobody to compete with them.' In advocating the right of women to the Parliamentary and municipal suffrage, Mr. Mill separates this question from that 'of competing for the trust itself.' Since Mr. Mill wrote this paragraph the law has conferred the municipal franchise on women, and the use they make of this trust will, no doubt, have a powerful influence in determining the question of their admission to the Parliamentary electorship. That women are qualified for the higher professions and public offices, Mr. Mill argues, because of what they have done—their faculty for government having been shown, he contends, in a signal manner; and he asks, 'Is it reasonable to think that those who are fit for the greater functions of politics are incapable of qualifying themselves for the less?'* Women's talents have a general bent towards the practical, arising out of their keen intuitive capacity—a power of perceiving what is immediately before them; and thus they not only are preserved from many forms of speculative error, but are peculiarly qualified to carry the results of speculation into practice. The greater quickness of apprehension shown by women also fits them for the promptitude necessary in prac-

* Mr. Mill, while he omits all reference to Isabella of Spain, a transcendant example, refers to Queen Elizabeth as having showed herself equal to the greatest political duties; though Froude's exposure of her vacillation and caprice, at grave political junctures, must make her a dangerous illustration. For an equally sufficient reason Queen Mary I. and Queen Anne must be left out of the exemplary account.

tical life; and to the objection that their nervous susceptibility renders them 'mobile, changeable, too vehemently under the influence of the moment, incapable of dogged perseverance, unequal and uncertain in the power of using their faculties,' Mr. Mill replies (pp. 111-119) with exceeding ingenuity, if not with convincing success. To the objection that woman has a smaller brain than man, Mr. Mill replies that the fact is doubtful, and that size of brain is only one source of power—activity, in which women excel, being another. As to mental differences between the sexes, Mr. Mill strenuously denies that we know, or at present have means of knowing, 'whether there are any natural differences at all; or, supposing all artificial causes of differences to be withdrawn, what natural character would be revealed.' The supposed demonstration of such a difference and inferiority—the absence of any woman's production in philosophy, science, or art, entitled to the first rank—he vigorously grapples with in order to show that the admitted fact does not warrant the induction. The argument is pursued (pp. 126-141) with Mr. Mill's accustomed subtilty, and the considerations he advances are well adapted to weaken the reader's confidence in the popular conclusion, though we cannot regard them as supplying an adequate explanation of the fact. It is one thing to show that failure *may* be traced to such and such conditions; it is another to conclude that the conditions have led to the failure. Even the conditions, where operative, if freely accepted, may be considered as evidence of idiosyncracies at variance with supreme excellence and distinction. Mr. Mill, however, is fairly justified in claiming that nothing shall be assumed as absolutely true till opportunity has been afforded for the appearance of disproof. On the subject of moral differences between the sexes, Mr. Mill accepts the compliment that women are better than men as proving, if a fact, the corrupting influence upon men of the power they possess. That women are swayed by their personal partialities is a result due, he asserts, to their training. That they do not complain of their subordinate condition may be true, but the same is true of all cases of servitude; it is the tyranny, not the tyrannous power, which is at first complained of. 'Women cannot be expected to devote themselves to the emancipation of women, until men in considerable numbers are prepared to join with them in the undertaking.'

Chapter Four is an answer to the question, 'What good are we to expect from the changes proposed in our customs and institutions?' Mr. Mill alleges 'the advantage of having the *most* universal and pervading of all human relations regulated

by justice instead of injustice'—the effects of existing injustice being to foster 'a self-worship of the male,' which generates pride, overbearingness, and domestic oppression. All that education and civilisation are doing to efface the influence of the law of force on human character is antagonised by the legal subordination of women—the law of the strongest. Mr. Mill alleges as a second benefit the 'doubling the mass of mental faculties available for the higher service of humanity,'—a result arising partly from the better and more complete intellectual education of women, and partly from the expansion of the faculties which greater freedom would ensure. Women would also exert a better moral influence on society, because they would take in a larger range of objects, and bring to bear upon the philanthropic agencies they espouse a more enlightened knowledge of the causes and remedies of social evils. The influence of wives would also operate, not as it now often does, as a drag on the higher aspirations and enterprises of their husbands, but as an incentive and support, because they would be more willing to encounter those sacrifices of social conveniences and considerations which they have been taught to regard as their worldly idols. A marked effect, Mr. Mill contends, would also follow in diminishing those differences of sentiment and taste by which the harmony of the married life is now so frequently disturbed, and its benefits reduced. Sympathy and gradual assimilation of character 'would be a common, if not the commonest, case in marriage, did not the totally different bringing-up of the two sexes make it next to an impossibility to form a really well-assorted union.' The deteriorating effect on the husband of a union with a woman his inferior is described; and Mr. Mill avows his conviction that 'the moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings have to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and in cultivation.' Then enters in a consideration of 'the unspeakable gain in private happiness to the liberated half of the species; the difference to them between a life of subjection to the will of others and a life of rational freedom.' Women deprived of this freedom ask for compensation in power, which foments a 'passion for personal beauty, and dress, and display, and all the evils that flow from it in the way of mischievous luxury and social immorality. The love of power and the love of liberty are in eternal antagonism. Where there is least liberty the passion for power is the most ardent and unscrupulous.' How much, too, of womanly happiness is lost

for 'want of a worthy outlet for the active faculties,' compelling many to resort to uncongenial pursuits, and confining more to a limited range of activity for which they have no educated aptitude and skill. Mr. Mill concludes by calling upon men not to add 'jealous and prejudiced restrictions' to the evils which nature inflicts; and by asserting that 'any restraint in the freedom of conduct of any human fellow-creatures (except otherwise than by making them responsible for any evil actually caused by it) dries up *pro tanto* the principal fountain of human happiness, and leaves the species less rich, to an inappreciable degree, in all that makes life valuable to the individual human being.'

Having now done justice to the exceedingly able production of Mr. Mill by reproducing all its leading points, clothed and coloured, as far as within our limits was possible, by the author's *ipsissima verba*, we shall place before the reader some reflections, as a stimulus to his own thoughtful prosecution of the subject. We shall not insult him by supposing that he belongs to the silly crowd, still too large, who think the question raised by Mr. Mill one to be dismissed by monkey-like caricatures and miserable jibes. It remains, and will not be disposed of, till the ripest judgment and purest conscience have been brought to its determination. But it will strike every impartial observer, as it strikes us, that the question raised is really a compound or multiform one, and that without waiting till we are agreed upon some abstract formula—such as the right of women to do, if they can, whatever men are now permitted to do—there are inequalities which may, by a general consensus of opinion, be removed without delay, and grievances which ought at once to be swept into the limbo of banished abuses. Here, indeed, our main objection to Mr. Mill's method demands expression—that he has argued an abstract thesis rather than pleaded for practical reforms. His thesis is, in effect, 'The subjection of women ought not in any shape or degree to exist;' but it would have been more to his ultimate purpose, and a greater help to the reader's understanding of the subject, had he begun with showing the forms which this subjection takes, and the evils which, in detail, each of the forms can be proved to generate or aggravate. The evils having been made apparent, the call for assistance in the removal of the special causes would have fitly followed; and some clue would have then been afforded to the order in which it is desirable to proceed in the progress of reform. Mr. Mill does not expect society to start from a theory of a perfect equality of the sexes: that, if ever arrived at, will be

the formal conclusion of a series of experiments showing that woman is entitled to do what is best for herself in the school and arena of life. Any theory about equality is, in reality, rather a drawback than an auxiliary at this stage of the movement on behalf of woman: for who can determine whether the sum of woman's capacity is ever equal at any one time to man's?—and apart from any question of mental equality, she has rights the exercise of which law and social opinion ought not to obstruct, but to sanction and facilitate. Neither is it necessary to prove that she is equal to all situations and responsibilities, in order to show that she is equal to much from which she is now precluded. The law needs not define, nor wait till men and women have defined, what degree of connubial power they shall respectively have in the settlement of disputed points, before it proceeds to blot out those monstrous grievances from which woman suffers—not because of mental weakness, but from her inferior physical strength. Had Mr. Mill pursued an analytic method, we should have received from him a greater number of valuable suggestions, and he would have aroused in the minds of even sympathetic readers fewer emotions of dissent. Mr. Mill aims to be scrupulously clear and exact, and that he succeeds in an extraordinary degree is known to all who peruse his writings; but we have wondered while reading this essay at the inordinate value which is placed upon a change of law by one who insists, as much as any contemporary writer, upon the efficiency of individual influence. The promise which a woman makes when married to 'obey' her husband is treated by Mr. Mill as a sort of legal charm, which operates to subject her at all times, and on all subjects, to the will of her legal lord, consulting his pleasure only or mainly, and subordinating all her efforts to the one all-comprehensive purpose of making the best of a very bad bargain. But is married life in England cast in such a mould? Do husbands exact obedience as lords? and do wives render it as subjects? Mr. Mill admits that men do not generally use the power the law gives them; and if they tried to use it, we may add, the women would not let them. There is, we own, much brutality on the part of men, and very much tyranny of a petty yet wearing kind; but this is rarely if ever exhibited *because* it is known to be according to law; the worst excesses are known to be otherwise; and we cannot perceive how any change of law, by relieving brides from the spoken pledge to obey their bridegrooms, could materially mend the matter. Bad men and women make bad husbands and wives, and will do so whatever theory is uppermost concerning the sexes;

and that man, we think, can have had small insight into the private life of our countrymen who does not admit that the happiness of home depends on affections, habits, tastes, and an adjustment of dispositions over which no theory of connubial equality can exercise a perceptible effect. Mutual love is the great sweetener, purifier, and beautifier of the married life; it is a power which leaves the law of force nothing but the name; and where it is absent, whether the law of the land recognises man's authority and woman's subjection, or not, there will be contention and every evil work. All this being true, however, it is none the less desirable that married women should obtain all such protection and command over their property as may, where they are badly mated, preserve them against the grosser abuses of superior strength. The bill brought into Parliament in the last Session by Mr. Russell Gurney will soon become law, and will be followed by other legislation for which a good case can be made out. There are bad wives, however, as well as bad husbands, and legislation will be required to guard men, as far as law can do, against the otherwise ruinous consequences of their frail partners' excesses.

An increasing friendliness is also manifest by society to measures for enlarging the sphere of female industry and talent. Mr. Mill lays comparatively small stress upon the admission of women to public offices, to some of which they would be scarcely likely to aspire. For some others they are eminently fit; and we may confidently look for a growing liberality of sentiment that will enable many trials to be made where statute law interposes no impediments. Unmarried women above age, and widows, have already a wide field for their exertions in business of all kinds, and in some of the more elegant occupations. Domestic service is filled with the sex; and so far as subjection is concerned, it would be difficult to prove that except in married life, to which we have adverted, and in some of the professions and political offices, women have to profess or learn lessons of submission from which men are free. In household arrangements they both reign and govern. They train their children and command their servants, often male ones. When, unmarried or widowed, they embark in business, they do as they please with their property; and in the cultivation of the fine arts they may go on, as quickly as possible, to perfection. In some respects it is more sympathy, and not more independence, that they chiefly call for and would mainly prize. We cannot make up our minds that throwing open to them all the pursuits of men, or proclaiming them equal in all respects to their masculine rivals,

would produce either the individual or social results predicted by Mr. Mill; yet we heartily rejoice to see that society is preparing to redress the wrongs they have endured, and to give heed to that assertion of their rights which they and their advocates make on their behalf. We re-echo Mr. Mill's appeal to men to take up their sisters' cause, and to render it early and generous help; nor must we fail to call upon women themselves to unite for objects they approve, in which the advantage of their sex is materially involved. They cannot in any other way more nobly repel and refute the charge, that they are naturally unfitted or indisposed to take part in public movements demanding comprehensiveness of mind and perseverance of endeavour.

REPORT OF CONVOCATION ON INTEMPERANCE.

IF it be said that he who moves the clergy moves the world, this may be viewed either as a compliment to the office of the minister of religion, or the reverse, according to the standpoint occupied. That the heralds of the Cross should also be the heralds of every social reform demanding self-denial and a holy courage, is certain; and that if they fulfilled their function to the full, they would always be in the van of the army of social progress, and so have the whole world of motion following them, is also certain. To move them, therefore, would be to move the world, and to admit this would amount to a high compliment on the position occupied by the clergy. If, however, on the other hand, they choose to be, not in the van, but in the rear of the army; or, to vary the figure, to constitute the tail of the community, instead of being at its head; still it might be true that to move them would be to move that huge beast, the world, on the principle of tail-wringing, too well known to cruel drovers. Now, whether the clergy of the Church of England in this respect have placed themselves so as to be the head, or form the tail, it would ill become the politeness of *Meliora* to pronounce; and she is thus spared the necessity of considering what process might be proper for producing the indispensable movement,—whether persuasion to the head, or wringing and screwing at the other extremity. By one process or the other, the thing is now done; and we are very much

pleased to be able to announce to the world at large, that the clergy are actually moving.

The proof of it is before us. The 'Report by the Committee on Intemperance for the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury' is here, a goodly tome, actually printed and circulated by order of the Lower House. The book contains also copious appendices, and is in every respect a noteworthy and valuable volume.

It seems that a committee was appointed, and afterwards re-appointed, in pursuance of the directions of His Grace the President, and their Lordships the members of the Upper House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, 'To consider and report on the prevalence of intemperance, the evils which result therefrom, and the remedies which may be applied.' It is the report, thus authorised, that the Lower House has adopted and ordered to be circulated. The members of the committee were:—The Prolocutor, the Deans of Canterbury, Chichester, and Westminster, the Archdeacons of Coventry, Ely, Exeter, Leicester, Nottingham, and Salop, Canons Argles, Carus, Gillett, Harvey, Oxenden, Wood, and Dr. Fraser, and Prebendaries Gibbs and Kemp. The chairman of the committee was the Venerable Archdeacon Sandford of Coventry.

The inquiry was entered upon from no shallow impulse, and was shut up within no contracted range. As its subject most deeply and vitally affects the material condition and the moral and spiritual life of the people of this country, so the committee sought to deal with it, as bearing this commensurately in mind. They sent out letters of inquiry profusely to all parts of the twenty-one dioceses in the Province of Canterbury, embracing thirty-two English counties, besides Wales, North and South, with a population of between fourteen and fifteen millions of people. To the parochial clergy these letters were sent, of course; but not to them only. As far as possible, also, medical and other sources of information were communicated with in all the parishes, including persons of every class whose position or practical experience could entitle their evidence to most weight. To the governors and chaplains of prisons, to the heads of constabulary, to the superintendents of lunatic asylums, to the judges, recorders, coroners, and the masters of workhouses, forms of inquiry were transmitted; and the bounds of the province were transcended in some directions, so as to reach to the asylums, and to the judicial personages of all England and Wales, and to the constabulary throughout Great Britain. Moreover, in various parts of the country

enlightened and benevolent proprietors of territory or works have been consulted. Thus the utmost respect is due to the inquiry, as far as regards its outreach and scope; and the report resulting from it is entitled to be regarded as expressing the judgment not alone of the parochial clergy of the province, but also collaterally of persons of intelligence and experience throughout the realm.

The evidence thus collected shows, in the first place, that whilst the evil of social intemperance has of late years greatly diminished in the upper and middle ranks of society, no corresponding improvement has occurred amongst the labouring classes; that thus drinking prevails to a frightful extent in our commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural districts, and in the army and navy; and this, not alone amongst men, but amongst women, and not only with adults, but with the young also. In many parts of the country the evil begins at a very early age, and youths and children are amongst its victims. Of the clergy returns before the committee, one speaks of intemperance as beginning 'early;' one, at nine years of age; eight at twelve to fourteen years; one at thirteen; seventeen at fourteen; twenty-nine at fifteen; forty-eight at sixteen; forty-three at seventeen; ninety-seven at eighteen; and only eight at twenty to thirty. 'It begins with their boyhood and grows with their growth,' says one. 'At the first harvest after they go out to work,' says another. 'As soon as they go to work in the hayfield,' says a third. 'About the time the lads enter into the club,' says a fourth. 'From childhood,' says a fifth. 'It is almost impossible,' another says, 'to find out the earliest age at which it begins; in some cases, it is to be feared, at a very early age indeed.' Another writes that 'boys seem to inherit it from their parents.' 'I have known a boy who worked for me steal money to spend in drink,' writes another. Another testifies that 'boys of fourteen have been made drunk by beer given them in the stocking-frame shops and the field.' Another, that 'lads of fourteen years of age may be seen, alas! on Saturday nights, after receiving their fortnightly pay from the works, in a state of intoxication.' Another says, 'I believe children are speedily drifted into intemperance, and that publicans encourage them. I have seen in a public-house on Sundays a room lined all round with boys of from twelve to sixteen drinking.' Still another: 'As soon as the lads can earn anything, they are, I know, enticed into the public-houses or beershops, to smoke and drink, and become reprobates very soon.' 'Say twelve,' says still another; 'the statutes settle this point very young. Boys and girls get drunk, debauchery and

defilement are the results.' And from governors of workhouses comes also corroborative evidence with regard to the growth of intemperance amongst women and girls.

Foremost among the direct causes of the evil, the committee place the Beer Act of 1830, which gave licensing power to the Excise; a power that an act of the late Session of Parliament has happily taken away. 'The testimony on this point,' says the committee, alluding to the evils of the beerhouse system, 'on the part of the magistracy, the constabulary, the parochial clergy, and other persons most competent to judge, is most emphatic and unanimous.' But beershops were called into existence, as the committee very justly adds, 'to correct mischief already deemed intolerable, resulting from the licensed public-houses and shops of the country, so that the beershops only aggravated an existing malady.' 'It also appears,' say the committee, 'an unquestionable fact that in proportion as facilities *in any shape* for procuring intoxicating liquors are countenanced and afforded, the vice of intemperance and its dismal effects are everywhere increased. That this would be the case has been continually maintained by members of the community desirous of the repression of intemperance, and extensively acquainted with its phases and workings. *This conclusion the evidence before your committee amply confirms.*' 'Your committee therefore wish to record, as their deep and rooted conviction, that the multiplied and increasing facilities for obtaining intoxicating liquor, provided by the law, are so many licensed temptations to the excess so frightfully prevalent and working such dire and disastrous results amongst our people.' The attractions of these facilities have been much augmented during the last fifty years by the addition of singing and dancing saloons, besides gaudy gin-palaces and ubiquitous beershops, that have been multiplied with terrible rapidity. Men of wealth, position, and influence have developed an ever-increasing interest in the consumption of intoxicating drinks; large capitalists own public-houses let at high rents, and compel their tenants to resort to all sorts of inducements to cultivate drinking habits amongst the people. Even prostitution is catered for by many keepers of beershops and low public-houses with this view, and 'thousands of young persons are in this way enticed to their ruin.' The licensing law, so full of anomalies, so variously administered, its restrictions so continually set at nought, and its violations so seldom punished, adds to the evil. 'With a system so faulty,' say the committee, 'a law so loosely and irregularly applied, and such abundant and increasing encouragements to intemperance, the spread of

this vice throughout the country cannot be a matter of surprise.'

Turning to indirect causes of the evil, the committee allude to various trade and social usages known to act as temptations and incitements to intemperance; such are, the conducting of bargains, making of payments, and transacting business at public-houses; the part-payment of wages in drink; the custom of paying 'footings' in drink; the circulation of drink at auction sales; the giving of gratuities in drink or for drinking; and the practice of drinking at marriages, christenings, and other festive occasions, and at funerals. Stress is laid on the noxious tendency of holding benefit and other clubs at public-houses; and on the connection of drinking customs with mopps and fairs, with tithe dinners, and even with the belfries of churches. 'The vicious arrangement' at inns and hotels is pointed out, 'by which commercial travellers are induced to order and drink large quantities of wine for the good of the house, a custom often fatal to the integrity and health of the persons so affected.' After these come the billeting of soldiers and militiamen at public-houses, the supply of grog to soldiers and sailors, the encouragement given to intoxication in connection with recruiting practices, the adulteration of liquors, and the neglect of duty by the police. On almost all these heads evidence is printed in the appendix to the report.

And here, in due order, should have been inserted some reference, afterwards supplied, to the unwise prescription of alcoholic drinks by medical men, as tending very largely to the promotion of intemperance. A coroner writes that 'the physicians of the present day who prescribe such a large and unnecessary amount of stimulants are by no means to be exempted from blame in this matter.' The superintendent of an asylum alludes to 'the almost indiscriminate exhibition of stimulants which is too much the fashion among medical men at the present day, a fashion which I consider most pernicious, both morally and physically, but which, like other fashions, will probably have its day, though its effects will last for more than a generation.' 'My experience,' writes another gentleman filling a similar position, 'is that of the leading physicians of the day, viz., that the total disuse of alcohol, and the substitution of beef-tea and milk, constitute the best possible treatment—rest of body, and rest of mind, are, of course, essential to the cure; but the old belief that alcoholic stimulants could not be withdrawn altogether without danger to the patient, has been generally abandoned.' And the evidence of a very large number of governors of gaols and workhouses

and chaplains of prisons is quoted afterwards, to show that the health of persons suddenly compelled to abstain from these drinks invariably improves.

In the great apple districts, cider appears again and again as the worst enemy of the labourer, who receives no mean part of his wages in that useless and deleterious liquid. 'The practice which prevails at harvest,' says a coroner, 'of giving labourers a quantity of drink as an inducement to greater exertion, is very much to be deprecated. Labourers, naturally enough, think if their masters will furnish them with a quantity of drink for their own purpose, they may exceed now and then on their own account.' The governor of a workhouse states that the farmers in his locality—an apple-growing one—pay very low wages, but indulge their labourers throughout the summer with an unlimited supply of cider; some with three or four gallons each per diem. 'To this system may be attributed the great number of cases of dropsy, rheumatic affections, and more cases of lunacy than can be found in any other county with the same population; and it is chiefly with cases of this description that our workhouse is crammed.' 'After many years' experience in my present position,' he adds, 'I cannot but feel convinced that cider is the curse of the county. The labourers should be paid in cash instead of cider.' 'The allowance of cider to a labourer at harvest time,' says a clergyman, 'is two gallons and a half a-day, and the result is that the state of semi-intoxication thus induced becomes habitual.'

Again, one clergyman states that 'the annual club-feast teaches many to drink, and confirms them in drunkenness;' another, that 'the practice of benefit societies and friendly clubs meeting at public-houses, and charging each member for drink, is a cause of much mischief.' 'Much drunkenness is produced in this neighbourhood,' says a third, 'by the obliging of members of break-up clubs to spend a certain sum in beer on the monthly nights of payment at the village inn.' And the governor of a workhouse says: 'The regulated so-called benefit clubs or societies held at public-houses have been a snare and a delusion; disappointment and the workhouse have often been the result. I believe that nine out of ten of our aged inmates are in this case!'

With reference to statutes and fairs, the Rev. Nash Stephenson, M.A., Vicar of Bromyard, supplies the following frightful paragraph:—

'When the business of the day has drawn to a close, the *pleasures* of the evening commence. The inexperienced lad and lass, with the fruits of their last year's labours in their pockets, are naturally led for the purposes of refreshment to the

neighbouring public-house. The place is filled to suffocation with visitors—all in the hey-day of youth—most without moral control, and all without the control of masters, or betters, or parents, or elders in life. To the stupefying effects of tobacco are added the intoxicating consequences of deleterious beer and spirits, and the maddening results of dancing and music. Each female selects her male companion for the evening, whose duty it is to see her to her distant home at the close of the amusements in the darkness of the night. Decency forbids me from entering into further details, and I cannot picture to you the proceedings of the night to its close.' 'The ordinary restraints of the lowest dregs of society are scarcely observed; and in the nineteenth century, and in civilised, enlightened, Christian England, scenes of iniquity may be witnessed that would defile and degrade the most debased of the heathen nations of the earth.'

Mr. Humphries, superintendent of police at King's Heath, after sixteen years' experience, says he 'believes statute-fairs to be one of the greatest evils in existence; he has seen married and single conducting themselves with the greatest impropriety, and young girls—or rather children—stopping all night, dancing and drinking, and allowing most indecent liberties to be taken with them.' Mr. Wild, superintendent of police at Solihull, after seventeen years' experience, declares that at these fairs 'young women stay late at the public-houses, become elated with drink, and hence a great deal of immorality on the road home.' Mr. Harris, inspector of police in Henley-in-Arden, says: 'I have had every opportunity of witnessing the demoralising effects of the statute-fairs in this neighbourhood, and have always considered the system bad in itself, as encouraging drunkenness and other crimes, and tending to the utter ruin of great numbers of the youth of both sexes.' The chief constable of Warwickshire says he has caused inquiries to be made throughout the county, and is informed by the officers that they are unanimously of opinion that statute-fairs are productive of a great amount of crime, drunkenness, and debauchery; and that on female servants they have a most baneful effect, many cases of bastardy having come under the notice of the police, resulting from improper intimacies at or returning from statutes. And the Right Honourable Lord Leigh, Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire, says: 'The revolting appearance and openly impudent conduct of the young men and women whom I have met returning home after statute-fairs, have disgusted me to the highest degree, and when I met them at a tolerably early hour, and knew that they were only the forerunners of many who would be returning home in a more degraded condition still, and still later, I deeply regretted to think what the consequences must be to the morals and [illegible] youth of our country.'

With regard to recruiting, &c. [illegible] C.C.B.,

points out that the recruiting of the army is conducted entirely in public-houses, whereto the recruits are inveigled by 'bringers,' who are crimps of the worst description, touting about in all the lowest haunts of a town. The recruits are habitually plied with drink, and are generally under the influence of liquor when they enlist. They are also deceived by false expectations as to the amount of their remuneration, and are induced to make false representations as to their age and condition. As the recruiters are paid so much per head, they have a pecuniary interest in the gains of such objectionable practices. 'As soon,' Sir Charles Trevelyan says,

'As the recruits receive the bounty-money, their comrades get round them, and it is drunk away; so that the man not only gets drunk himself, but makes the men of his company drunk too, unless he keeps the money to enable him to desert, with a view of getting another bounty elsewhere. The recruiting sergeants, being lodged in the lowest houses in a town, where they meet only the lowest characters, become depraved; and even good non-commissioned officers, after having been employed on recruiting service, frequently return to their regiments dissipated in habits and appearance, and greatly in debt. . . . The head-money paid to recruiters is the immediate stimulus to the tippling and swindling of the recruiting system. . . . Of course, it is extremely difficult to keep together an army which has been got together by such an utterly immoral system of recruiting. . . . Recruiting should be dissociated from drunkenness by providing proper places in each district where the recruits may be received until they can be forwarded to the depôt battalions. . . . A reference to the evidence will show how open we are to the reproach of tainting our soldiers at the outset of their career, and with that vice which is the cause of most of the crimes in the army, and of the flogging, branding, and other punishments which too often complete their demoralisation.'

On the score of adulteration, one clergyman reports that there is 'very little pure beer.' Another states that 'combined with the means used by publicans to excite men to gamble and spend their money on drink, is the salting of ale, which increases thirst.' Another alludes to 'the horrible beer, that is drugged to excite greater thirst, and so increase consumption.' Another writes: 'I found myself a large quantity of tobacco in the bottom of an old beer-cask, bought second-hand as a water-cask for my garden;' and another declares that 'tobacco is used in large quantities' for the purpose of adulteration. 'There is reason to believe,' says another reverend gentleman, 'that every barrel of beer is drugged more or less;' and another mentions *coculus indicus*, as amongst other deleterious ingredients 'known' to be added to beer and ale. By another, the beer commonly drunk at public-houses is reported to be 'so bad that I would not drink a glass of it for a crown;' and by another, the climax perhaps is reached, when he says: 'The publicans adulterate fearfully. All sorts of filth, such as horse-flesh and tobacco, found at the bottom of the barrels when returned to the brewery.' The

general opinion of all the witnesses seems to be that the beer is thus made to have an extra thirst-producing instead of a thirst-quenching power; and that thus, as well as by vile mixtures that add to its natural exciting and stupefying effects, the increased consumption of the article, and the consequent increase of drunkenness are largely promoted. A coroner is struck by what he deems to be the fact that 'as a general rule the lower orders get intoxicated much more frequently, early, cheaply, and rapidly than they did in my early time; and I cannot but think that the impurity of the beer, now too generally retailed, has much to do with this, as well as with the great increase of insanity among the lower orders in country villages.'

The testimony is almost equally profuse with regard to the corruption of the police by the publicans. One clergyman writes: 'I have noticed that a new policeman is very sharp for the first few weeks with public-houses, but after that he lets them alone. I believe they are bribed in one way or the other, and thus shut their eyes to a great deal.' In connection with this, however, it might be stated with truth, that laxity in dealing with public-houses is often the result of the discovery the young policeman makes early, that the publicans have friends on the bench, and that other magistrates are very deficient in zeal for the proper punishment of public-house law-breakers. However, one clergyman declares that 'the publicans in too many cases buy over the police, who are afterwards afraid to inform against them.' 'There is no doubt,' another remarks, 'that the late alehouse is an almost unconquerable snare to the weary policeman.' 'Police,' writes another, 'connive at much that is wrong. If for awhile they stand firm against the temptation of having drink forced upon them by publicans and tipplers, they usually get into drinking ways at last. Several policemen have been appointed to this parish in the thirteen years of my ministry; nearly all have been sent away through the influence of drink directly or indirectly, and several of them dismissed from the force in consequence.' 'The whole of the evils,' says another reverend gentleman,' are systematically winked at by the police, as they say they had better not be always interfering.' 'My opinion,' another says, 'is that the police are completely hoodwinked by the publican, and that it is only when the latter refuse black mail and get too outrageous that we have convictions. Police should not be left too long on one beat.' 'The police,' we are told by still another witness, 'are unnecessarily corrupted by the liquor-sellers. They are sometimes made drunk on

their beat by publicans.' Evidence to this effect is largely given in one of the appendices to the report of the committee.

From the causes of intemperance, the committee pass next to the results;—'many of the crimes and miseries which disturb the peace of states and poison the happiness of families;' the depravation of character, impairment of strength, shattering of health and nerves, and premature death of thousands; the filling of prisons, workhouses, lunatic asylums, and penitentiaries; and the prostration of the efforts and hopes of all who have at heart the elevation and welfare of the people. Amongst the usual products of intemperance are noted loss of health and intellect, decay of strength, most frightful diseases, and premature death; the souring of the temper, the inflaming of the passions, the brutalisation of the whole nature; no enormity of blasphemy in language, no turpitude of cruelty in action, to which drink will not incite even the naturally gentle and well conducted; no family affections not blunted and obliterated; no tender relations not outraged; to gratify the craving for drink. And the sin of the parent is visited on a stunted, sickly, debilitated offspring. In no country, perhaps, is this vice so prevalent as our own. 'And unless remedies,' say the committee, 'be speedily and effectively supplied, consequences the most disastrous to us as a people cannot be long averted. No evil more nearly affects our national life and character; none more vigorously counteracts the spiritual work of the Church; and, therefore, no question more immediately demands the zeal of our clergy, the attention of our statesmen, the action of our Legislature, and the thoughtful aid of our philanthropists. Nor can any sacrifice be esteemed too costly, or any efforts too great, to check and remedy what may be shown by accumulated and undeniable evidence to be sapping the foundations of our prosperity, blighting the future and lowering the reputation of our country, and destroying at once its physical strength and its moral and religious life. In review of the inquiries of Parliament as to the evils caused by this vice, and the conclusive evidence laid before its committees, it is a matter of surprise to us that the Legislature has not long since interfered: and the statesman who should have magnanimity and moral courage to grapple with and wisdom to overcome this stupendous evil, would confer an incalculable benefit on his country, and establish a lasting claim to its gratitude.'

Of the intimate connection between intemperance and crime and pauperism, the committee treat at some length; they show further what great injury to trade, what wilful waste of resources, what useless consumption of precious

grain, what terrible sacrifice of human life, besides what huge loss to the military and naval services, are attributable to strong drink. That intoxicating liquors may be suddenly and totally withdrawn, and the health be not injured but benefited, is proved by reference to the experience of prisoners and paupers. Lastly, in concluding their long and terrible indictment of the liquor traffic, the committee allude to the lowering of the national reputation, the outrages and injuries inflicted abroad on other peoples by British subjects, the obstacles interposed in the way of commerce and civilisation, 'and above all the obstruction to that message of reconciliation and peace through heathen lands and Christendom itself, of which this nation might otherwise be the honoured emissary and agent.'

On the effect of intemperance on the work of the Church, the evidence, in an appendix to the report, is copious. 'Habits of occasional intemperance,' says one witness, 'keep men away from church for a time.' 'The apparent result,' another testifies, 'is chiefly neglect of the means of grace and ordinances of religion.' 'Public-house keepers,' says another, 'rarely or never come to church.' Another: 'There are families who never attend Divine service; they plead that they have no decent clothes in which to come—the truth being that the money which should purchase clothes is spent at the beer-shop.' Another: 'Saturday night being the usual time for drinking-bouts, men feel themselves unfit in every way for attendance at church, and thus the Sunday morning congregations include but a small number of working men.' Another: 'All persons who frequent alehouses are irregular in their attendance at a place of worship.' It might have been more correct to have said that most persons who frequent alehouses are regular in their non-attendance. Other witnesses say: 'Many dare not face the pulpit.' 'Those who drink most worship least.' 'One public-house only; population, 280; since the opening of the public-house the attendance at church has been somewhat less.' 'Attendance at church has been greatly increased with the decrease of intemperance among my parishioners.' Such are some of the testimonies cited by the committee on this head. Another witness says: 'I speak clerically, and say that intemperance undoes all we can do for the moral improvement of the parish; and magisterially, that out of every 100 cases, 90 at least of the cases brought before the bench are directly or indirectly to be traced to intemperance; and perhaps (having been in practice for several years as a medical man, and holding my diploma) I may speak medically, that vice caused to a

great extent by intemperance, ruinously affects the health of numbers.' 'Intemperance,' says one clergyman, 'is very prejudicial to religion, more than any other cause, and is the secret source of backsliding among Christian converts.' 'People who indulge in drink,' says another, 'seem dead to religion.' 'Almost all that is wrong in the parish,' says another, 'wrong and irreligious, is traceable to drunkenness.' 'It is,' says another, 'a fearful drawback in morals and religion; it ruins my senior scholars awfully.' 'The clergy everywhere,' exclaims still another, 'but in our large towns especially, are discouraged, cast down, almost driven to despair through the universal prevalence of the vice (of drinking), and the temptations that are multiplied for its encouragement on every hand under the protection of law; it thwarts, defeats, and nullifies their Christian schemes and philanthropic efforts to such an extent, that it is becoming a matter of grave question whether infidelity, religious indifferences, and social demoralisation, are not making head against us in defiance of all our churches, our clergy, our Scripture readers, and our schools.'

Abundant as is the evidence on this head, it is exceeded in amount very largely indeed by the voluminous testimony of judges, recorders, police magistrates, and other competent authorities, showing the overwhelming pre-eminence of drinking amongst all the factors of crime. Lord Chief Justice Bovill writes to the chairman of the committee:

'I have no hesitation in stating that in the North of England, and in most of the large towns and the manufacturing and mining districts, intemperance is directly or indirectly the cause of by far the largest proportion of the crimes that have come under my observation. Amongst a large class of our population intemperance in early life is the direct and immediate cause of every kind of immorality, profligacy, and vice, and soon leads to the commission of crime. As the young of both sexes grow up, the habit of intoxication increases upon them, and inevitably leads to crimes of violence of the most serious description, including murders, manslaughter, rapes, robberies, and violent assaults. In many cases these crimes are committed by parties under the immediate influence of drink. In others, the fact of a man being intoxicated induces persons to take advantage of his state of helpless unconsciousness, and they afterwards escape punishment from the inability of the sufferer to identify his assailants, or to know, or remember, or to give evidence, of what has occurred. It is frequently very painful to find honest and well-disposed and hard-working men, who do not belong to the criminal class, placed in the dock for serious crimes committed under the influence of drink, and who, if they had been in possession of their senses, would never have thought of committing such crimes; and still more painful to a judge to have to sentence such men to long terms of imprisonment, to the ruin of themselves and families.

'The cost to the country for the maintenance of the prisoners and their families likewise becomes a matter of very serious importance; and—looking also to the wholesale misery that is brought upon the working classes by their indulging in intoxication, at first unfitting them for their ordinary occupations and then rapidly causing disease and want, too frequently insanity or death, and bringing *distress* upon their families, and considering the amount of pauperism as well as

crime which is thus occasioned—it would seem to be the imperative duty, as well as the interest, of the State to endeavour to provide some remedy which will check so frightful an evil.'

Similar, though in many cases still more emphatic, testimony is given by a large number of witnesses, including governors and chaplains of gaols, chief constables, police superintendents, and persons of every class likely to be well informed on this momentous subject. One head of police, who attributes three-fourths of all crime to drink, says: 'I have now been altogether thirty years a police officer in different counties, and have had during that time some thousands of prisoners in my custody—a great many of them drunkards—but not one total abstainer from intoxicating drinks.' Another declares: 'The traffic in intoxicating drink is the great producer of crime. Scarce any crime is committed which may not be traced to that cause.'

A body of evidence, almost equally voluminous, shows the causal connection of intemperance with pauperism. 'I can trace nearly every case of family destitution to intemperance,' says a clergyman. 'There would be no real poverty here,' says a second, 'except from some illness, if there were no drunkenness.' 'As chairman of the Board of Guardians,' writes a third, 'I testify that intemperance adds considerably to the poor rate.' 'This Union,' writes a fourth, 'consisting of 80,000 persons, has to support 80 pauper lunatics, at a charge of £20 per annum each. About two-thirds of these cases have been traced to drink. Two or three cases of pauper lunacy occur every year.' According to one governor of a workhouse, 'eighty per cent. may be given as the proportion of paupers who are the victims of intemperance.' Varying the phrase, 'eighteen out of every twenty,' according to another. 'I have been master of a workhouse and relieving officer for eleven years, and during that time I never knew a teetotaler apply for parochial relief,' says a third; and a fourth says, 'I am sure I am within the mark when I say nine-tenths of the adult paupers are habitual drinkers to excess, and the children are nearly all paupers in consequence of the dissipated habits of their parents. The demoralising influence of intoxicating drinks I consider to be the most prolific cause of bastardy.' Another writes: 'All paupers who have come under my cognizance have more or less been the victims of intemperance. I have never known a pauper who was a total abstainer.' Another: 'An abstainer from drink has not been an inmate for the last twenty-one years that I have been master.' Another, who declares he is not a teetotaler, says: 'I could almost

say that every pauper inmate of a workhouse is made so directly or indirectly through intemperance.' Another: 'Drink is the most prominent curse of the land. Residence in a workhouse three months would convince any one.' Very few of the witnesses assign to drink less than two-thirds of the pauperism; and a large number of them give eighty, ninety, or a still higher percentage. 'It is a fact,' says a workhouse governor, 'that more extra labour will be done by a pauper for half-a-pint of beer than for sixpence. Beer is even a standard of value amongst the lowest class of poor. Such expressions as "the price of a pint," "worth a pot," "stood a gallon," are the usual modes of expressing value among the pauperised poor. Dangerous, indeed, must be that section of society (and it is a large one) whose standard of value is the pot of beer.'

With regard to the large amount of disease, lunacy, and sacrifice of life caused by drink, clergymen, superintendents of asylums, and coroners bear strong and conclusive witness. 'My parish,' one clergyman writes, 'exhibits a very high rate of mortality, chiefly among children, who are often born in an imperfectly organised condition, and badly nourished afterwards, in consequence of the intemperance of the parents. I am continually called upon to sign papers for lunatics through drink.' Another writes: 'I have been directing my attention for some years to the more permanent effects of drinking habits, as tending to produce a depraved or debilitated offspring, not only making the parents "*nequiores*," but "*mox daturos progeniem vitiosiorem.*" I have collected some very curious facts on this point tending to prove that not only lunacy, but also other obscure diseases of the brain, may be traced to intemperance of parents.' A superintendent of a lunatic asylum says: 'I never knew a lunatic patient who had been a total abstainer.' Another says: 'If it is understood as including all the results of intemperance, such as poverty, vice, domestic unhappiness, etc., the proportion of cases traceable to intemperance cannot, I think, be much under 50 per cent.' 'To these,' another writes, 'must be added an unascertainable number of idiots, imbeciles, etc., the offspring of intemperate parents, in whom the sins of the fathers are visited on the children. The deplorable fact still remains that a very large proportion of insanity is the immediate or direct result of intemperance.' Of violent and sudden deaths, according to many coroners who have been consulted, a very large proportion are stated to be directly or indirectly the results of intemperance. Other testimony shows clearly that 'drunkenness is *the* vice of the army.'

Of course, the various witnesses, in response to the request for suggestions of remedies, sent in a copious variety, which are represented in detail in long appendices; from these the committee have selected those that they deem to be most important and are prepared to recommend as practicable. These divide themselves into the non-legislative, and the legislative. Of the first class, the list is as follows:—

'1. The removal of benefit clubs from public-houses, and the holding of their meetings in schoolrooms, or, where obtainable, in rooms especially provided for recreation and instruction.

'2. The discontinuance of the practice of paying wages or concluding bargains in public-houses, and the payment of wages on Friday, or early in the week, rather than on the Saturday when there is more opportunity for drinking.

'3. The providing really good tea and coffee-rooms, where wholesome refreshment and other comforts may be enjoyed by the working classes at a cheap rate.

'4. The encouragement of cottage allotments, night schools for adults, parochial libraries, workmen's clubs, and social gatherings—whether for mutual instruction or amusement—in which kindly intercourse and sympathy between the different classes of society may be promoted.

'5. More comfortable, commodious, and healthy dwellings for working men—implying an abundant supply of light, ventilation, and water—it being well known that a craving for intoxicating liquors is created and increased by the closeness, damp, and discomforts inseparable from the miserable and crowded apartments in which many of them lodge.

'6. Above all, there must be education in its widest sense and practical bearings, and based on Divine revelation; which will implant principles and impart tastes that may serve to counteract and supersede the animal indulgence by which many are enslaved; and which ought to be supplemented, as far as possible, by special instruction on subjects bearing on domestic comfort and economy: on which points, it must be admitted, that hitherto our national system of education has been both inadequate and defective. What is required is an education, as described by one of our coroners, "of a far more universal, more common-place, common-sense character than anything this country has yet seen." One of the most thoughtful and sober writers of our day speaks scornfully of mere teaching as "an empirical remedy" for intemperance. Another states, as a result of his pastoral experience, that "some of the best educated are the most drunken." Even in highly civilised communities intemperance has been found commensurate with temptations to drink.

'The only education that can cope with these is one that shall cultivate not only the mind but the heart,—which "shall embrace the encouragement by every proper means of a love of home and home enjoyments—as the natural and proper counteraction of the seductions of the public-house—and the general dissemination among the people of sound information as to the actual effects of our drinking habits upon their moral, social, and physical condition."

'It may be hoped that in proportion as such an education is brought more within the reach of our people—as its lessons are more adapted to their daily needs and daily duties—as it affords training in the principles of health and of social and domestic economy—those enjoyments may be found at home which are at present sought by so many in low haunts of dissipation. It is the testimony of one who has had ample means of judging, that "not one female in twenty, of our humbler classes, is instructed in the ordinary duties of either a wife or a mother."

'In connection with such special teaching on the evils of intemperance—which your committee are of opinion ought to form a branch of education in all our schools—temperance societies, bands of hope, and young men's associations are recommended by many of the clergy as having proved, in their experience, of signal benefit; while it is the almost universal testimony of those connected with our criminal jurisprudence and the control of workhouses,—and, indeed, of all who have looked deeply into the subject,—that in the case of persons addicted to

intemperance, total abstinence from intoxicating drinks is, under God, the only effectual remedy.'

Legislative remedies also are suggested by the committee; convinced, as they are, 'that without an improved and stringent system of legislation, and its strict enforcement, no effectual and permanent remedy for intemperance can be looked for.'

'1. The repeal of the Beer Act of 1830, and the total suppression of beer-houses throughout the country.

'2. The closing of public-houses on the Lord's day, except for the accommodation of *bonâ fide* travellers.

'3. The earlier closing of public-houses on week day evenings, in accordance with the practice now on the increase, of early closing in all other businesses. More especially is this necessary on Saturday when, it is well known, intemperance chiefly prevails.

'4. A great reduction in the number of public-houses throughout the kingdom, it being in evidence that the number already licensed far exceeds any real demand, and that in proportion as facilities for drinking are reduced, intemperance with its manifold evils is restrained.

'5. Placing the whole licensing system under one authority, and administering it on some uniform plan which would have for its object the abatement of existing temptations to tippling and intemperate habits.

'6. The rigid enforcement of the penalties now attached to drunkenness, both on the actual offenders and on licensed persons who allow drunkenness to occur on their premises.

'7. Passing an act to prevent the same person holding a music, dancing, or billiard licence, in conjunction with a licence for the sale of intoxicating drinks.

'8. Prohibiting the use of public-houses as committee rooms at elections, and closing such houses on the days of nomination and election in every Parliamentary borough.

'9. The appointment of a distinct class of police for the inspection of public-houses, and frequent visitation of public-houses for the detection of adulterations, to be followed, on conviction, by severe penalties.

'10. The repeal of all the duties on tea, coffee, chocolate, and sugar.

'11. Your committee, in conclusion, are of opinion that as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licenses should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves—who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system. Such a power would, in effect, secure to the districts, willing to exercise it, the advantages now enjoyed by the numerous parishes in the province of Canterbury where, according to reports furnished to your committee, owing to the influence of the landowner, no sale of intoxicating liquors is licensed.'

There still remains to be noticed a large collection of testimonies gathered from nearly fifteen hundred parishes in the province of Canterbury, the names of which are given, and wherein there is neither public-house nor beershop; 'and where,' as the committee remark, 'in consequence of the absence of those inducements to crime and pauperism, according to the evidence before the committee, the intelligence, morality, and comfort of the people are such as the friends of temperance have anticipated.' It is upon this list of parishes, and the reports sent in from observers on the spots, that the

committee have founded the last of their recommendations for legislative remedies,—identical, as our readers will have noticed, with the Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill, of which Sir Wilfrid Lawson is the well-known and able champion in the House of Commons. Were we to cite half the evidence from those prohibitory parishes, it would occupy many of the pages of *Meliora;* who must therefore content herself with producing a few of the witnesses, leaving the rest,—all similar in their testimony,—to stand behind these invisibly, but capable of being produced in court at once by any judge who may think well to possess himself of one of the handsome but very low-priced volumes in which the report and the evidence in full are given.*

'I can only say that the benefits of "no" public-house or beershop are very perceptible, especially when I compare the moral condition of this place with my other parish where there are a public-house and two beershops. Landlords are quite aware of the effects of beershops, as they seldom allow them to exist in parishes under their sole control, however some may support them in Parliament. Though there is no public-house here or near, no inconvenience is felt.'

'The public-house was done away with about eleven years ago, shortly before I became incumbent. I am assured that when there was a public-house it was the occasion of much intemperance, of much riot and disorder, and of much poverty and distress. The names of many men can be mentioned who spent the greater part of their earnings in drink, their wives and children suffering want in consequence. The peace and quiet of the village was disturbed by their drunken brawls, &c., while poaching and other offences were rife. From the experience of ten years' intercourse with the people and residence among them, I believe, I may confidently say that we have no habitual drunkard. I do not remember to have seen a parishioner in a state of intoxication more than once or twice, and the freedom of the village from those riots and disorder which are, perhaps, inseparable from a public-house is very observable and often spoken of with satisfaction. . . . . I have no hesitation in saying that the abolition of the public-house has been a great boon and an unmingled benefit to the place. It has contributed very decidedly to the well being of the labouring inhabitants; and I am moreover confident that no real practical inconvenience has been experienced from its abolition.'

'When I entered upon my duties I found in this parish a public-house,—and it was a great nuisance, being chiefly supported by poachers and other unruly persons,—and subsequently, upon undertaking the duties of the adjoining parish, I found another of the same description, and with much difficulty I got rid of both, and have hitherto prevented having a beerhouse in either; and the result is that I have no drunkenness or disorder, and my people soon found out the comfort. I thank God my efforts have received their reward, and as long as I can preserve my influence there shall be neither public-house, beershop, nor ginshop in either of my parishes.'

'I beg to state that the fact of there being no public-house in my parish has, in my opinion, been productive of great advantage. Though the wages are only the average wages of an agricultural labourer, the people are, as a general rule, better off and more comfortable in their homes than in a parish where an alehouse is at hand. . . . . Besides, speaking generally, they are all well disposed on religious matters, some, of course, more than others; but all attend Divine service, and the majority of them regularly. I have not, for some years, heard of occasional intoxication. A riotous disturbance is a thing almost unknown.'

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* Report by the Committee on Intemperance, &c. London: Longman, Green, Reade, & Dyer.

'Many years ago there was a beerhouse here in which the young men used to meet and get drunk. Many complaints having been made, and every effort made to stop the evil, the beershop was turned into a cottage. There is now no drunkenness nor disorderly conduct. Comparing this parish with two in which I was curate, and where there are beershops, I can without statistics, positively state that this is by far the most orderly and religious parish of the three.'

'I used some years ago to think that it was a bad thing for the village having no public-house or beershop in it, for I thought men would have beer (even those who were not drunkards), and that when they had walked a mile or a mile and a half for it they were tempted to stay longer and drink more than they would have, could they have got some beer at home. And at that time I was almost in favour of having either a public-house or a beershop under strict regulations; but I have quite altered my mind, and got to think that it is a blessing being without one; for I feel sure if we had a public-house in the place our people would lounge into it on an evening. . . . . As it is, we have no such thing as drunkenness in the place.'

'No kind of intoxicating drink is in use in the parish, with rare exceptions. Our miners generally use weak tea with their meals; and except on holidays there is very little drinking, and even then, only by persons who are not at all respected. For several years I have not seen a man under the influence of drink. There is a large, I may say a crowded, attendance at church. There is very little of what comes under the head of crime, and no case of lunacy in the parish. Our communicants, although not pledged, are practical teetotalers; the members of the New Connexion Methodists are pledged teetotalers, and most of the members of the Wesleyan Society are, like the Church people, practical though not pledged teetotalers.'

'I am happy to state that I consider it has been unquestionably of the greatest possible benefit in a moral, social, and religious point of view, that we have no public-house or beershop. The farmers and myself always firmly and resolutely oppose every attempt to introduce the opening of any such house; and, although there is no public-house or beershop within two miles, none of the inhabitants have ever complained that they suffer any inconvenience.'

'For eighteen years I have been rector of this parish,—my predecessor thirty-eight years,—and not a single instance of drunkenness has occurred—say for the last fifty-six years; not one of the parishioners has been brought before a magistrate. I attribute this influence for good to the absence of public-houses and beershops.'

'It is now four and a half years since our only public-house was burnt down, and it has not been rebuilt. We have cause to congratulate ourselves on this circumstance. It was a resort for poachers and other bad characters in the neighbourhood, who now seek shelter and protection from no one in this parish. It was a great snare to the young, who now, for the most part, attend night school, or stay at home, seldom liking the trouble to walk over a mile to a public-house. I have never seen a drunkard in the place. It is hardly possible to estimate the advantage accurately.'

'During the five and a half years I have had charge of the parish, I have never seen a drunken man or woman; nor have I, save in one instance, had occasion to admonish any of my parishioners upon the sinfulness of the degrading vice of intemperance. The case to which I refer was that of a man whose work lies in the neighbouring town, where he is of course exposed to temptation. I firmly believe that in the case of drunkenness, prevention is better than cure. My people do not care to walk a mile and a half off to the nearest public-house.'

'There is neither public-house nor beershop, and comparatively little drunkenness, except when carters or others go into market towns, when there have been cases of being overtaken. . . . . The people are generally healthy, well clothed, and comfortably off. The attendance at church good. My other parish has two beershops with licences not to be drunk on the premises. I cannot in any respect speak so satisfactorily respecting this as the other. Both in a temporal and spiritual point of view, the effect of these beerhouses is bad, and I should be very glad on every ground if some alteration in the law could abate the present unsatisfactory state of things.'

'We have no real poverty in the parish, the labourers are in constant work—have well-furnished cottages—and spend their evenings at home; and though I have had charge of the parish for more than eight years, I do not remember having seen a case of intoxication in it. These advantages I have no doubt arise in some measure, at least, from the fact that we have no public-house or beershop in the parish.'

'It is with the sincerest thankfulness to the Giver of All Good that I can state that the advantages have been great in our case. . . . . During the eighteen years I have been in this parish, the health of the people has been unusually good. . . . . There has not been one serious injury in it during the whole period. The morals of the people are so free from any gross stains that I am at times afraid of their suffering spiritually from their thinking too highly of themselves. They furnish no cases for the parish constable or policeman. Men working on the roads leave their tools by the wayside when they return home for the night, without any fear of not finding them there in the morning. The people, without exception, are decently clothed, and there has been no case of insolvency since I came here. By applying to landowners, I have succeeded in persuading them to suppress three beershops in neighbouring parishes, and prevented the establishment of another which was attempted. There are, therefore, now four contiguous parishes here without public-houses; and very favourably can I report of those with which I am not officially connected. The improvement which results from the absence of these temptations in our parish extends into other parishes around it, and the change in the last eighteen years for miles round is very evident. . . . I have ministered in large towns, and know something of the sins and sorrows that abound there through this one cause. If this evil could be suppressed, what might we not expect the influence of Britain to be upon the world!'

'You have been rightly informed that there are no public-houses or beershops here. Only very occasionally any inconvenience is felt, and the benefit to the people in the place is felt and acknowledged by all. The village is orderly and quiet, and only once during my incumbency of six years have I seen a drunken parishioner. Indeed drunkenness is hardly known. The labourer is too tired of an evening to go two miles in quest of beer. . . . . This sobriety has a great effect upon the harmony and comforts of home. Every labourer is able to keep a pig, and several have cows. They are able to keep their children at school longer than usual. They belong, as a rule, both men and women, to some friendly society. I know something of their private concerns. One day-labourer, a butcher, has saved £70. Another, a shepherd, has laid by over £100. Only last week a labourer, with a family of five children, consulted me as to an investment for his savings. This humble prosperity is not confined to one or two instances, but is fully evenly spread over the whole place. In the interest of truth, I am bound to add, that the parish belongs to Lord ——, who is a resident here most part of the year, and that he takes an interest in the concerns of almost every parishioner. But after deducting the effect of this influence upon the welfare of the place, I can fairly attribute very much of the prosperity and morality to the absence of public-houses. I may add, I have heard frequently the men and women express their thankfulness that the temptation to drinking has been taken out of the way.'

The volume before us is evidently the result of vast labour, and not a little expenditure of money, in obtaining, arranging, and printing the evidence; and the arduous task of obtaining the committee in the first instance, then of preparing its report, and of securing for it the approval and endorsement of the Lower House of Convocation, must have been prodigious. For this, the thanks of every lover of temperance, and indeed of every friend of the human race, are largely due, under God, to the Ven. Archdeacon Sandford, whose name is appended to the very modest preface introducing the volume.

DR. LYMAN BEECHER'S 'SIX SERMONS.'

DR. BEECHER was certainly a remarkable man. His portrait represents a most earnest and ardent character, one of the genuine seed of the Puritans, with an entire preservation of their creed, character, spirit, prejudices, powers, merits, and faults. He was, like them, vehement to fury, zealous to slaying, intense to narrowness, but full of faith and burning earnestness, and his hatred, like that of the best of men, might be called inverted love. As a preacher of extreme Calvinism he was one of the most uncompromising, powerful, and overwhelming. Yet his sincerity and simplicity of character saved him, to a great extent, from the charge of fanaticism, and those who heard him and did not believe his doctrine, were yet awestruck by his holiness and penetrated by his philanthropy, and while they were not converted to the creed, they were taught to revere and to love the man. A notable instance of this is found in the case of the late Theodore Parker. That in some points erroneous, but in all points earnest, and in many respects most noble and gifted man, attended Dr. Beecher's ministry for a long time; and although the doctor's sermons and arguments and thundering denunciations, instead of producing conviction in his mind of the Calvinistic creed, made him to recoil from it more and more, partly perhaps on the principle that the inhabitants of the tropics are less afraid of thunder, where it is common and tremendous, than the inhabitants of temperate climes, where it is moderate and unfrequent, yet he never ceased to love and admire the preacher. He learned earnestness, if not theology, from his lips, and he learned, too, charity, since he saw that here one of the best of men held doctrines which made him shudder and recoil at times with horror. We have not Parker's life at hand, but we may refer our readers to it as containing one of the most remarkable testimonies of respect from an honest and able rationalist to an honest and able preacher of the Orthodox doctrines.

Dr. Beecher's Six Sermons on Intemperance filled, we believe, the first book that gained him a name in Great Britain. We remember reading them when a boy, and being greatly struck with their exceeding energy of style, boldness of imagery, pungency of illustration, and earnestness of tone. Intemperance at that time, still more than now, the great moral mischief of America, had exerted almost a fascinating

and fearful influence on Dr. Beecher's imagination. It seemed to him a black shadow breathed up from the pit and darkening earth below and beclouding heaven above; it rested like a nightmare upon the breast of his country; it sacrificed manly enterprise; it crushed manly energy; it withered manly health; it deadened religious enterprise; it formed a cloud between the Mercy-seat above and the Church of Christ below; it seemed the sum of all the evils of humanity, the masterstroke of demoniac skill and infernal ingenuity; the one great obstacle which prevented the earth from attaining the climax of true happiness, and Christianity the culmination of its triumph. All this, and more than this, Dr. Beecher enumerated with vast force of conviction, intensity of feeling, and power of language. One passage especially we remember well, in which he described the earth as the vast whispering gallery repeating the woes and horrors of intemperance, as peculiarly powerful and striking to young imaginations.

'Oh! were the sky over our heads one great whispering gallery, bringing down about us all the lamentation and wo which intemperance creates, and the firm earth one sonorous medium of sound, bringing up around us from beneath the wailings of the damned whom the commerce in strong drink had sent thither, these tremendous realities, assailing our sense, would invigorate our conscience, and give decision to our purpose of reformation. But these evils are as real as if the stone did cry out of the wall, and the beam answered it; as real as if day and night wailings were heard in every part of the dwelling, and blood and skeletons were seen upon every wall; as real as if the ghostly forms of departed victims flitted about the ship as she passed over the billows, and showed themselves nightly about stores and distilleries, and with unearthly voices screamed in our ears their loud lament. They are as real as if the sky over our heads collected and brought down about us all the notes of sorrow in the land, and the firm earth should open a passage for the wailings of despair to come up from beneath.'

There are, and were then, other evils besides intemperance—some of them perhaps even greater, because more respectable and insidious, and warring still more against the soul. There are selfishness, trade trickery, and falsehood, and, besides, uncharitableness, licentiousness, ungodliness, calumny, and evil-speaking were then, and are still, prevalent, and are eating like cankers into the very heart and core of society. But Dr. Beecher, viewing intemperance as one great form of iniquity, and anxious for its abolition, might well be excused for neglecting to allude for the moment to those other shapes of evil, and concentrating his whole energy of attack upon this. Besides, he felt, as all reformers do, that in order to gain a point that point must be magnified. In order to destroy an evil that evil must be regarded through a powerful telescope. In order to carry a citadel that citadel must be insulated and made the principal aim of the beleaguering

cannon. And on this hint he spake, and his word both in America and here was with power.

Dr. Beecher's sermons were six in number, and were devoted to the nature, occasions, signs, evils, and remedies of intemperance. All of them were eminently practical in their cast, and yet at the same time glowed with eloquence, palpitated with earnest feeling, and glittered with poetical imagery. They were delivered in Lichfield in 1826, and he might be considered as almost the father of the movement in America; a movement which undoubtedly has been productive of an immense amount of good. His sermon on the remedies is exceedingly earnest, and has much that was and is seasonable about it, although some may think that it does not lay sufficient stress upon the gradual effects of culture, good manners, sanitary regulations, increased material comfort, and religious influences as striking at the roots of intemperance. Dr. Beecher's *brochure* is by no means to be regarded as a complete, a final, a philosophical defence of its own cause. It lies open to various and obvious objections. It overstates some things, understates others; but as a first trumpet blast, calling attention to the subject, and proclaiming the evils of a great and growing abuse, it did its work, and will ever deserve its high meed of applause.

We notice some little blunders in these sterling sermons. For instance, he says, p. 16, 'The giant writers of Scotland are some of them men of *threescore and ten*, who still go forth to the sports of their youthful days with undiminished activity.' We smile at this, remembering that in 1826 the two principal writers in Scotland were Sir Walter Scott and Professor Wilson—the one of them then 55, and the other 41 years of age,—and that Scott died when 61. Probably Beecher was thinking of the imaginary age which Christopher North always, in Blackwood, attributed to himself. But certainly the Scottish authors as a rule, if they have lived long, have not done so owing to their peculiar temperance; nor do we remember any instances of great longevity among them, unless it be in the case of George Buchanan and Henry Mackenzie—Buchanan being 79 and Mackenzie 86 when they respectively died. But it will not do to look at these sermons in a carping spirit. They are productions superior to petty criticism, powerful, fresh, dipped in the heart's blood of their author, and animated by a spirit of the most glowing philanthropy.

We quote, in addition to the passage already given, one or two of the more sterling portions:—

From the first sermon we give the following passage :—

'The use of these liquors, employed as an auxiliary to labour, is among the most fatal, because the most common and least suspected, causes of intemperance. It is justified as innocent, it is insisted on as necessary; but no fact is more completely established by experience, than that it is utterly useless, and ultimately injurious, beside all the fearful evils of habitual intemperance to which it so often leads. THERE IS NO NUTRITION IN ALCHOLIC LIQUOR. ALL THAT IT DOES IS, TO CONCENTRATE THE STRENGTH OF THE SYSTEM FOR THE TIME BEYOND ITS CAPACITY FOR REGULAR EXERTION. It is borrowing strength for an occasion which will be needed for futurity, without any provision for payment, and with the certainty of ultimate bankruptcy.

'The early settlers of New England endured more hardship, and performed more labour, and carried through life more health and vigour, than appertains to the existing generation of labouring men. And they did it without the use of intoxicating drinks.

'Let two men of equal age and firmness of constitution, labour together through the summer, the one with, and the other without the excitement of these liquors, and the latter will come out at the end with unimpaired vigour, while the other will be comparatively exhausted. Ships navigated, as some now are, without the habitual use of ardent spirits, and manufacturing establishments carried on without it, and extended agricultural operations, all move on with better industry, more peace, more health, and a better income to the employers and employed. The workmen are cheerful and vigorous, friendly and industrious, and their families are thrifty, well-fed, well-clothed, and instructed; and instead of distress, and poverty, and disappointment, and contention, they are cheered with the full flow of social affection, and often by the sustaining power of religion. But where strong drink is received as a daily auxiliary to labour, it is commonly taken at stated times: the habit soon creates a vacancy in the stomach, which indicates at length the hour of the day with as much accuracy as a clock. It will be taken, besides, frequently at other times, which will accelerate the destruction of nature's healthful tone, create artificial debility, and the necessity of artificial excitement to remove it; and when so much has been consumed as the economy of the employer can allow, the growing demand will be supplied by the evening and morning dram from the wages of labour, until the appetite has become insatiable, and the habit of intemperance nearly universal; until the nervous excitability has obliterated the social sensibilities, and turned the family into a scene of babbling and wo; until voracious appetite has eaten up the children's bread, and abandoned them to ignorance and crime; until conscience has become callous, and fidelity and industry have disappeared, except as the result of eye service; and wanton wastefulness, and contention, and reckless wretchedness, characterise the establishment.'

In the second occurs a short but striking passage :—

'It is here, then, beside this commencing vortex, that I would take my stand, to warn off the heedless navigator from destruction. To all who do but heave in sight, and with voice that should rise above the winds and waves, I would cry, "Stand off! spread the sail, ply the oar, for death is here!" and could I command the elements, the blackness of darkness should gather over this gateway to hell, and loud thunders should utter their voices, and lurid fires should blaze, and the groans of unearthly voices should be heard, inspiring consternation and flight in all who came near. For this is the parting point between those who forsake danger, and hide themselves, and the foolish who pass on, and are punished. He who escapes this periodical thirst of times and seasons, will not be a drunkard, as he who comes within the reach of this powerful attraction will be sure to perish. It may not be certain that every one will become a sot; but it is certain that every one will enfeeble his body, generate disease, and shorten his days. It may not be certain that every one will sacrifice his reputation, or squander his property, and die in the almshouse; but it is certain that a large proportion will come to poverty and infamy of those who yield daily to the periodical appetite for strong drinks. Here is the stopping place, and though beyond it men may struggle, and retard,

and modify their progress, none, comparatively, who go by it, will return again to purity of enjoyment, and the sweets of temperate liberty. The servant has become the master, and with a rod of iron, and a whip of scorpions, he will torment, even before their time, the candidates for misery in a future state.'

From sermon third we cull the following paragraph :—

'To the action of a powerful mind, a vigorous muscular frame is, as a general rule, indispensable. Like heavy ordnance, the mind in its efforts recoils on the body, and will soon shake down a puny frame. The mental action and physical reaction must be equal, or, finding her energies unsustained, the mind itself becomes discouraged, and falls into despondency and imbecility. The flow of animal spirits, the fire and vigour of the imagination, the fulness and power of feeling, the comprehension and grasp of thought, the fire of the eye, the tones of the voice, and the electrical energy of utterance, all depend upon the healthful and vigorous tone of the animal system, and by whatever means the body is unstrung, the spirit languishes. Cæsar, when he had a fever once, and cried, "Give me some drink, Titinius," was not that god who afterwards overturned the republic, and reigned without a rival; and Bonaparte, it has been said, lost the Russian campaign by a fever. The greatest poets and orators who stand on the records of immortality, flourished in the iron age, before the habits of effeminacy had unharnessed the body and unstrung the mind. This is true of Homer, and Demosthenes, and Milton; and if Virgil and Cicero are to be classed with them, it is not without a manifest abatement of vigour for beauty, produced by the progress of voluptuousness in the age in which they lived.'

Sermon fifth closes strikingly thus :—

'The science of self-government is the science of perfect government, which we have yet to learn and teach, or this nation and the world must be governed by force. But we have all the means, and none of the impediments, which hinder the experiment amid the dynasties and feudal despotisms of Europe. And what has been done, justifies the expectation that all which yet remains to be done will be accomplished. The abolition of the slave trade, an event now almost accomplished, was once regarded as a chimera of benevolent dreaming. But the band of Christian heroes, who consecrated their lives to the work, may some of them survive to behold it achieved. This greatest of evils upon earth, this stigma of human nature, wide-spread, deep-rooted, and intrenched by interest and State policy, is passing away before the unbending requisitions of an enlightened public opinion.

No great melioration of the human condition was ever achieved without the concurrent effort of numbers; and no extended well-directed application of moral influence was ever made in vain. Let the temperate part of the nation awake, and reform, and concentrate their influence in a course of systematic action, and success is not merely probable, but absolutely certain. And cannot this be accomplished? Cannot the public attention be aroused, and set in array against the traffic in strong drinks, and against their use? With just as much certainty can the public sentiment be formed and put in motion, as the waves can be moved by the breath of heaven, or the massy rock balanced on the precipice can be pushed from its centre of motion; and when the public sentiment once begins to move, its march will be as resistless as the same rock thundering down a precipice. Let no man, then, look upon our condition as hopeless, or feel, or think, or say that nothing can be done. The language of Heaven to our happy nation is, "Be it unto thee even as thou wilt;" and there is no despondency more fatal, or more wicked, than that which refuses to hope, and to act, from the apprehension that nothing can be done.'

From the many impressive exhortations in the last sermon of the series we give the following to young men :—

'Could I call around me in one vast assembly the temperate young men of our land, I would say, Hopes of the nation, blessed be ye of the Lord now in the dew

of your youth. But look well to your footsteps, for vipers and scorpions and adders surround your way: look at the generation who have just preceded you; the morning of their life was cloudless, and it dawned as brightly as your own; but behold them bitten, swollen, and enfeebled, inflamed, debauched, idle, poor, irreligious, and vicious, with halting step dragging onward to meet an early grave. Their bright prospects are clouded, and their sun is set, never to rise. No house of their own receives them, while from poorer to poorer tenements they descend, and to harder and harder fare, as improvidence dries up their resources. And now, who are those that wait on their footsteps with muffled faces and sable garments? That is a father and that is a mother whose gray hairs are coming with sorrow to the grave; that is a sister weeping over evils which she cannot arrest; and there is the broken-hearted wife, and there are the children, hapless innocents, for whom their father has provided the inheritance only of dishonour and nakedness and wo. And is this, beloved young men, the history of your course? In this scene of desolation, do you behold the image of your future selves? Is this the poverty and disease which as an armed man shall take hold on you? And are your fathers, and mothers, and sisters, and wives, and children, to succeed to those who now move on in this mournful procession, weeping as they go? Yes, bright as your morning now opens, and high as your hopes beat, this is your noon and your night, unless you shun those habits of intemperance which have thus early made theirs a day of clouds and of thick darkness. If you frequent places of evening resort for social drinking, if you set out with drinking daily a little, temperately, prudently, it is yourselves which as in a glass you behold.'

Even those who may not go all Dr. Beecher's lengths in this important question cannot fail, we think, to do justice to the courage which led him 43 years ago to utter his mind so freely on the subject,—to the magnanimity of soul which disdained reproach and despised contempt,—to the honesty which marked all his statements, and the enthusiasm which inspirited all his language; and they will not be slow to class him with such benefactors of his race as Howard and Clarkson, Garrison and Livingstone—men whose greatness lay in their grappling almost single-handed with gigantic evils, or in seeking, with little support but that of God himself, after God-like objects, in which, even if they fail, their failure is more valuable, suggestive, and hopeful than any amount of secular success.

DANIEL DEFOE.

1. *Daniel Defoe, his Life and recently-discovered Writings, Extending from* 1716 *to* 1729. By William Lee. London: J. C. Hotten. 1869.

2. *Daniel Defoe.* By John Forster. London: Longman. 1855.

MR. JOHN FORSTER in his clever Essay on Daniel Defoe in Messrs. Longman's 'Travellers' Library' says, 'His Life, to be fairly presented, should be written as the "Life

and Strange Surprising Adventures of Daniel Defoe, who lived above seventy years all alone in the Island of Great Britain." It might then be expected to compare in vicissitude and interest with his immortal romance. As written hitherto, it has only shared the fate of his manly but perishable polemics.' Mr. Forster scarcely exaggerates. If the hero of the romance had to spend a large portion of his life in solitude as the punishment for his love of adventure, the author of the romance had to spend a portion of his in confinement because of his love of progress. Robinson Crusoe wished to escape from the hum-drum life which surrounded him. Daniel Defoe wished to escape from the miserable meannesses of social and political corruption which abounded in his day. There is scarcely any other Englishman except Raleigh who lived so completely before his time as Defoe. Save for that fact there was scarcely anything in common between these two great sons of England. In birth, person, and career they were widely dissimilar. But the principle which guided the lives of both was the same. Raleigh was descended from one of the most ancient families in the country; Defoe was the son of a butcher. Raleigh was brought up at Court and was as handsome as Apollo; Defoe was first a hosier and then a tile maker, and had 'a hooked nose, sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth.' Raleigh circumnavigated the world, and was for a considerable portion of his life sailing the seas and exploring foreign lands. Defoe migrated from London to Tilbury, and from Tilbury to Bury, and from Bury to Stoke Newington, rarely setting foot out of Britain. Raleigh wrote mellifluous verse; Defoe tersest prose. But both Raleigh and Defoe had that grand gift of foresight which has so often brought trouble to him endowed with it. Raleigh was the founder of our colonial empire and the advocate of free trade. Defoe denounced protection, imprisonment for debt, and religious disabilities, and advocated the construction of roads and the establishment of savings banks. Both were in advance of their age and suffered accordingly; Raleigh in the Tower and on the block; Defoe in Newgate and in the pillory. Honour alike to the courtly knight and to the butcher's son.

In the essay above-mentioned, Mr. Forster regrets that the only two attempts to publish a complete edition of Defoe's works had failed. An attempt of another kind has been made within the present year, but it is doubtful if Mr. Forster will be gratified by it. Mr. William Lee, whose admiration for Defoe is at least as intense as Mr. Forster's, has in the course of long and laborious investigations

alighted upon a number of Defoe's works hitherto undiscovered. Mr. Forster says that Defoe's 'last political essay was written in 1715, and while the proof sheets lay uncorrected before him, he was stricken with apoplexy.' Mr. Lee has discovered that for sixteen years after this Defoe was writing in political journals. Still more strange, he, who all his life had been the most ardent of Liberals, wrote as a Tory. But he had not changed his political creed. He had not really turned his back upon himself. He had undertaken the conduct of two or three Tory journals with the connivance of the Whig ministers in order that he might take the sting out of the politics—in order that he might serve up Toryism and water. Undoubtedly nothing can justify this conspiracy. At the same time there are excuses to be urged in mitigation. Defoe owed the Tories nothing, least of all love. They had treated him barbarously, and if he diluted their ideas and brought their principles into discredit by a purposely feeble advocacy, they had treated him far worse; they had ruined him in fortune and nearly ruined him in health. Moreover, it must be remembered, that at that time the same rule held good with regard to political which now holds good with regard to military warfare. 'All is fair in war,' was the dogma of the politicians of that day, as it is of the soldiers of this. Then, too, Defoe honestly believed Tory politics to be so bad that if he could prevent them from being advocated in their full development, he would do a service to the State. These are considerations which should influence if not the verdict, at least the sentence, which posterity passes upon Defoe. 'Guilty' we must declare him to be, but as it is 'with extenuating circumstances' we will not condemn him too severely. As for Mr. Lee, our sentiments towards him must be of a mingled character. He has discovered a most interesting incident in Defoe's life; but he has shaken one of the nation's idols upon its pedestal.

Daniel Defoe was born in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the year 1661. A general election had just taken place, and the people had gone mad with loyal enthusiasm. It was a time of illuminations and festivities, of almost universal rejoicing. Almost, but not quite. Neither Republicanism nor Puritanism had died out entirely. It was too soon for that, and events were at hand which gave a new impulse to both, so that if they could not flourish on English soil they would transplant themselves to another. 'The House of Commons elected in the year of Defoe's birth was so intensely royalist and episcopalian that it was with the greatest difficulty Charles II. escaped from the perjury of rescinding the Act

of Indemnity. It was a bad time for a sturdy Nonconformist to be born in; nevertheless Daniel Defoe was fated to date his birth from that epoch. His father was a respectable butcher, James Foe by name, and a Dissenter. He sent his son to an academy at Newington Green, kept by Mr. Charles Morton, an Oxonian, whom Harvard College, lately so prominent in English newspapers, afterwards chose for Vice-President when he was driven by the bigotry of the Court and the persecution of Parliament to find a home beyond the Atlantic. At Newington school young Foe learnt five languages and his mother tongue. Morton was in advance of his age. He saw what we, living 200 years later, are only beginning to see, that Greek Iambics and Ciceronian Latin are but a very small compensation for incapacity to write English. The world owes a debt of gratitude to Charles Morton for having thus prepared his pupil to enrich our language with some of the most vigorous writing that it contains. It had been intended that Defoe should enter the dissenting ministry, but as he grew to years of discretion he manifested a repugnance to that calling. In the first place, he saw that dissenting ministers were for the most part illiterate and were miserably paid. In the next place, he, though a Dissenter, was not convinced that the dissenting form of Church Government was the best. For these reasons he turned his thoughts in other directions. It was remarkable that he should do so. At that time literature was scarcely a recognised profession, and Defoe, who early felt drawn towards authorship, must have seen that the pulpit gave him greater opportunity for it than the shop. Nevertheless he entered into trade, and learnt business in the house of a hose factor or merchant in the city. His leisure was devoted to politics. He had the greatest horror of Popery, because he considered it synonymous with tyranny. Thus he took part in the 'Popish plot' agitation. He believed in the 'plot;' but even he could not believe all the lies told by Titus Oates. The idea of a general massacre he stigmatised as absurd. 'A general massacre truly! when the Papists all over the kingdom are not five to a hundred, in some counties not one, and within the city hardly one to a thousand.' Among the units, though unavowed, was Charles II., and when he had passed to his account, a king came after him who avowed his faith honestly and openly, and endeavoured to make it the national faith. Indulgences were offered to Dissenters in order that they might be conceded also to Roman Catholics. Some of the first were for accepting the offer. Not so Defoe. 'Was ever anything more absurd,' he wrote,

'than the conduct of King James and his party in wheedling the Dissenters, giving them liberty of conscience by his own arbitrary dispensing authority, and his expecting that they should be content with their religion at the price of the constitution?' At all events the young hosier was not content; and so, when Monmouth raised the standard of Protestantism in rebellion against his uncle, Defoe joined it. There is no need to tell how badly the enterprise fared. It was on June 11th, 1685, that Monmouth landed at Lyme, hoisted the blue flag, and prayed for divine assistance; and by July 15th a battle had been fought and lost, and the rebel leader was a headless corpse on Tower Hill. And yet, if Defoe is to be believed, Monmouth was very nearly winning. He says that 'had not the duke's army been deceived by the darkness of the night, and led to a large ditch which they could not pass over, they had certainly surprised and overthrown the King's army, and cut them in pieces before it was known who had hurt them.' This was little consolation to Monmouth's followers, when they were brought up before Jeffreys and murdered by Kirke. Among the multitude of men and women who suffered during the Bloody Assizes were three of Defoe's fellow-students at Mr. Morton's. Defoe himself escaped. Mr. Lee says that in the same year he entered upon the hosiery business. Mr. Forster says he visited Spain, Germany, and France. It is not clear which of the two biographers is correct; but one thing appears certain,—it was about this time that 'Daniel Foe' changed his name. Mr. Forster suggests that the prefix 'De' was a piece of innocent vanity picked up in his travels; or it may have had a more serious purpose. Mr. Lee thinks that it resulted neither from vanity nor from design, but arose simply from the fact that Daniel used to sign his name 'D. Foe,' in order to distinguish himself from his father, and that he became so well known under this title that the affix was incorporated with the patronymic.

When Defoe returned from the continent (if indeed he went there at this time), he found politics hopelessly disorganised. The King was of his own will and pleasure giving the Dissenters a liberty which the laws denied them. It is not surprising if many of them accepted the present, and saw not the guile which prompted it. There were deputations of Nonconformists going up to thank James for his arbitrary act. Penn was among the grateful ones. So was not Defoe. He saw through the stratagem, warned his co-religionists of it, and advised them to reject so thoroughly Greek a gift. He published his advice in what Mr. Lee considers to be Defoe's

first printed work. In proof of the danger incurred by all concerned in its publication, it is without date, name of printer, or place of publication. The first page is headed, 'A Letter containing some Reflections on His Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. Dated the 4th April, 1687.' It was as bold as it was clear-sighted. Though the Dissenters were by the King's act secured liberty of conscience, and though Defoe, himself a Dissenter, was peculiarly capable of estimating the boon, he would not have it at the cost of the Constitution. He writes, 'I will take the boldness to add one thing, that the King's suspending of laws strikes at the root of this whole Government, and subverts it quite.' Again, 'When a coronation oath is so little remembered, other promises must have a proportioned degree of credit given to them.' The risk he ran in publishing this letter was not compensated by the approbation of his friends. They condemned the letter, and disclaimed the author. The 'grave, good, weak men' of his party, as he called them, lectured him upon his youth and inexperience. The first result of these reproaches was that Defoe applied himself more vigorously to trade. On January 26th, 1688, he was admitted a liveryman of the city of London. What a year that was! The trial of the seven bishops, the landing of William, and the flight of James, all took place in it. Defoe was one of the warmest in his welcome of 'the Deliverer.' No sooner did the news arrive of the successful landing in Torbay, and the advance of the Dutch, than Defoe, armed and on horseback, left the city, and at Henley-on-Thames joined the second line of the army of the Prince of Orange. No doubt he was one of those who witnessed the entry of the King into London on December 18th. He himself tells us that he was present during the debates of the Convention, and 'heard with inexpressible joy' the message from the Commons delivered at the bar of the Lords by Mr. Hampden, of Buckinghamshire, 'that it is inconsistent with the constitution of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince.' Defoe was one of the royal regiment of volunteer horse who accompanied William and Mary to the State banquet given to them by the Lord Mayor on October 29th, 1689. Two years later he published his first poem, a political satire directed against the Jacobite clergy. In 1692 he fell into commercial difficulties. They were the result partly of unavoidable misfortune, partly of his want of business tact. Chalmers says, 'he spent those hours with a small society for the cultivation of public learning, which he ought to have employed in the calculation of the counting-house, and being

obliged to abscond from his creditors in 1692, he naturally attributed those misfortunes to the war, which were probably owing to his own misconduct.' Mr. Lee admits that Defoe failed through inattention to business and through over-trading. Defoe seems to be painting his own portrait in his book, 'The Compleat Tradesman:'—

'A Wit turned Tradesman! What an incongruous part of Nature is there brought together, consisting of direct contraries! No apron strings will hold him; 'tis in vain to lock him in behind the Compter, he's gone in a Moment: instead of Journal and Ledger, he runs away to his Virgil and Horace, his Journal Entries are all Pindaricks, and his Ledger all Heroicks: he is truly dramatic from one end to the other, through the whole Scene of his Trade; and as the first part is all Comedy, so the two last Acts are all made up with Tragedy; a Statute of Bankrupt is his *Exeunt Omnes*, and he generally speaks the Epilogue in the Fleet Prison or the Mint.'

If Defoe was negligent, his creditors did not suffer in the end. He compounded with them; yet he subsequently paid them not only the dividend which they had agreed to accept, but the whole of their debt. Clearly, therefore, the 'absconding' whereof we have spoken was not prompted by any intention to defraud his creditors, but was due only to his desire to escape the horrors of the debtor's prison. Once immured in gaol, there would be no hope of his retrieving his position, or of paying what he owed. He was invited by some merchants to settle in Cadiz, where they assured him of many commissions. But he declined to leave England, and took up his residence for a time in Castle-street, Bristol. One of Defoe's biographers, Mr. Walter Wilson, mentions it as an honourable tradition in his family, that at that time one of his Bristol ancestors had often seen and spoken with 'the great Defoe.' His friends called him the 'Sunday gentleman,' because, through fear of the bailiffs, he did not dare to appear in public upon any other day, while on that day he was sure to be seen with a fine flowing wig, lace ruffles, and a sword by his side, passing through the Bristol streets.

It was during this period of seclusion that he wrote his 'Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in cases of Preferment,' and his 'Essay on Projects.' In the first he contended that if Dissenters considered it wrong to go to church, the mere fact of their being appointed mayor would not render church-going right. The logic was irresistible. Once more Dissenters were shown to have sacrificed their principles to expediency. Once more Defoe was put under the ban by his co-religionists. Even the gentle Howe wrote an angry reply. It drew forth from Defoe a calm and cogent answer. The 'Essay on Projects' was one of the most masterly of all his productions, and Benjamin Franklin after-

wards admitted the great service that it had rendered to him. It was the first of Defoe's works to attain the dignity of a volume, and it contained 350 pages. He proposed to found a royal or national bank with affiliated establishments, to improve the public highways, to establish offices for insurance against shipwreck and fire (singularly enough, he did not approve of life insurance), to start friendly societies, and societies for the relief of destitute widows and seamen; he suggested the opening of a pension office in every county for the reception of deposits from the poor (an anticipation of savings' banks, combined with the still more recent provision for conversion into annuities); he urged the erection of an institution for the care and maintenance of idiots, whom he called 'a particular rent-charge on the great family of mankind;' he advised the appointment of a commission of inquiry into bankruptcy for the relief of unfortunate but honest traders; he recommended an extensive reform of school-teaching, with especial reference to the teaching of the English language; he proposed the founding of an academy for military studies (which he considered the most noble of all his inventions), the founding also of an academy for military exercises, and of an academy for women. His last 'project' was one for the registration of all the seamen of the United Kingdom. The pending war with France respecting the Spanish succession was the next subject on which Defoe wrote. But soon there came a topic which stirred him to the innermost depths of his heart. A Mr. Tutchin published on August 1st, 1700, a pamphlet called 'The Foreigners.' It was in bad verse, and was a fierce attack upon the Dutch in general, and King William in particular. This 'vile abhorred pamphlet,' says Defoe, 'filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle which I never could hope would have met with so general an acceptance as it did.' This 'trifle' was 'The True-born Englishman,—a Satyr.' It had a marvellous success. Published without the name of either author or bookseller, it nevertheless took possession of all readers, from the King on his throne to the humble buyers of penny piracies hawked in the streets. 'It is very probable,' says Mr. Lee, 'that from the invention of printing to the end of 1701, an equal number of copies had never been sold of any book within the space of one year.' In the preface to the second volume of his collected writings Defoe complained of the pecuniary loss he had sustained by these piracies. At that time there had been nine authorised editions and twelve unauthorised. The first were published at a shilling, the second at prices varying from sixpence to a

penny, and of these last there had been eighty others sold in the streets. In this way Defoe considered that he had been robbed of at least £1,000. However, he was paid in another way. The 'Satyr' brought him under the notice of William and Mary. He advised the Queen how to lay out the gardens at Hampton Court. He devised with the King means for carrying on the war with France. That war was inevitable now. It was no mere feud of rival races. Louis had offered both a menace and an insult to the British nation. James II. had died, and Louis recognised James's son as King of England, in defiance of his promise not to afford assistance to any person against King William. The English people were nothing loth for war. Defoe indeed thought them too ready, inasmuch as he did not consider the bare recognition of the Pretender was a violation of the Treaty of Ryswick. A general election took place in 1701. Defoe gave the King most valuable help. Several able pamphlets came from his pen at this time. The Duke of Gloucester had died during the recess, and William had arranged with the Electress Sophia for the future accession of the House of Hanover, and on the opening of the new Parliament urged the two Houses to pass the act which would be introduced. Defoe urged it elsewhere, and the measure became law. Nevertheless, the new House of Commons was very bitter against the King. As Mr. Forster has remarked, 'It will not be too much to say, that at this moment the most unpopular man in England was the man who had saved England.' Articles of impeachment were prepared against the ministers who were the King's chief friends. At length, by their quarrels and resulting procrastination, the Commons themselves became so unpopular that a crisis ensued. A large number of the leading men of Kent presented a petition by five of their number, calling upon the House of Commons to give the King such supplies as would enable him to provide for the interests of the kingdom and assist his allies before it was too late. An angry debate followed, and the petitioners were ordered into custody, and remained there from the beginning of May to Midsummer Day, 1701, when Parliament was prorogued. Nothing daunted by their fate, Defoe on the very day after their committal went down to the House, guarded by sixteen gentlemen of quality, who were prepared to carry him off by force if it should be necessary to do so, and presented to the Speaker his celebrated 'Legion's Memorial.' Harley (afterwards Defoe's friend) was the Speaker, and, as he passed into the House of Commons, a man '[illegible] a cloak,' says Mr. Forster, though Mr. Lee implies [illegible] acted boldly and without disguise, placed the [illegible]

hands. It is said that Harley recognised Defoe, but kept his own counsel. The memorial was written in the tersest English, and it assumed, perhaps for the first time in history, that the Commons were the servants of the people, and bound to obey them. It concluded as follows:—

'Thus, gentlemen, you have your duty laid before you, which 'tis hoped you will think of; but if you continue to neglect it, you may be expected to be treated according to the resentment of an injured Nation; for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to Parliaments than to a King.

'Our Name is Legion, and we are Many.'

The memorial was accompanied by a letter commanding the Speaker to read the first-mentioned document to the House. It produced a remarkable effect. Nothing more was said about prosecuting the five; the supplies were voted, and the prisoners, as soon as they were released, were feasted at Mercers' Hall, where next to them sat the author of the 'Legion Letter.'

In the summer of this year, William visited the continent to arrange an alliance with Holland and Germany against France. He was taken seriously ill at the Hague. He there learnt that he had disease of the lungs, and could not hope to recover. Shortly after his return to Hampton Court, he felt himself so much worse that he told the Earl of Portland that he did not expect to see another summer, but charged him to tell nobody. Until the close of his life he occupied himself with public affairs. Defoe drew up a scheme of operations against the Spanish West Indies. He also endeavoured to persuade the King to effect a union of government between England and Scotland. William admitted the importance of the measure, said that it would soon come, but added, 'not yet, there is other more pressing work to be done.' The King died March 8th, 1702, and was mourned by no one more than, perhaps by no one so much as, Daniel Defoe.

Defoe had good reason to mourn. The crown passed to Anne, and the Jacobites rejoiced that the royal family were come again to the throne of their ancestors. William's Whig ministers were dismissed,—the Tories were called in. Defoe suffered political eclipse with his friends. He was indignant at the unjust reflections which were made upon his late sovereign, and published a rhymed satire, 'The Mock Mourners,' which passed through six editions in nine months. Religious intolerance was now more rampant than ever. It was shared unfortunately by the people, excited by Sacheverell, who had declared in the pulpit at Oxford that he could not be a true son of the Church who did not against the Dissenters hang out 'the bloody flag and banner of defiance.'

This sermon was sold in the London streets for twopence, and straightway the readers thereof proceeded to insult prominent Dissenters in the streets, and to pull down dissenting chapels. At that time, and for some time subsequently, the people and the House of Commons were madly intolerant, and it was the House of Lords which opposed them and used the utmost efforts to prevent the passage of penal laws. Defoe was aroused by the savage declamation of Sacheverell and of men like-minded. He wrote a pamphlet called 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,' in which he proved, logically enough if the premisses were granted, that 'the shortest way' was to 'cut the throat of the whole party.' The pamphlet was hailed with rapture by the more extravagant zealots. Everywhere the argument, urged in irony, was considered to be the genuine wish of the writer. A Cambridge Fellow wrote to thank his bookseller for having sent 'so excellent a treatise, it being, next to the Holy Bible and the sacred comments, the most valuable he had ever seen.' Apparently it was not until the name of the author became known that the satire was found out and the sarcasm was recognised. The rage of those who had been duped knew no bounds. The Government offered a reward of £50 for Defoe's apprehension. At first he concealed himself, but when the printer and the bookseller were taken into custody, Defoe voluntarily surrendered himself in order that 'others should not,' as he said, 'be ruined by his mistake.' The pamphlet was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, and its author was condemned to the pillory and to indefinite imprisonment in Newgate. It was on the 29th, 30th, and 31st July, 1703, that he appeared in the place of shame. The people gathered around, but did not, as was their wont on such occasions, pelt the prisoner with mud and harder missiles. On the contrary, they decked the pillory with garlands, drank his health while he stood, and hurrahed when he was taken down. Defoe had composed 'A Hymn to the Pillory,' and it was sung in his honour by those who witnessed that which was intended to be his disgrace. 'Tell them,' he wrote and they sang—

> 'Tell them the men that placed him here
> Are scandals to the times,
> Are at a loss to find his guilt,
> And can't commit his crimes.'

Mr. Eyre Crowe has commemorated this memorable scene in one of his most vigorous pictures.

Between the time of Defoe's committal to Newgate and his exposure on the pillory he wrote a pamphlet which shewed

how little malice he bore to the Church which was persecuting him. It was entitled 'The Shortest Way to Peace and Union, by the Author of "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters."' Its object was to convince Dissenters that there ought to be an established religion in connection with the State, and that the Church of England is not only the most fit, but the most capable institution for maintaining the Protestant supremacy. It exhorted Dissenters to avoid all conflict with the Church, and to rest content with the privileges they enjoyed; and it advised High Churchmen to cease from all attempts to deprive their dissenting brethren of toleration. He was to have plenty of leisure for writing now. He returned from the pillory to Newgate. He was obliged to give up his tilery at Tilbury, which had been a source of wealth to him, and thereby he lost £3,500, a large sum at that time, and Defoe was rendered by his imprisonment quite incapable of recovering it. Life in Newgate was not, however, to be a blank either to him or to his readers. He sent out pamphlet after pamphlet—sixteen in all—some of them in support of the Lords who, *mirabile dictu*, were endeavouring to restrain the bigotry of the Commons, and who refused to pass the bill to prevent occasional conformity on the part of Dissenters, even though it was tacked on to a money bill. But the great achievement of his imprisonment was the starting and the editing of the *Review*. The first number appeared February 19th, 1704. At the commencement it was a weekly paper, but it was soon brought out twice and then thrice a week, and for a short period there were no fewer than five issues. The publication continued for over nine years, the last number appearing on June 11th, 1713. Its primary object was to treat of news, politics, and trade, both domestic and foreign; but in order to secure a wider circulation, Defoe gave also what he termed a 'Scandal Club,' whose purpose was to exalt virtue, to correct vice and folly, to discuss casuistical questions from real or fictitious correspondents in divinity, morals, language, science, poetry, love, &c.

'When it is remembered (says Mr. Lee) that no other pen than that of Defoe was ever employed upon a work appearing at such frequent intervals, extending over more than a year, and embracing, in more than 5,000 printed pages, essays on almost every branch of human knowledge, the achievement must be pronounced a great one, even had he written nothing else. If we add that, between the date of the first and last numbers of the *Review*, he wrote and published no less than 80 other distinct works, containing 4,727 pages, and perhaps more, not now known, the fertility of his genius must appear as astounding as the greatness of his capacity for labour.'

So far as pecuniary profit from the *Review* was concerned, there was little for the author. He had no protection against

continued piracy, and while his publisher could account for only hundreds the paper was selling by thousands. In one of the latest numbers Defoe wrote, 'I have espoused an honest interest, and have steadily adhered to it all my days. I never forsook it when it was oppressed; never made a gain by it when it was advanced, and I thank God it is not in the power of all the courts and parties in Christendom to bid a price high enough to buy me off from it, or make me desert it.' If it seems difficult to have written a newspaper in prison, that was a comparatively easy task compared with writing it when travelling about the country on affairs of State. Defoe had experience of both difficulties. Nottingham and Rochester had resigned; Harley, who had kept his counsel respecting Defoe on a memorable occasion, had taken office. One of Harley's first thoughts was for Defoe. He sent two Lords to Newgate with the message, 'Pray ask that gentleman what I can do for him?' Defoe took out pen and ink, and wrote the story of the blind man in the Gospel, to whom our Lord said, 'What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?' 'Who (adds Defoe) as if he had made it strange that such a question could be asked, or as if he had said, Lord, dost thou see that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shalt do for me? My answer is plain in my misery, Lord, that I may receive my sight!' Harley understood the answer, and he did more than comply with Defoe's request. He represented the prisoner's hard case to the Queen. She was indignant, and after four months of delay not only was Defoe released, but a royal gift was sent him for the benefit of his wife and children, and for the payment of the fine that had been imposed upon him. He left Newgate after a year and a half's imprisonment therein. He came out with impaired health and shattered fortune, and he retired for a time to Bury St. Edmunds. Even there he worked hard, and helped to support the Lords in their opposition to the arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings of the Commons. He also opposed a bill which had been introduced by a member of the Lower House, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, to establish in every parish a parochial manufactory for giving employment to the poor. Defoe shewed how thoroughly opposed the project was to sound political economy, and used cogent arguments which might have been studied with advantage a century and a half later by the French republicans who in 1848 advocated the founding of national workshops. His pamphlet proved that giving alms was no charity, and that the employment of the poor by the State would be a grievance to the nation. The Commons passed the bill, but the Lords rejected it. A little later the conflict between the two

became so fierce that Parliament was dissolved. Defoe took advantage of the general election which followed to urge moderation and harmony on all parties; the High Church Tories, the Pretender's or Hereditary-right Party, the late Ministry, the Church of England, and the Dissenters. To the last of these he reiterated the advice which he had given on a former occasion, that they should support the Established Church as being the best barrier against Popery. He seems to have been in great pecuniary difficulties at the time, and to have been compelled to leave London *incognito*. He was assisted in his distress by Harley, who employed him as an electioneering agent to visit the numberless small boroughs in Devonshire and Cornwall on behalf of the ministry. All that time he continued the *Review*, and some of the numbers were written during his long journeys on horseback. A little later he was employed by Godolphin, who had formed a high opinion of his abilities, to promote the legislative union between England and Scotland. For this purpose he travelled in Scotland, and made many influential friends. Mr. Forster thinks that previously to this he was employed by Lord Halifax on the continent in a secret service of some danger. Mr. Lee doubts this, and contends that when Defoe, in the letters written at this time, speaks of being 'abroad,' he meant only that he was at large—at liberty. Whether this supposition be true or not, Defoe speaks of the employment as having involved him in considerable peril. He wrote afterwards: 'I ran as much danger of my life as a grenadier upon the counterscarp.' The mission, wherever and whatever it was, had a successful termination, and Defoe was rewarded with a Government sinecure. It was sorely needed, for his political antagonists were merciless. They pursued him with writs and warrants, false warrants some of them, sham actions many of them. At last he surrendered himself to the Commissioners of Bankruptcy appointed under a recent act of Parliament. He obtained his discharge, and thus he was one of the first to reap the benefit of the reform which he had urged and done so much to promote.

Early in 1708, Defoe, who had been absent from his family for sixteen months, returned to England from Scotland. At that time court intrigues had led to the dismissal of Harley. Defoe was prepared to share the ill-fortunes of his patron, but the minister handsomely released him from all obligations, and warmly recommended him to Godolphin. The latter statesman knew sufficient of Defoe to understand his worth, gave him the opportunity of kissing the Queen's hand, and at once despatched him to Scotland in order to support the royal

cause against the intrigues of the Pretender. Defoe about this time published a History of the Union, in which he highly eulogised the Scotch. He also saw passed a measure which he had most earnestly promoted, and for the want of which he had most severely suffered—the Copyright Act. Then came the famous Sacheverell trial. The 'Bloody Flag' doctor had preached in St. Paul's Cathedral a sermon entitled 'Perils among False Brethren,' which he afterwards published and dedicated to the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen. It was worthy of the Oxford sermon. It was so full of incendiarism that ministers determined to prosecute the preacher. This was a fatal error. Defoe saw it, and urged, 'Let us have the crime punished, not the man; the bar of the House of Commons is the worst pillory in the nation.' Harley saw it, and rejoiced, declaring 'The game is up.' Sacheverell became the popular martyr. The women worshipped him, the mob cheered him, and diversified their acclamations with demolishing dissenting chapels. Godolphin had to resign, and Harley took his place. He tried at first to effect a coalition with Walpole and the Whigs. As they would not be colleagues he determined to treat them as foes, and to put them down. He took St. John into office: he employed Swift the Tory, and Congreve the Whig. How about Defoe? He waited first upon Godolphin, who gave him full leave to serve Harley, as Harley had given him leave to serve Godolphin. He waited next upon Harley, and this is his own account of the interview:—

'By this I was providentially cast back upon my Original Benefactor, who according to his wonted goodness was pleased to lay my case before her Majesty, and thereby I preserved my interest in her Majesty's favour, but without any engagement of service. As for consideration, pension, gratification, or reward, I declare to all the world I have had none; except only that old appointment which her Majesty was pleased to make me in the days of the ministry of Lord Godolphin, of which I have spoken already, and which was for services done in a foreign country some years before. Neither have I been employed, or directed or ordered by my Lord Treasurer aforesaid to do, or not to do, anything in the affairs of the unhappy differences which have so long perplexed us, and for which I have suffered so many, and such unjust reproaches.'

Defoe felt convinced that Harley was secretly a Whig, and that he, as well as any other minister, would be compelled to govern upon Whig principles. He said:—

'The Revolution cannot be overthrown in Britain. It is not in the power of ministry or party, Prince or Parliament, to do it. If the attempt is made, let them look to it that venture upon the attempt. The people of England have tasted liberty, and I cannot think they will bear the exchange.' He declares that he will not go along with the ministry unless they go along with him; and adds: 'The constitution is of such a nature that whoever may be in it, if they are faithful to

their duty, it will either find them Whigs, or make them so.' In short, he says, 'we have but one interest as Englishmen, whatever interest we may have as to parties.'

Harley dissolved Parliament, and Defoe made an electioneering tour as before. He was scandalised by the scenes of riot and drunkenness that he witnessed, and the *Review* during nearly the whole of October, 1710, was filled with descriptions of, and protests against, the prevalent debauchery. On February 1st, 1711, the corporation of Edinburgh empowered him to publish the *Edinburgh Courant*, but it is probable that he did not continue the publication for many weeks, as he returned to England in the following month. His return was probably caused by the attempt to assassinate Harley. That crime induced Defoe to write his pamphlet, 'Eleven Opinions about Mr. H——y, with Observations.' The merits and the faults of the minister were set forth with professed impartiality, but on the whole the pamphlet was favourable to its subject, and must have been serviceable to him. At this time the national resources had become terribly exhausted by the long war with France. Though it had been a war fruitful of great victories, the nation was growing heartily weary of it, and Defoe published more than one pamphlet in favour of ending it. Negotiations for peace were shortly afterwards set on foot, and terminated April 11th, 1713, in the Treaty of Utrecht. Defoe was less successful in another cause. Once more the intolerant Act against Occasional Conformity was brought in, and as it was no longer opposed by the Lords, Harley (now become Earl of Oxford) himself supporting it, it was carried rapidly through both Houses in spite of Defoe's manly protest. The bigots having won this victory after so many defeats, were encouraged to attempt another. They attacked the liberty of the press. They put a tax upon newspapers, with the scarcely concealed object of extinguishing a large number of them. Defoe protested vehemently and courageously, but in vain. For a time he carried on the *Review*, but on June 11th, 1713, appeared the last number, and its last line was, 'Exit *Review*.' There is but one perfect set of the whole issue, and that is in the possession of Mr. Crossley, of Manchester.

About this time Defoe got into serious trouble. Queen Anne had lost, one by one, all her children. She was now a widow, and there was no chance of an heir to the throne in direct succession. At the same time the Pretender was constantly plotting for the restoration of the Stuarts. What more natural for a man who ardently wished to continue the Protestant succession, than that he should call public attention to the matter? Defoe did so in several pamphlets, one

of them entitled, 'Hannibal at the Gates,' another, 'Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover,' and a third, 'What if the Queen should die?' The second of these was a satire upon the Jacobites, and its title was chosen in order to induce them to read the work. Nevertheless his enemies, the Whigs—for they had now become bitterly hostile to him, presumably on account of the support which he had given to Harley—accused him of Jacobitism, and instituted legal proceedings against him. He was prosecuted by the Attorney-General, and, in spite of his defence that he had written things that would cause him to lose his head if the Pretender came to the crown, and that if the Elector of Hanover had paid him £1,000, he (Defoe) could not have served him better, he was found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment, the convicting judges intimating that he was lucky to have escaped hanging, drawing, and quartering. It was fortunate for him that his old benefactor was in office. Oxford laid the case before the Queen, who at once saw the malignity of the prosecutors, and ordered Defoe to be pardoned. For that act of justice she and her minister were accused of favouring the Pretender.

The deluge was at hand. Probably at no period of English history did party spirit run so high as during the closing month of Anne's reign. Bolingbroke, whom Oxford had called to his aid, repaid the kindness by displacing him, and so mad was the nation against the fallen statesman that it was proposed to impeach him. Though riddance had been made of one minister, there was no peace among the others. They quarrelled so violently in the presence of the Queen as she lay on a bed of sickness, that they hastened her death. Then the House of Hanover appeared on the scene, and Bolingbroke was disgraced. Oxford was in the Tower, yet Defoe did not shrink from defending his old patron, even in that perilous time, and even though he had by no means approved of Oxford's policy.

The Whigs were now triumphant, and they spared nobody. Defoe, who had laboured more than all of them for the Protestant succession, found himself in serious peril by the realisation of his most ardent wish. He published 'An Appeal to Honour and Justice, though it be of his Worst Enemies. By Daniel Defoe.' 'One of the most manly, yet deeply pathetic, utterances of a human heart,' says Mr. Lee. Worn out by anxiety and over-work, stung by the ingratitude of those in whose behalf he had toiled, he was struck down by apoplexy. He recovered, but according to the general belief, he retired from

political life, and devoted the remaining sixteen years of his existence to purely literary employment.

It is at this point that we come to Mr. Lee's remarkable discovery. Defoe had been brought to trial for a pamphlet in which he made certain allegations against the Earl of Anglesey, and, being found guilty, his sentence was deferred until the following term. During the interval Defoe sent a letter to Lord Chief Justice Parker, setting forth his own history. The letter had such an effect upon the Judge that he prevented any further proceedings against Defoe, and brought about a reconciliation between him and the Whigs. This was followed by an engagement between them, which Defoe fulfilled so much to their satisfaction that he received a handsome acknowledgment. About this time, Dormer, the proprietor of the *News Letter*, a Tory and High Church paper, being unable to carry it on, offered Defoe the management of it and a share in it. Defoe consulted the minister, Lord Townshend, who thought that if Defoe responded to the offer it would be a very acceptable piece of service, for the *Letter* 'was really very prejudicial to the public, and most difficult to come at in a judicial way, in case of offence given.' So Defoe entered into partnership with Dormer, and in the hands of the first 'the sting was taken out and the mischief prevented.' But 'it still seemed to be Tory in order to amuse the party and prevent their setting up another violent paper, which would have destroyed the design.' This intrigue led to others of a similar character. A Mr. Mist published *Mist's Journal*, as the organ of the Pretender. With Lord Sunderland's approbation, Defoe offered himself as a translator of foreign news; but, says Mr. Lee, with the object of 'keeping the journal in the circle of a secret management, so that it might pass as a Tory paper and yet be disabled and enervated of its treasonable character, "so as to do no mischief or give any offence to the Government."' In this way Defoe became acquainted with much treasonable matter useful for the ministers to know. Mr. Lee thinks that the arrangement was justifiable on the ground that moral suasion is better than legal repression, that prevention is better than cure; and he commends Defoe's courage in placing himself in a position of such delicacy and danger. As for Defoe, he silenced any scruples he might have had by Scriptural precedent. 'Thus I bow myself in the House of Rimmon,' was his excuse. He certainly did not like the work, and while he was writing diluted Toryism in one publication in order to please the minister, he started an honest Whig journal in order to please himself. It must not be imagined that, even in the first, Defoe wrote merely on

politics. He wrote also, and far more satisfactorily on social topics. When he and Mist quarrelled and separated, the latter soon learnt the value of Defoe's writing by the diminished circulation of the journal. The result was a renewal of their relations. Some years later there was another rupture.

Of the remainder of Defoe's career we must speak briefly. It was on April 25th, 1719, that his most famous work was published. He was fifty-eight years old, a time of life at which the imagination has usually lost its energy. Nevertheless it was at that period that 'Robinson Crusoe' was produced. It was founded upon a meagre account, published by Captain Rogers, of the adventures of Alexander Selkirk whom he had rescued from a desert island. Defoe parted with the volume for a comparatively small sum. It sold so rapidly that the publisher made a fortune out of it. Four editions were issued in four months. That eminent antiquarian, Sir Henry Ellis, has attempted to rob Defoe both of his fame and of his honesty by declaring that 'Robinson Crusoe' was written by the Earl of Oxford (Harley) while in the Tower, and that he gave it to Defoe who published it as his own. The truth is, that Harley was prostrated by illness throughout his incarceration, and it was thought doubtful if he would live to be tried. He was, therefore, quite incapable of writing. Some of Defoe's later works were of questionable advantage to the public morals. They were lives of notorious criminals. As he was now in easy circumstances, he could scarcely have been induced by the love of money to write them. Mr. Lee supposes that Defoe, being well aware of the mischievous literature which circulated among the lower classes, wished to substitute for it tales which, while they would attract, had also a moral and taught that in the long run virtue is better than vice. In the later years of his life he was affluent, and built himself a large house in Stoke Newington. Nevertheless, his last days were embittered by the misconduct of his son and by a painful disease. He died April 26th, 1731, and was buried in the Dissenting Walhalla, now known as Bunhill Fields.

AN AUNT'S TALE.

IT is many years ago now, since my niece Cecilia came first to live with me. She was a bright-eyed, intelligent little girl, and my solitary house was enlivened with her childish ways and smiling speeches. She and I soon became great

friends, playmates I may say; for, old as I was, I was not too old or too stiff to join her in a game of ball, or a competition with the skipping rope. Yes, I am small and light, and that is the reason, perhaps, why I never lost the accomplishment of skipping, not at least till Cecilia was grown up, and had laid skipping ropes away as too childish even for her. Then I, too, laid up my old implement on a shelf, and with a sigh of regret, remembering our many pleasant hours together, said good-bye to it. Cecilia was an orphan, and had known little of her parents, and that was one reason, no doubt, why she clung more fondly to her old aunt, and came to consider her in time as, in some sort, her mother. Once she called me 'Mother,' I remember, in a moment of unusual affection, but I, recollecting how sacred the name was, and how dearly the one had prized it, who had best right to be called so, and how much she had suffered to win the name, checked her, and declared that I desired to be called nothing but Aunt, while I lived. 'Aunt, dear aunt!' she exclaimed, 'I shall never love any one better than you!' 'Some day you will, I hope, my dear,' was my reply. She was skipping at the time, and ceased her skipping to look at me a moment in surprise, and to think. And then she understood me, and a girlish flush came into her cheeks as she said, quite innocently, 'Well, I shouldn't like to be an old maid.' 'And why not?' I asked. 'Because—because—I think *you* don't like it!' How had she got to know that, I wonder? I had never said so. I had always felt myself a peculiarly favoured individual, with rights and freedoms that one-half the married women never get. One-half? Two-thirds, I may say, with perfect truth. I had never complained in her hearing of my isolated position, never hinted at any forlornness it might have, but it was evident that Cecilia, young as she was, had guessed more than I had intended she should know. 'You're a little goose,' was my answer, but she knew that she had spoken the truth, and a roguish light came into her eyes, as she answered with glee, 'I know I'm right though, aunty! you wouldn't be an old maid if you could help it, would you?' 'Old maids are often the happiest,' I said with proper gravity, shirking her question, 'and I beg you won't despise them, Cissy.' 'No; but for all that, aunt, I hope *I* shan't be an old maid!' Poor Cissy! Her words were innocent enough, and girlish enough, but I think she lived to find that there is a worse condition in the world than that of an old maid.

Was it the desire not to be an old maid that led her at nineteen to be so fond of her cousin Thomas Grey? I thought it a delusion at the time, and was seriously distressed at it, for

Thomas, though likely to have wealth and good position, was of a roving, unsettled temperament. Good tempered, and good looking, he was, that I could not deny, and fascinating enough to a young girl; and he chose very perversely to fall in love with my bright-eyed Cecilia, who had her attractions also, and though not exactly a beauty, was, in my opinion, really lovely to look upon at times. She was the very light of my eyes and the sunshine of my home at that period, and it was grievous beyond measure to think of parting with her to any one. Does a man ever have a due sense of the robbery he commits when he singles out the chosen lamb of the flock, or the only one, for his own special comfort and delight, and carries her away in a lordly fashion to have and to hold for evermore? Does he ever think of the broken heart strings of those who are left behind, that he may have a companion to cheer and love and solace him? He has had none of the care and expense of the rearing, none of the thousand solicitudes that beset parents and guardians, yet when he carries away his bride from the altar, he is too apt to consider his own possessions as paramount, and to forget or ignore the love claims of the old friends at the old hearth. I should have viewed with much selfish discontent the advent of any one intending to take from me my own treasure, for at least ten years to come. At nine-and-twenty, I thought I could bring my heart *for her sake* to spare her, but at nineteen it seemed impossible. Even to the most unexceptionable lover I should at first have turned the cold shoulder, but to Thomas Grey I was deaf and inexorable.

Cissy turned pale when I forbade him the house, but her love for me was great, and she acquiesced in my decision. She told him it could never, never be; she wrote him a letter of farewell, which she showed me, and then she put up her mouth for me to kiss, with a forced smile on her trembling lips, and sealed the letter resolutely and sent it. I loved her so much at the moment, that I all but relented, and ached with a longing to say, 'marry him, dear, if you will!' But I did not. A stern truth was ever present to my mind that with him was neither stability nor happiness, and I said to myself that Cecilia would see this herself soon, when he should go away and forget her. I believe that her wound, though painful, was not incapable of healing, and that time and separation would bring a cure. She was a brave, good girl, and neither pined away, nor suggested by her looks that I had been an unfeeling ogre. There was a little more gravity in her face, and a little less buoyancy in her step, and she was a little fonder of plaintive music;—that was all. Thomas

Grey went away to foreign lands. He said before he went that he should never forget her, that she was the only woman he should ever love. It was the usual rhodomontade of a disappointed lover, I thought, and his words gave me no apprehension. 'Has he ever been steady to any one thing in his life?' I asked myself.

To disappoint me, however, he was steady in this. In two years he returned to England, browner, taller, more manly, more subdued in the expression of his love, but more determined than ever to win my pearl. I did not invite him to my house. I would not see him. I guarded my treasure jealously, but he could still write, and he wrote both to her and to me. He avowed anew to me his resolve to dedicate his life's love to Cecilia—she was his star—his happiness—life would be nothing to him without her. I put his letter in the fire, though I could not but wonder at his perseverance. 'And yet, he must never have her,' I said to myself, 'his father was not such a father as I should desire for Cecilia, and Thomas resembles him in some degree, and has the spirit of unrest within him. How can I consent to such a union?' Again my *No* was given, even more strongly than before, and again Cecilia submitted, and again he went abroad, a desperate man, as he declared. But he returned a second time, and yet a third, and still a faithful lover. And my niece silently loved him all the time, and coldly put aside other offers of marriage, and to my sorrow I was forced to see that her best years were passing in all the wearying dissatisfaction of a forbidden attachment. Seven years I had opposed, but the young people were too strong for me, and my opposition at last sank down before them, like a wall undermined by a flood. Not without many misgivings at first, for his family had been cursed with an unhappiness that is only too common, and I trembled for my darling when I thought of the danger there might be for him and for her. Old maid as I was, I had had my experiences of family life, and I could look abroad among the families of my acquaintances, and see beneath the surface, often so smiling and agreeable, and could point out the exact spot where lay the treacherous pool beneath the thin plausible ice of conventional propriety. I talked to Cecilia of my fears. I set before her the danger of uniting herself with a man whose father had shortened his life by excesses, and had educated his son in the same habits; but she smiled away my apprehensions, and said that she was sure nothing would persuade Thomas to follow his father's example; that he knew where to draw the line between temperance and over-indulgence; that he was wise; he knew the danger; he was good, and would

never so grieve her. They had talked all this matter over together, and my fears were without necessity. And in this way I was talked down to believe and hope the best; and I acknowledge, too, that when Thomas Grey once more came into my house as an invited visitor—I will not call him a welcome one—I began in some measure to reproach myself for my over-care and squeamishness. There seemed so much good sense and so much thoughtful care and love for Cecilia, that I felt somewhat ashamed of my long shyness and disapproval. Travel had improved him, I thought, and I rejoiced in the thought. It was such a genuine joy, too, to see Cecilia made happy. They were married, and the position he chose to occupy was that of a gentleman farmer. He had a small estate not very far from my abode, and upon it he built a pleasant and convenient house, which was to be their home for many years to come. Four miles was the distance between this house and mine; in summer an agreeable walk, and every inch of the distance was soon perfectly known to me, as well known as the beds and paths of my garden. Every tree and bush on the way became familiar to me, and the bloom by the roadside, and the heather on the windy common, from which I could first get a view of Dale House and farm, were quite dear friends from often companionship. The last part of the way was the pleasantest, for here Cecilia would often meet me, the winding lane by which I came being overlooked from her parlour windows; and her smiling face and eager step would be at my side long before the garden gate of her house showed its white palings among the laurels. Thomas, too, would sometimes come, in his first bridegroom days, and affect to scold her for being in such haste to leave him when my black bonnet dodged the distant hedgerow trees. That, of course, was a happy time, happy to them and to me, for though my own house was darker and greyer than before, and suffered by the loss of my dear companion, and by the contrast with Dale House, whose modern furniture and fresh upholstery and new high rooms made my old chairs and curtains and small house seem, like myself, wondrously old-fashioned, I could not but rejoice at Cecilia's happiness too much to be anything but satisfied and glad. What did it matter if to me came solitary hours and deepening shadows, if, to her, hours of fuller contentment were meted out? What, if my heart now and then ached after the old companionship, if the desire of her heart was fulfilled?

In the second year of their marriage came a change. Very small at first, so small that, but that my thoughts were so perpetually brooding over everything that concerned my

adopted child, I should not have noticed the slight shade of graver thought upon her face, the sigh now and then, the less ready laugh, signs of an inner change that I was quick to read and to comment upon to myself. But I asked no questions, and was resolute to see in them only the traces of the gentle melancholy, if that be not too grave a word, that time and household cares bring with them to most women, married or unmarried. The first flush and joy of youth were over; life was become more earnest and less hopeful; there was less joy, but there was, I trusted, no less peace. The years went on, and there was no promise of motherhood at Dale House; a disappointment to both Thomas and his wife; and when Cecilia's brow became graver, and her mouth settled into sedater curves, I attributed the change to this disappointment. Thomas, too, changed slowly, and I did not think the change for the better. He lost refinement, and was often querulous and impatient. He became restless and wearied of quiet evenings; and, to please him, Cecilia was seldom without visitors of the kind he liked best, people who were gay and noisy, full of life and excitement, and with little thought. Talkative, fashionable guests were first invited; and when these wearied of coming, and could not be had, visitors of a lower grade were sought out; for an evening without company was to Thomas Grey as objectionable as a house in winter without a fire. My visits became less frequent as Dale House became lively with guests incessantly going and coming, and it was seldom at this time that Cecilia could find opportunity either to give me an hour's quiet attention in her own home, or to accept one in mine, and for a whole season the broom on the way to Dale House turned from green to golden, and the heather on the common to glowing purple and then to rusty brown, all unseen by me. Not that my niece was invisible also. I had frequent glimpses of her, on horseback or in the carriage, among a flutter of fine people and fine dresses, smiling sometimes, laughing now and then, or giving me a tired glance from eyes that were getting dimmer and hollower than they should be for the years they had seen; but always too busy to stay with me more than for a few minutes. I got through long tasks in netting and knitting that summer, produced a wonder of a counterpane, and manufactured a set of curtains that certainly were pretty enough, but many a sigh, after past days, was worked in with the stitches, and the counterpane, if it could have expressed my prevailing thought, would have been full of knitted Cecilias. 'How is the farm getting on?' was my frequent mental question; but I remembered that Thomas had a competent bailiff, and needed not to be always

looking after the land. 'He must have excitement,' I said, 'it is better to have the excitement of gay company than that which brought his father to a premature grave.' And with this poor comfort I tried to be content. And yet—how much better it might have been! For, it was becoming quite plain and clear to me, that the marriage was not a successful one. There was neither true peace nor content in it. Cecilia was getting old and worn before her time. Thomas was getting weary; was it of her, or of himself? Of both, I feared. I called this my twilight thought, which came to me when I was seated alone near my parlour window, watching the grey world get greyer beneath the darkening sky. As the light decayed, my hope decayed with it, and Cecilia's future seemed dark indeed. But when the night was passed, and the bright beams of morning smote joyfully my opening eyes, a corresponding brightness came over my anticipations, and Dale House and its inmates had no sad experiences to expect, and my twilight thought was a fancy merely.

The seventh anniversary of their wedding-day came round, and I had been invited for weeks beforehand to the customary entertainments. I had had a slight touch of rheumatism, and had striven to be excused from making one at the wedding dinner, but Cecilia was so much in earnest that I should go, that there was nothing to do but to yield to her wish. To please me, it was to be a very quiet affair; not above a dozen to dinner, and a very, very little dancing afterwards just for the young people of the neighbourhood, who were only to have tea. 'Well, my dear,' said I, 'if it is necessary that such an old woman as I should be present to look on——'

'Of course it is necessary, quite necessary. We couldn't do without you; we never did yet,' was the reply. 'And I do want you so much; more than I can tell you. What a while it is since you came to see us—months, I believe.'

'Months, I *know*,' thought I, but I did not say so. 'It will all be the fresher to me. And who have you at the house now?' I asked.

'Oh, those shooting people, the Grants, and Miss Hopwood, that's all.'

'Miss Hopwood with you yet? She's been with you all the summer, hasn't she?'

'Yes; pretty nearly.'

'Do you like her, Cecilia?' I asked, after a little pause that came over us both simultaneously.

'No,' she said frankly, 'I don't like her, and I think you will not.'

'Then why do you keep her so long?'

'To tell you the truth, I scarcely know how to get rid of her. She's convenient to have at times, to entertain the people when I'm tired out, for I'm getting terribly tired of such a constant bustle, and she knows how to make herself agreeable. She's stylish too, and Thomas likes stylish women.'

Cecilia said all this quickly, and with an affectation of indifference, but I was not deceived. I saw she was annoyed with Miss Hopwood, and I said, 'Take my advice, and send her home.'

'She cannot go now till after the party. She and I are to have dresses alike. Thomas has bought us a handsome silk a-piece. He thinks we're a little indebted to her, as she takes the care and trouble from me at times.'

'She's poor then?'

'Well, she isn't rich. Not rich enough to refuse a new silk dress, especially if it's a handsome one. Her friends are respectable, though, and she has quite a large acquaintance. We got to know the Grants through her.'

'No great loss if you hadn't known *them*,' I said, abruptly.

'No. But Thomas is wonderfully taken up with them. He's out shooting with them most days. I tell him there soon won't be a partridge on the place.'

'What pleasure can gentlemen find in shooting poor harmless birds, Cissy? To me it seems stupid and cruel both. I don't know which most.' Cecilia looked grave. 'Tell Thomas so when you see him.'

'He would not listen to me, especially if his friends the Grants were by. But I will try him nevertheless.'

'What a life this is!' I exclaimed involuntarily. 'The company of frivolous people, and the shooting of birds that God has made to be happy and free! Does he never think of anything higher? Do *you* never think of anything higher, Cecilia?'

'Sometimes,' she said, with a sigh. 'But of what use is it thinking?'

'A great deal; if thinking leads to acting. You didn't always think life was made for nothing but fine dress and fine company. You had desires after something better and nobler, and you used to talk of the good you would do when you were married and had a home of your own. Why don't you act out those good desires?'

Cecilia looked uncomfortable and conscience-stricken, and the tears rose to her eyes as she replied, 'It is so difficult! But I think I could do better, if Thomas would let me.'

'Don't wait for Thomas,' I answered. 'Begin at once

yourself. You wait for the river going by, I fear, if you wait for him to begin a change; let him see you determined for a better life for yourself, and draw him after you, if you can. If not ——'

I paused; but she asked anxiously, 'And what, if not?'

'Then you must walk the upper road alone. Of what use is it that both of you should sink? But I think if you were truly in earnest, and he saw it, he has love enough for you, and respect enough for what is good, to follow you.'

'I wish I thought so! But you don't know all that opposes. It isn't only gay company and shooting that stand in the way. There's something else.' And she looked gloomily at the opposite wall.

I spared her the confession, for I thought I knew what she meant. 'Yes,' I said, 'there's something else that he's getting to love better than noble living. Mind he doesn't get to love it better than yourself! He will do in a while, if you do not make a stand for him and for yourself, for alcohol is a jealous companion, and will have no rivals, and the nearest and dearest have to give way to it. You know how it shortened his father's life, how it ruined his fair name, and how it dragged down his better nature into the mire of sensuality; but then, in his latter days, he had no wife to stay his sliding footsteps, no one near him to be his better angel!'

Cecilia went home without the smile that had enlivened her face on entering my cottage, but I did not regret that I had chased it from her lips. It was time, I thought, that she began a more truly thoughtful life, and looked at her responsibilities fairly. A butterfly existence is perhaps the only possible one for some natures; she was formed for something more important.

The chaise was sent for me early on the wedding-day, for I had to help to adorn the drawing-room, and to give general advice to servants and mistress when necessary. At least this was what Cecilia said, though my office of helper was all but a sinecure, and of adviser, quite so, as I found flowers and china arranged not far from perfection beforehand, and each servant at her place quite understanding the work before her. Miss Hopwood had anticipated me in various little works that I had been in the habit of performing on similar occasions, and there was nothing for me to do but to sit lazily in an easy chair till dinner time, and comment inwardly upon what I saw before me. The house had been partly refurnished since I had been there before; there were some luxurious lounges and settees set here and there about the drawing-room, of hitherto unknown form and shape to me; a few expensive pictures and

flower vases that displayed themselves with an air and told you they were just imported, and a new grand piano instead of the walnut cottage that had seemed so all-sufficient a few years before. I did not quarrel with these things; I only hoped the farm was prospering, and wondered whether so much additional grandeur had added to the happiness of its possessors. Miss Hopwood proved to be a tall, dark-haired young lady, without beauty of face, but with a certain self-asserting grace about her, difficult to describe. She was dressed with a good deal of effect, and though her silk dress was exactly of the colour and quality of her hostess's, it managed to shine with greater lustre and to fall in better folds. Not that Cecilia's was wanting in fit or handsomeness; away from Miss Hopwood's it seemed all but perfection; nearer, it took duller, commoner lights and shadows. And the same might be said of its wearer when she sat or stood by the plain-looking young lady. I thought Cecilia seemed aware of the unfavourable comparison, and was at the same time repelled and attracted by her easy guest. Now and then a slight shadow of discontent flitted across her brow, but it did not stay long,—she recalled her cheerfulness with an effort. Was not this her wedding-day, on which she must appear full of smiles and enjoyment?

At dinner I was introduced to the shooting friends of Thomas Grey, the two brothers Grant, young men with loud voices, and broad, brawny shoulders; with exceptionally red faces, and with hair and whiskers of a still redder hue, of the true colour and build for men of the gun and the chase. It was not at all a formal dinner, with made dishes and solemn waiters to perplex and silence plain people, but a cheerful, substantial meal, with not too much ceremony or gravity about it. Jokes went round very freely, and nobody was thought the worse for a hearty laugh. The clergyman and his two sisters were genial, friendly people, and the doctor was proverbial for hilarity on festive occasions. The other guests were easy, well-content people, whom a little served to amuse. Miss Hopwood did more than her share to entertain my niece's visitors, but this was almost necessary, as both Thomas and Cecilia seemed pre-occupied and ill at ease, though they strove hard to conceal it. They had to play the parts of a happy couple who could congratulate and be congratulated with perfect pleasure, but I, who knew them well, saw that they were not just then the people they wished to appear to be. What was it that had made them thus uncomfortable? Had Cecilia been trying to inculcate temperance against her husband's wish? If so, she had been unsuccessful in obtaining present

good result, for when the gentlemen joined us in the drawing-room after dinner, more than one of them had overstepped the limits of true sobriety. Thomas Grey was overflowing with a sort of politeness that comes to some men from frequent use of the contents of the bottle, and his face was radiant with unsuppressed self-content. He had for a time forgotten all annoyances; and could I have forgotten whence he derived his geniality, I might have had genuine pleasure in the change. He looked handsome as of old, with the bright colour on his cheeks and the bright light in his eye, and was now as warmly attentive to his wife, as he had lately been constrained and cold. But she received his attentions with little pleasure, and soon slipped away from him and them, with a mortified expression, and a look of sadness in her downcast eyes. She did not venture to glance towards me, and I was too sorry for her to wish that she should.

Then came tea and the young people and the dance, and everybody was merry and gay, at least in appearance. We older folk sat and looked on, and Cecilia remained with us after one dance with the doctor. But her husband found dancing more agreeable, and he and Miss Hopwood were partners time after time, to their great content. She was much admired for her elegant dancing, and he seemed glad to be admired at her side, and expressed his gladness in rather a boisterous way. I grew tired in a while of the motion and the music, and retreated to a quiet corner of the distant breakfast-room, where one lamp and a small fire gave me a pleasant, subdued welcome after so much noise and glare. I had taken the privilege of a relative and an old woman, and did not wish to be disturbed, so I took the precaution of shutting the door behind me, and, leaning back in a roomy chair, should soon, perhaps, have fallen asleep had not a sudden irruption on my silence disturbed me. It was caused by Cecilia's entrance. Her face was very pale, and its expression gloomy. She did not see me, but going quickly to the table, where stood some decanters and glasses, she proceeded to pour out for herself a glass of wine, and at once to drink it off, and this she did again and again with a feverish, and, to me, very frightful sort of eagerness. There was no pause or stay between each glass further than was necessary to pour it full. I counted four glasses thus swallowed, and then as a fifth was being poured out I recovered from my astonishment, and thought it quite time to let her know of my presence. 'Cecilia!' I exclaimed, in a tone of surprise. She put down the glass which she had just lifted, with a start. 'What are you doing?' I asked.

A quick flush of shame dyed her cheeks, and I saw her

hand tremble, but she managed to reply, 'Drowning trouble, aunt!'

'Drowning trouble? You are bringing it on! Are you in the habit of taking wine in this way? What does it mean?'

'It means I am unhappy—very unhappy; and if I'm to keep up any longer I must have something. I came here to be alone.'

'Alone! To drink! And would that make it any better? Oh, Cecilia, you are going to the wrong comforter! But what makes you so unhappy?'

'I can't tell you now; it's a long tale. But don't look so shocked. I don't often do in this way!'

This assurance was no comfort to me, as it told me that this was not the first time she had tried to drown trouble in wine. '*I don't often do in this way!*' She had *sometimes* then done so before. I looked at her in silent dismay. Only seven years married this very day, if, indeed, the day was not already past, and already seeking to drown trouble in wine! There was, too, a sort of desperate putting off of shame in her avowal that was exceedingly painful to me. How many more glasses would she have taken if I had not interrupted her? One or two, or perhaps four, more? But no, she could surely not intend to intoxicate herself. Alas! how could I tell how many she might not now be able to drink without doing that?

She had sat down, or rather sunk down, upon a chair while these thoughts were passing through my mind; and with her hands before her face seemed to be awaiting further words from me. Was it despair or shame that made her hide her face? I could not believe it was the first, and took courage when I thought it might be the last. I rose up, and putting my hand upon her shoulder, said, 'Why did not you come to *me* for comfort, Cissy? I should have made a better consoler than wine can be. Or if your trouble could not be told to human ears, why not to God? His ears are always open to your cry.'

She murmured something, but I could not tell what, and then rose up suddenly, wiped away some tears that had just started into her eyes, and left me alone. She had gone back to her company, where I suppose she thought her presence was needed. In a little while I followed her, and saw her standing with a smile upon her lips, bidding the curate and his sisters good night.

'We've had a very pleasant evening, I'm sure!' said the doctor's wife, as she pinned up her gown for her walk home.

'I'm *so* glad!' said Cecilia.

'Such a pleasure to see such a happy couple! I always say

to Mr. Tucker, where will you see a happier couple than at Dale House? You're quite an example to the country, my dear Mrs. Grey! If everybody were like you we might send the Divorce Court to Jericho. Mr. Tucker always says, where will you find such a couple?' And the old lady looked up at Cecilia with very shining and very silly eyes, that, with her speeches, made me wonder whether the wine had not been just a little too much for her. But, to be sure, my mind just then was running upon wine.

'We're much obliged to you and Dr. Tucker,' was the reply.

'Yes, my dear, you are indeed, if you knew all! And when shall we be seeing you at the Firs? Now don't say you're too busy, for I won't hear it; you never come!'

As I said, or meant to say, we had not too much gentility or ceremony at this little festal gathering, and, I think, not much penetration, for all seemed pleased and satisfied with host and hostess, though, of course, in a while afterwards everybody was saying, 'I knew something was wrong at the time; Mrs. Grey, poor thing, was not quite herself.' But I am anticipating.

The next day Cecilia was taken ill; the exertion of the previous day had been too much for her, it was said, though I must confess I did not believe it. Bodily exertion, which was what was meant, was always good for her, and she had certainly not had too much of that. As I hastened to her bedside, I had many painful thoughts, anticipating a confession from her of humiliation and trouble. 'What is it, my dear?' I asked, as I held her feverish hand in mine, and looked anxiously in her face for the answer. 'What ails you?'

The tears rose up in her large, overlight eyes, as she replied with some difficulty, 'I want to tell you, but I don't know how to begin! I have been very foolish and very wicked! Sit down, there, behind the curtain, please, then I shan't see you, and you won't see me, while I tell you.'

I did so, and she went on. 'It's more than a year ago since all this misery began. Till about that time I had confidence in Thomas's settled love for me, and though he wasn't all I wished, yet I think his heart never went away from me. But he was getting very fond of the companionship of farmers who could smoke cigars and drink spirits, and of gentlemen of the same kind also; the more they could do these things, the better he liked them. At least it seemed so to me, and sometimes I complained to him how much of his time and his money and his health were being wasted by such society. But after laughing at me a little for my squeamishness, he would say, sometimes, "The fact is, Cissy, a man wants something more than tea and slops when he's

been riding about the farm half the day, and I'm tired to death of the milk and water women that you get about you here, and must have society that'll put a little life into me. A man wants to be with men." I thought of these words a good deal, though I didn't quite believe them all, because I saw that it was the spirits and the wine that he cared much more for, than even men's society, and I determined to get about me some one who should not be milk and water—some lady companion or other who should help me to wean him from a dangerous habit. I ought to have consulted you, dear aunt, about all this, but my pride wouldn't let me do it; it wouldn't let me confess to you, as I must have done to make you understand my position, that my marriage was a failure. You had withstood it for so many years, and had always prophesied some ill end to our union, for you knew Thomas in those days better than I did, that I could not bear to have to confess to you my discomfort, and my husband's growing partiality for drink. Then, too, I didn't like to tell you his little speech about milk and water women; it would seem to you, I thought, that he meant a personal disparagement, though I don't believe that he thought of you at all when he said it. It seemed to me the wisest plan to get some spirited lady-friend who should help me to win the battle against the bottle, and I congratulated myself very much when I persuaded Miss Hopwood to make this house her home for a while. She was not handsome, so much the better; but she was talented and gay, ready to amuse, full of life and animation, and as we both disliked the incessant smell of spirits and cigars in the house, we waged war against them with what we thought proper and lady-like weapons. Miss Hopwood could follow the hounds, talk politics, write poetry, and entertain guests, and at first I thought her perfection, and just the help that I wanted. My plan seemed to succeed. The cigar smoking, spirit drinking, farmers were less and less to be seen in our house, and only those gentlemen came that had some intellectual qualifications. Thomas sat for fewer hours in the dining-room, and more in the drawing-room. I could once more make sure of his presence with me of an evening, and I was at some pains to get about me lively fashionable people that he could not by any possibility call humdrum. You must have noticed how much gayer we have been this last summer. I did not feel that it was exactly the best thing to do, for of course our expenses increased, but then, it seemed the only possible thing to wean Thomas from something worse. And, I thought, we have no children to provide for, so that it matters

less how much we spend. It was all very false reasoning, very unwise, for I was only plucking up one weed to plant another, even if I succeeded. I was giving him one false excitement for another, that was all. And my plan did not succeed, for though less wine and spirits were drunk, it was only because a rather newer pleasure had for a while taken their place. He was fond of music, and Miss Hopwood's songs pleased him better than mine; her voice, perhaps, also. I didn't think of that at first, but by-and-by it struck me painfully. Then, she could at any time bring a smile upon his face; and I began to perceive that I had no such power. He would always be ready to accompany her on walk or drive; but he had twenty excuses if I desired his company. Do you see it all? I began to grow jealous, and fretful, and suspicious, and sadly wanted to dismiss my guest; but when I attempted it, I found I could not do so without making a scene—a thing I hated. How often I longed and yearned to tell you all! I have been on the eve of it time after time, but something always prevented me, either my pride or my shame, or want of fit opportunity. Yes, I began to despair in a while. I saw myself encompassed about in my own net, and could not escape; and then to soothe the bitter moment I took wine, more and more. It helped me over many a crisis. It made me forget for a while. But I cannot tell you how I hated and despised myself for this weakness. I, who had thought to cure my husband, to fall into the same evil habit! I, who had preached so against it to you—to Miss Hopwood—to everybody! You may imagine the state of mind I was in sometimes. But I am tired of this long tale, and too ill to go into details. So I will pass on till the day before yesterday, when I determined to have it out with Thomas. I had been longing to talk to him ever since you and I had spoken of my duty; what I ought to do for him. Ah! you did not know what I ought to do for myself, or you would have given me a more severe lesson! I told him that I was intending to give Miss Hopwood notice to go home to her friends. He asked what for? I said that it would be better for my peace of mind that she went, and for his honour. He went into a furious passion, and accused me of unreasonable jealousy. He said she was the only sensible person in the house, and if I sent her away I must expect him to go too, or something to that effect. He would not have been so angry, and said so much, only that he had been with the drink; but I was foolish enough to dare him to go, for I also was not quite myself. I had been obliged to take wine to get over the

wretched day. And then——he struck me! and——I know I shall die!'

Here she showed me a sad sight, a bruised and discoloured breast, very much swollen, and very painful. Shocked, I drew back, exclaiming, 'And you concealed this all yesterday? You let us come and go without a word about it! How you must have suffered, my poor child! What a cruel thing; this is frightful!' And then seeing her state of excitement I began to soothe, and recommended that Dr. Tucker should at once be sent for. But she would not hear of it. 'No,' she said, decidedly, 'how can I send for Dr. Tucker and tell him that my husband struck me! And if I did not tell him he would find it out. It is impossible. I must bear it without that. You know some remedy, don't you? Though, indeed, it will never be cured—never!'

I applied arnica, and in a while she was soothed and in less pain, and could tell me more of her trouble, which I allowed her to do, seeing that it was a relief to her mind to pour out her long concealed grief. And first I asked her if Miss Hopwood knew all the mischief she was causing by her presence? 'If she does not, she is very blind,' was the answer, 'though of course she doesn't know about this'—pointing to her breast, 'but she must know how unhappy she makes me by her attentions to Thomas; she must have seen——'

'Have you ever said anything to her directly about it?'

'Not directly. I scorned to let her see that I cared for her.'

I thought if my poor Cecilia had scorned other and worse things, it would have been much better for her, but I said, quietly, 'If so, it is quite possible she is not aware, and is innocent of any great wrong. She has been imprudent,—worse than imprudent, perhaps,—but she may not be guilty of what you fear—a desire and determination to take Thomas's affections away from you.'

'She must be aware!' Cecilia said, with vehement bitterness.

I knew how unjust jealousy frequently makes its unhappy victim, so I did not pay too much attention to her words, but concluded to have an interview with the young lady, and get her at once to leave the house, whether innocent or guilty. It was certainly high time that she was away; so, towards evening, when my niece had sunk into a feverish slumber, I left her as gently as possible, and made my way to the drawing-room. Here was Miss Hopwood alone, reading a novel that had just come from the library. 'How is Mrs. Grey,' she asked, when I entered the room; 'it is so strange that she

will not let me see her or nurse her!' I looked keenly at her, to find whether this speech was from an unsuspecting heart, or a wily one, but her face told me very little. She had attained the polite accomplishment of the smile that sits upon the countenance at once as an ornament and a veil, and I did not know what to make of her. But I walked boldly up to her, seated myself by her side, and entered into explanations that must have been very painful, if she had a feeling heart, and that certainly were very surprising, according to her own account. Her novel dropped from her knee, and her hands were soon clasped in a sort of ecstasy of wonder. 'But my dear lady, how could I suppose so?' was her chief exclamation and question; 'I had no idea that Mrs. Grey was of so jealous a temper!' 'No, perhaps not,' was my answer, 'but now that you do know, you cannot fail also to see what is the right thing for you to do.' 'You mean that I must go away?' The polite smile had vanished, and a momentary expression of dismay and anxiety had crossed her face, as though she were wondering what home was open to her elsewhere; but she rose up at once, and with a slight and hasty arrangement of her dress (she was always very particular about her appearance), said, hastily, 'Can I have Jane to help me to pack up?'

When she had left the house, which she did without much ceremony or leave-taking, I repaired to the sick room, and found Cecilia awake. It was a great relief to her to find that Miss Hopwood was gone, but she shed some bitter tears over the humiliation of the last few days. 'She will tell all her friends!' she exclaimed, weakly. 'She will scarcely do that, for her own sake,' was my reply. 'Oh, she will make her own side out to be all right, and mine——' 'All wrong, you mean? Well, we cannot help that; time will show which was the side of truth and right.' 'You think she is innocent, aunt; I can see you do! You believe her tale, and not mine!' And as Cecilia said this, she rose up in bed, and looked at me with wild feverish earnestness. 'Lie down, dear! We will not talk about it now; though I think you ought to be glad to believe that your suspicions are without very serious foundation. I think if you had not flown to the wine as a comforter you would have seen all this sad affair more calmly, and have saved yourself much needless anguish.'

She lay down again, and became very silent, but I saw the tears rolling slowly down her cheeks on to the pillow. I let them flow unnoticed, really glad to see them. Such trouble as hers must have an outlet, and such tears were the best relief. When evening closed in, I sought Thomas Grey, and had a long and serious conversation with him. He was inclined

to be offended and moody. My sudden dismissal of Miss Hopwood had not pleased him, but it was no time to care for his displeasure. I set before him faithfully the picture of his errors; warned him of the further ill consequences that might ensue, and asked him whether he would not now make a stand, and strive after a new and better life. His coldly averted face turned towards me at last, when I showed him that I knew the cause of Cecilia's illness, and besought him as he loved her and himself to give up entirely intoxicating drinks. 'Have they not been the great exciting cause of all this misery?' I asked. He could not say No. But he did as so many others do, he put from him all thoughts of amendment, and said it was impossible to live without them. No doubt he thought his wife's illness temporary, and that she would soon be well, and all things would go on as usual; and no doubt, too, my warnings were looked upon by him as the morbid fears of a nervous woman. He was sorry for what he had done, but not with the sorrow of true repentance.

Cecilia never recovered the blow given in his drunken anger. It is true she lingered for two years longer, but died at last worn out by the agonising sufferings of cancer; her youth and health and strength brought down to the grave by a disease that might never have reached her but for drink. She lived to be sincerely repentant of her own folly, but she had not the satisfaction of seeing her husband a reformed man. He had fits of remorse and self-reproach, but they were soon over, and the old comforter—the bottle, was ever near at hand, with its magical drinks, to put conscience to sleep, and to bring from the dark recesses of the world of evil, those deceiving ghosts of happiness and animal pleasure that the drunkard mistakes for and embraces as angels of light. When his wife died, the farm was found to be unremunerative; it had, in fact, been so for some years, and as his expenses had been beyond his income, he had to leave it with straitened means. With the wreck of his property he left England for Australia, and died on the passage;—*how*, I have always dreaded to inquire.

STATISTICAL DATA FOR SOCIAL REFORMERS.

Consumption of Corn in the Production of Intoxicating Drinks in 1868.

The malt officially reported as used in brewing and distilling in 1868 was 54,337,583 bushels, which may be treated as equivalent to as many bushels of barley; for though eight bushels of barley make (by the swelling of the grain) nine of malt, yet the Excise officers grant an allowance which brings down the quantity of malt rated to nearly about the bulk of barley used. Of this malt the amount consumed in making spirits was 4,549,813 bushels, which produced (reckoning 18 gallons to eight bushels) 10,237,073 gallons; but the spirits produced, excluding the methylated sorts, amounted to 22,664,575 gallons; so that in the manufacture of the remaining 12,427,502 gallons, the unmalted corn consumed was 5,523,328 bushels. The bushels of grain thus consumed were, therefore, in the aggregate 59,860,911; and if an estimate is made for the probable growth of grain on land used in hop-planting (64,386 acres, producing 2,317,896 bushels)—and for the grain substituted by sugar in brewing (351,742 cwts., equal to 1,500,768 bushels)—we have from these calculations the following result:—

	Bushels.
Corn used in brewing in 1868	49,787,770
Corn used in distilling in 1868	10,073,141
Hop land might have produced in 1868	2,317,896
Sugar used in brewing, equal to	1,500,768
Loss of corn in brewing and distilling in 1868...	63,679,575

This result, it will be seen, is irrespective of the waste of fruit in the manufacture of cider, perry, and British wines; nor does it touch upon the waste of grapes, sugar, and other nutritious substances used in the manufacture of intoxicating drinks (rum, brandy, geneva, and wines) imported into the British Islands in 1868.

The amount of food represented by 63,679,575 bushels of grain is extraordinary. In bulk it is about as much as the annual corn produce of Scotland (excluding seed reserved). If this enormous quantity were divided among the whole population, in families of five persons, it would allow 10 bushels of corn for every family. A bushel is calculated to yield wholesome food equal to 15 four pound loaves; so that the 4lb. loaves thus produced, would, in the total, amount to nearly a thousand millions (955,193,625)—or 150 loaves to every family in the United Kingdom. If the distribution were confined to one family in four, 600 loaves would be assigned to each such family;—no inconsiderable yearly allowance, in itself, of the staff of life. It may be said that much of the grain used in brewing and distilling would not be available for consumption as bread, because not palatable to the people of this country. Though this may be true, the fact as to the destruction of so much nutritious grain is not affected; and the land on which this corn now grows would certainly be available for the growth of varieties of food which would enter directly, or indirectly, into the household consumption of the population at large. The truth remains, as declared by Dr. Erasmus Darwin more than two generations ago—'The food of the people is taken and converted into poison.'

The Judicial Statistics for 1867-8.

The bulky document in light-blue cover which bears the title, 'The Judicial Statistics of England and Wales for 1868,' really refers to the year ending Sept. 29th, 1868. The police employed numbered 25,832 (an increase of 1,759 in the year), at a cost (all expenses included) of £2,084,596. 11s. 5d. The persons known to belong to the criminal classes, including tramps and vagrants, prostitutes, and 'suspected persons,' were 118,390, of whom 16,074 were under sixteen years of age; the males were 69,190, and the females 49,200. The total number for 1866-7 was 112,403. The houses of bad character are returned as 20,080. Of these, 5,730 are stated to be 'the resorts of thieves and prostitutes;' and in this number are found 2,037 public-houses and 2,117 beershops. The public-houses with this black brand are three per cent. of the licensed houses, all of whom are legally supposed to be in the hands of fit and proper owners. The

indictable crimes known to have been committed in the year were 59,080, but the persons apprehended were only 29,529; males 22,817, females 6,712. Of the whole number, 20,108 were committed for trial. The cases of murder were 129, and attempts to murder 61. The cases of manslaughter were 245. The number of cases proceeded against summarily (*i.e.*, before local magistrates) were 490,752, and the convictions were 347,458; of males 288,117, of females 59,341. The cases proceeded against were more by 16,087 than those of 1866-7, and the convictions were 12,099 more, and the proportion of female cases was greater. The convictions were followed by 215,174 fines, and 87,364 terms of imprisonment, varying from fourteen days to above six months. The cases of assault were 92,978, of which 2,690 were 'aggravated assaults on women and children.' The cases of drunk and disorderly conduct were 111,465, making, with the assaults, a total of 204,443, or 42 per cent. of the whole number, in almost the whole of which strong drink was the instigating cause of the offence. The cases of drunk and disorderly for several years are given below, with their percentage of the total summary charges:—

1863-4	100,067 ...	23	per cent.
1864-5	105,310 ...	23	,,
1865-6	104,368 ...	22	,,
1866-7	100,357 ...	21	,,
1867-8	111,465 ...	23	,,

In the classification of 'character,' 577 habitual drunkards (475 males, 102 females) are returned as apprehended for indictable offences, and 33,902, (25,573 males, 8,329 females) as proceeded against summarily; but it is explained that these 'habitual drunkards' are not among those otherwise classed as known 'thieves,' 'prostitutes,' 'vagrants,' 'suspicious characters,' 'previous good character,' 'character unknown.' It is a notable fact that of the indictable offences 6,756 (24 per cent.), and of the summary cases 187,694 (38 per cent.), were charged against persons of 'previous good character,' besides nearly an equal number ascribed to persons of 'character unknown;' and putting these together we have a total of 371,144 cases out of 520,281 arising from the misconduct of men and women who might have been supposed as unlikely to commit crime as the rest of the community. Why they did commit it is explained in five cases out of six by the public-house and beer-shop. The inquests of the year were 24,774 (on males 17,476, on females 7,298), and in 320 cases (13 in the 1,000) the verdict of 'excessive drinking' was returned. Among the other verdicts were 261 of murder, 235 of manslaughter, 1,546 of suicide, 11,033 of accidental death, 2,824 of found dead, while 8,094 are ascribed to causes unnamed. But for the action of intoxicating drink, it may be safely concluded that these nearly 25,000 inquests would have dropped to one-half. The inquests for 1866-7 were 24,648. Among the inquests of 1867-8, no fewer than 6,796 were on children of seven years and under, and of these children 1,348 were illegitimate. The costs of the inquests were £76,520. 2s. 7d., an average of £3. 1s. 9d. a case. The number of prisoners was 158,480 (males 121,086, females 37,394), of whom 1,800 were under twelve years of age. The daily average of persons imprisoned was 18,677, and the highest number in prison at one time was 23,098. The deaths were 200—no discredit to the abstinence regimen imposed upon the prisoners, whatever have been their previous habits. The prison officers of all grades were 2,509, and the prison expenses of all kinds for the year were £691,378. 19s. 7d., of which only £49,180. 10s. 6d. were repaid by profits of prisoners' labour, &c. The convict prisons, which are separately grouped, had 9,906 inmates during the year, who were under the supervision of 1,362 officers, in establishments that cost £257,307. 5s. 7d. The offenders in custody in reformatories during the year were 5,437, supported at a cost to the nation of £62,309, in addition to which there is an industrial school at Feltham, Middlesex, which had 591 in detention, and 52 other certified industrial schools, with 3,684 children. There were also 953 criminal lunatics under detention during the year, at a cost of £35,753. 1s. 8d. It may be interesting to present some of the statistics in regard to apprehensions of persons drunk, or drunk and disorderly, the total number of which in the year ending September 29, 1867, was 111,465. The selections have respect to places having a population according to the census of 1861 of 20,000 and upwards. One caution, and

it is of the greatest importance, must first be given—that the returns do not offer a means of strict comparison between the various cities and boroughs, as there is no uniform police rule relative to apprehending drunken persons, or their registration as such. Of course only a small proportion of the drunk and drunk and disorderly persons in any town are ever apprehended:—

District.	Population in 1861.	Apprehensions for drunk and disorderly conduct in the year ending Sept. 29, 1868.
Metropolitan district (including a radius of 15 miles round Charing Cross, except the City of London)	3,109,172	18,872
Liverpool	443,938	14,451
Manchester	338,722	9,540
Birmingham	296,076	2,310
Leeds	207,165	1,364
Sheffield	185,172	1,022
Bristol	154,098	814
City of London	112,063	446
Newcastle-on-Tyne	109,108	1,752
Bradford	136,218	285
Salford	100,449	637
Hull	97,661	963
Portsmouth	94,546	289
Preston	82,985	875
Sunderland	78,211	600
Brighton	77,693	148
Norwich	74,891	103
Nottingham	74,693	179
Oldham	72,333	528
Bolton	70,395	1,217
Leicester	68,065	304
Blackburn	63,126	886
Plymouth	62,599	367
Wolverhampton	60,860	338
Stockport	54,682	893
Birkenhead	52,958	398
Bath	52,528	216
Devonport	50,440	53
Southampton	46,088	280
Derby	43,091	262
Swansea	41,606	220
Coventry	40,936	159
York	40,433	289
Rochdale	38,114	743
Ipswich	37,950	120
Walsall	37,760	100
Wigan	37,658	442
Halifax	37,014	296
Macclesfield	36,101	78
South Shields	35,239	655
Ashton-under-Lyne	34,886	402
Great Yarmouth	34,810	129
Tynemouth	34,021	406
Exeter	33,738	43
Gateshead	33,587	414
Cardiff	32,954	360
Northampton	32,813	170
Worcester	31,227	253
Chester	31,110	473
Carlisle	29,417	189
Oxford	27,560	11
Warrington	26,431	836
Cambridge	26,361	65
Dover	25,325	134
Reading	25,045	154
Stalybridge	24,921	311
Colchester	23,809	63
Wakefield	23,350	150
Newport (Wales)	23,249	347
Maidstone	23,016	36
Peterborough	22,893	25
Hastings	22,383	54
Huddersfield	22,163	317
Shrewsbury	22,163	196
Canterbury	21,224	47
Lincoln	20,999	67
	7,534,857	69,146

	Population 1861.	Arrests for drunkenness and drunken disorder.	Number to population.
In police districts as above	7,534,857	69,146	1 to 109
In rest of England and Wales	12,531,367	42,319	1 to 296
All England and Wales.	20,066,224	111,465	1 to 180

The disproportions between population and apprehensions in the foregoing list are remarkable, and cannot all be refered to a difference in the prevalence of intemperance. It is probable that in many cases disorderly conduct connected with drunkenness has been classed among common assaults. Some towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants in 1861 are returned as having more police-charged drunkards among them than towns with seven times their population. That they are seven times as drunken as the others is out of the question.

In the year ending September 29, 1868, 12,197 publicans and beersellers were proceeded against for violations of the express conditions under which they carry on their trade. In this

number of law-breakers it appears that there were 8,222 beersellers represented, and 3,975 publicans. The same persons were, in not a few cases, proceeded against more than once; but, as many more escaped legal process altogether, it may be assumed that at least that number of individuals were charged with offences, the proof of which ought to have disqualified them for a renewal of the confidence reposed in them when their licences were first granted. But it is matter of universal notoriety, that the forfeiture of a public-house or beer-shop licence rarely occurs. How the magisterial jurisdiction over beersellers conferred by the new Act will be exercised has yet to be fully tested.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Scottish Poor Law, and some Contrasts between the Principles and the Practices that have grown upon it. Read 28th May, 1869, by D. Curror, late Chairman of Edinburgh Parochial Board. Edinburgh: Seton and Mackenzie.

Mr. Curror is an earnest poor-law reformer, and brings to bear on the subject extensive practical knowledge and much good sense. He distinguishes between three classes of poor. He sets on one side the voluntarily idle able-bodied, as deserving, not food, but rather branding and stripes. He would show them no mercy. Let them starve! He places quite apart from them the 'honest impotent poor,' for whom really efficient provision must be made out of the poor-rate; and the enfeebled poor, who are able to work a little, and for whom suitable work should be found. He declares that not only, as at present, lands and heritages, but, as formerly, the means and substance of all the parish, should be assessed to the rate. 'Lands and heritages do not represent more than half of the material wealth of Scotland. That half at present discharges a whole national burden, and the other half goes free. That is not right. Take an example of the class. An ostensible proprietor of £10,000 worth of land has it burdened with a bond and disposition for £8,000. The return from land is not very great. The nominal proprietor, happen what may, must meet the interest, taxes, and rates applicable to the £10,000 value. But all the risks of income attach to the last £2,000 of heritable worth. He runs these risks, and lives upon very short commons indeed. But out of that bare living,—an appearance to keep up without the means,—probably 'remembering days of joy when misery is at hand, he pays all the poor-rates; and the real owner of the land—the bondholder—pays ne'er a rap to maintain the poor. Incomes from manufactures, from stocks and shares, are all free. A millionaire of Moray Place pays only on his house, and his thousands invested otherwise than on land and heritages pay nothing. The poorest householder pays on his rent, and his sticks may be rouped at the cross failing payment, and he and his may be driven to the poorhouse for shelter, while the thousands of our West-End friends pay nothing. The inequality is glaring.'

For the impotent deserving poor Mr. Curror would provide by reverting to the old law of settlement, to the extent of making the expense of him fall on his native parish, though not necessarily compelling him to live there. On becoming chargeable he may choose his place of residence once for all; but his native place must pay for his keep. Mr. Curror thinks the Registration Act has removed the difficulty of fixing the birth-settlement that led to that settlement's abolition. This plan would, he says, operate an equalisation of poor-rates, abolish the existing inequalities of pauper pressure on particular localities, and make the poor-rate, as near as may be, a national burden equally imposed in extinction of a national obligation, besides conferring other benefits. The impotent poor he would place in hospitals where they can be cared for with affectionate Christian earnestness. He would send them to the 'sunniest of the sunny poorhouses of the county, under the care of appropriate nurses.' The poor able to work a little he would send into the poorhouses happening to stand most convenient, 'with the most fitting facilities for enabling them to carry out their mission under appro-

priate Christian masters.' The poor, able but not willing, are to be made to work under pain of starvation. 'Send them to the house with the greatest facilities for enabling the parish to carry into effective operation its corrective discipline under appropriate regimen and taskmasters.' At present, 'there can be no proper or perfect classification in any one house, as no house admits of that perfect separation of "languages — barred tongues — voices deep and hoarse"—of the impotent—of the weak—and of the sturdy, that is necessary for the appropriate management and employment of each. But by giving each class a separate house, and classifying that class, a perfect classification could be made and maintained under proper heads. As all the parishes alike would participate in these benefits, let a common account be kept of cost, and divided among the parishes according to the number of paupers in each.' Mr. Curror adds:—'I can see no objection to such a re-arrangement of existing parochial machinery as this. Even although the parishes kept an account of each man's earning, and gave him the surplus over the cost of food and clothing, I could see no objection. But, on the contrary, I could see in that great gain to the parish and great benefit to the worker. Let a man work, and give him the return. If industrious and well-behaved, let him work his way out of the worst class into a better. Indeed, let him work himself out of the poorhouse altogether, with a trade learned, industrial habits, and a purse in his pocket, to start in the world when he gets out. Infuse into the system sympathy for the impotent, hopes of gain of means and respectability to the worker, with fears of being sent to a worse class and harder fare for the disobedient and idle. Let none be discharged without a certificate of merit for the outer world; and you will lop off this corrupt graft, make the poorhouse of the present day the hospital and correction-house of the old Act, and bring the treatment of the poor back to Christian injunction.

'I am aware of the objection to reverting to the old Law—that it would send workhouse labour to compete in the market to the prejudice of the legitimate small trader. But the argument is overstrained. If, by means of this re-organisation, the poor are made to eat their own bread, surely that is no inconsiderable gain to the small trader. But it is not necessary to bring poorhouse labour into competition with the ordinary trader at all. The pauper able to work a little would find himself fully occupied with the work required for the inmates of the poorhouse and the officials. The able to work could be employed in remunerative labour not yet in the market. Let Government lay out designs for draining, on proper engineering principles, the bogs and lakes, moors and mosses many of the country; and for reclaiming land from the sea and in similar works of a public nature, and thus extend the arable area of the nation, bringing food to the people, and employ the poor able to work in carrying out such improvements; and paupers, while learning industry, would benefit the nation, earn their own bread, and take the bread out of the mouth of no one.'

We have briefly indicated the course taken by Mr. Curror. The recommendations advanced in his pamphlet are not exhausted by our notice of them thus far, but the necessities of space forbid us to go farther.

The Cure of Souls and Atrophy of Brains. Dartmouth: Cranford.

We do not admire the tone and spirit of this pamphlet, one chief object of which is to expose what is called 'the odious position of the beneficed clergy in England, consuming as they do a portion of the national income in ease and luxury, which would suffice, and more than suffice, to instruct the poor.' The clergy are entitled to think in many cases that they are instructing the poor; and the well-known hardships of the curates, to say nothing of the self-denying labours of clergymen of many classes, rebuke this insolent accusation. Yet the writer is very clear-sighted in some respects. Whilst protesting against much that we find in his pamphlet, we cordially recognise the truth of his complaint, that sufficient attention is not paid to the intellectual advancement of the poor. He suggests that the Government should purchase all advowsons offered, on receiving proof in each case that the incumbent is sixty-five years of age or upwards, or that he has held the living not less than forty years, paying seven years' purchase on the gross annual value. On the first ensuing vacancy,

all the glebe, titles, residence, &c., to be sold, and the balance, after repaying the purchase money, interest, and expenses, capitalised, the interest to provide a suitable stipend for the minister, if the cure is retained; and the surplus to be given in aid of educational grants or rates. He notes very truly, that many livings or cures, owing to the prevalence of dissent, dwindling population, and other local circumstances, might and ought to be suppressed at the earliest opportunity. Well-known abuses abounding in connection with the Establishment supply him with too much opportunity for his rough satiric horseplay.

The Disinfectant Question: Review of a Book by Dr. R. Angus Smith, entitled Disinfectants and Disinfection. Reprinted from the Sanitary Record. London: M'Corquodale and Co., Cardington-street.

THIS is a rasping review of Dr. Angus Smith's book on Disinfectants and Disinfection. According to the *Chemical News*, 'no man living is competent to criticise Dr. Angus Smith on disinfection but Dr. Angus Smith himself;' and of his book, the same authority asserts that 'almost every page contains evidence of exhaustive laborious research, guided in its course by the clearest judgment. We seek in vain for some weak point to give us occasion to air our critical acumen.' But, according to the reviewer before us, Dr. Smith's book has one weak point of most glaring prominency and of most serious moment. The charge against Dr. Smith, in short, is that self-regard has rendered him altogether a biassed and unsafe guide;—that being inventor of M'Dougall's disinfecting powder, he has suffered his judgment to be warped most egregiously in favour of that article. 'We are very far from saying,' remarks the reviewer, 'that it was not competent for the Cattle Plague Commission, relying upon the special knowledge of their medical and chemical members, to decide for themselves the question of the choice of disinfectants; but we will say and uphold that having, instead of so doing, publicly announced that the subject required further investigation, it was their duty, in selecting the person to conduct the inquiry, to see that the individual chosen was not only fully competent, but in no way biassed by having been mixed up with the rivalries of inventors and manufacturers. And we will further boldly assert that in the entire range of British scientific chemists they could not have singled out one more disqualified on the latter grounds than Dr. Angus Smith. That gentleman, however, having once been appointed and having thought himself justified in accepting the trust, could hardly, without belying his whole past career, do otherwise than recommend his own invention. But he ought to have done so in a straightforward and high-handed manner, and not condescended to make a pretence of being guided by fresh investigations, which, in reality, as the reports of the Commission show, had no influence on his conduct nor on their proceedings. It was still less worthy of the Commission, after having allowed themselves privately to give in their adhesion to disinfection by Dr. Smith's invention, to shuffle off their responsibility by permitting the empty forms of futile investigation to be gone through.' This is the gravamen of the charge brought by the reviewer against Dr. Angus Smith and the Cattle Plague Commission. It is supported by some very telling pleading, and a strong *primâ facie* case is set up which demands a reply from the defendant. The pamphlet, we may add in conclusion, appears to be written in the combined interest of truth and Condy's fluid.

Signs of the Times: An Address delivered by T. M. Morris, of Ipswich, at the Annual Meeting of the Suffolk and Norfolk Baptist Home Missionary Union, held at Bury St. Edmunds. Published by request. London: E. Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

THE 'signs of the times,' to which Mr. Morris drew the attention of his hearers, were, first, 'impending and possible changes in the political ecclesiastical arrangements of this country;' and second, 'the drift of religious thought and sentiment towards Ritualism on the one hand, and Rationalism on the other.' The Established Church of England and Ireland, he predicts, will ere long share the fate of the Irish one. An era of free churches is before us. The probable coalescence of sundry 'evangelical' denominations with the 'evangelical' portion of the free church of England, leads Mr. Morris to apprehend that the Baptists may be called upon for a time to 'suffer from a keener sense of social

inferiority as a denomination' than that which they now labour under. Still, in the event of such coalescence, he opines there would be a greater call than ever for the faithful maintenance of distinctively Baptist principles. The ultimate issue of disestablishment and disendowment will, however, 'more than answer to our brightest expectations.' As regards Ritualism, he thinks the Baptists occupy a vantage ground shared by no other denomination; being free from the practise of pædo-baptism, which he describes to be an unintentional bolstering up of Ritualism. Lastly, he exhorts his hearers to confront with unshrinking zeal the advances of Rationalism.

An Inquiry into the Causes of the Present Long-continued Depression in the Cotton Trade; with Suggestions for its Improvement. By a Cotton Manufacturer. Manchester: John Heywood.

THE author of this very valuable pamphlet is Mr. William Hoyle, a well-known manufacturer of Bury, who, being extensively engaged in the cotton trade, has of course had his attention very much drawn to the present sorely depressed condition of trade and manufacture in Lancashire and elsewhere; and has embodied in the pamphlet before us the result of his meditations thereupon. The conclusion he comes to, from the facts and figures of the cases, is that the fatal flaw in the state of the trade lies not in the condition of the foreign, but in that of the home market; and that if the home market were what it ought to be, the foreign would need to give little or no anxiety to the manufacturer. Mr. Hoyle's argument has been succinctly stated in the following letter to the chairman of a meeting on the stagnation of trade, held lately at the Clarence Hotel, in Manchester:—

'64, Mosley-street, Manchester, Sept. 14, 1869.

'Dear Sir,—I am glad to see that the state of trade in this country is attracting the attention of men of position and influence.

'Without at all presuming to offer any surmise as to what should be the course of procedure at the meeting this afternoon, I yet beg respectfully to call the attention of gentlemen assembled to what I believe to be, and what many other thoughtful men regard as, the main cause of our present bad trade, and the one most inimical to the interests of the labouring classes.

'I can best explain the matter by stating two or three facts. In the year 1860 the home trade of this country bought cotton goods to the value of £12,129,000. In the year 1868 (last year), although the price of cotton goods was from 10 to 20 per cent. more than in 1860, yet the home trade only took cotton goods to the value of £6,911,000, or about half the quantity taken in 1860.

'It may be said this was owing to people being poorer; but, if so, how are we to explain the following facts? In the year 1860 the amount of money spent in the United Kingdom on intoxicating drink was £69,910,544; in the year 1868 the amount spent was £102,886,280, being in eight years an increase of £32,975,736 sterling, or about 47 per cent. To sum up, the home trade bought 50 per cent. less cotton goods and 47 per cent. more drink. If the 32 millions spent extra in drink last year over 1860 had been invested in manufactured goods we should not have had any stagnation in trade, for it would have cleared off all stock, and found employment for nearly half a million more persons than it did by being spent in intoxicating liquors. If three-fourths of the entire £102,886,280 had been laid out in manufactured goods, we should have had a roaring trade.

'There are other causes of bad trade, but this is the greatest of all, and I hope that, whatever programme for the future be laid out, gentlemen will not fail to include in it some plan for checking the enormous amount of intemperance and consequent pauperism which now prevail.—I remain, your obedient servant,

'WILLIAM HOYLE.'

The trade and the community at large owe much to Mr. Hoyle for having called attention to the real state of the case. The pamphlet is, as we have said, a very valuable one, and its circulation in large quantities is, on all accounts, very much to be desired.

Seed Scattered Broadcast: or Incidents in a Camp Hospital. By S. Mc. Beth. With an Introduction, and edited by the Author of 'The Memorials of Captain Hedley Vickers,' &c. Pp. 344. London: William Hunt and Co., Holles-street, Cavendish Square.

DURING the late civil war in the United

States a large staff of volunteer workers—medical men, Christian ministers, Scripture readers, and women of all ranks,—followed the Northern camp, supplying the temporal needs of the sick and wounded of both armies, and attending, where possible, to their spiritual needs. Amongst the women was the lady of whose pen the volume before us is the fruit; and in a series of articles, mainly in dialogue form, she here gives samples of the sort of work done, with hints of its effects upon soldiers of different classes. Her ruling thought is that she is a recruiting officer for Christ's army; and her one work is to accost all and sundry, in season and out of season, when they like it and when they do not, and to endeavour to impress upon them the leading principles of her theologic system,—not, however, for the sake of the system, but in the hope of inducing them, by its means, to enrol themselves in the army of the Lord. Grant the truth of her system, and the justification of her action follows as a matter of course. We doubt not there are many Christians to whom the one will appear to be deplorably narrow and inadequate as a 'ground-plan of the All;' but there will be few genuine Christians, we think, who will not recognise in the action she took and the work she accomplished reason in abundance both for heartily admiring her earnestness and her tact in meeting various forms of opposition, and for rejoicing in the success she attained in inducing thoughtless, apathetic, or hostile minds to commence in earnest that Christian warfare with sin, in the absence of which life is but an unmeaning dream.

Many protests inevitably arise in the critic's mind as he examines the volume. A narrowness of system leads to great injustice. We have, to begin with, three chapters,—labelled, first, the Infidel; second, the Universalist; third, the Backslider. We hope it is abundantly possible for many persons who, like us, are not Universalists, to feel acutely, as we do, the grave insult that is here, though probably unconsciously, done to a rapidly-increasing class of Christians. Obviously, in every other respect a man might be a true Christian, answering even to S. Mc. Beth's own definition of one, and yet be a Universalist. Is it right to brand a brother in Christ's army, because 'unsound' only on the one point in which the most loving natures are the most liable to be misled? Yet here the Universalist is purposely transfixed on one skewer with the Infidel and the Backslider. It is quite true the particular Universalist here exhibited does not happen to deserve much better treatment; but he might have done; and the whole class to which he happened to belong should not have been thus abused by being sandwiched between the Backslider and the Infidel.

This is only one sample of the kind of protest aroused by a perusal of the book before us. Enough that we only just allude to the similarly provoking character of many things in the volume; adding the remark, that the triumphant progress of the argument is frequently due, not at all to the soundness of the reasoning, but solely to the inaptitude and inefficiency of the opponent. Amongst a more thoughtful class of men, this good lady would have met with a very different ending to some of her controversial adventures. But, making all due deductions for faults like these, there remains a volume which, to a very large class of minds, will appear to be full of irrefutable argument, produced with wonderful skill and tact, and often accomplishing results which all must agree to be in the highest degree salutary. It is impossible to follow the course of her labours, as shown in her book, without high admiration of the benevolent and conscientious courage, energy, and zeal thus manifested, or without feeling that in her capacity of recruiting-sergeant to the army of the Great King, she was fulfilling a function for which she was singularly well gifted.

Words of Comfort for Parent's Bereaved of Little Children. Edited by William Logan, Author of the Moral Statistics of Glasgow. With an Introductory Historical Sketch. By the Rev. Wm. Anderson, LL.D., of Glasgow. London: James Nisbet and Co., Berners-street.

We do not wonder that another and still another edition of this compilation have so soon been demanded. A collection of almost everything, whether in prose or verse, that has ever been well written in English, to comfort and help parents bereaved of children, forms a book to which the commonness of such

bereavement gives a strong claim for reception upon almost every home. The fourth edition, issued a few months ago, has been distributed strictly at cost price amongst more than 1,500 missionaries of all Protestant denominations—thanks to the combined liberality of Mr. Logan and other friends of the missionaries. A fifth and enlarged edition is fast finding its way, we doubt not, into some thousands of English and Scottish homes, there to be received, as it deserves, with no cold welcome. And a sixth edition is already out. This last, however, is an abridgment. It has been prepared in compliance with a wish, expressed by many, that the book should be published at a price making it more popularly accessible. Care has been taken to preserve whatever was essential to the original purpose of the compilation; and whilst the collection thus remains substantially the same as in the larger edition, a new feature has been introduced by placing in a separate section such of the prose articles as did not specially refer to the death of children, and several contributions not in the previous editions are to be found in this.

Missionary Theology: Considered in its two doctrines of Endless Misery, and a Past Millennial Advent of Christ. By Edward White, Minister of St. Paul's Chapel, Hawley Road, Kentish Town. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

THIS is a paper re-printed from the 'Rainbow,' and designed to make good the thesis, that when at the close of last century, with simplicity of purpose, heroic faith, and devoted piety, the Baptist, Independent, and Episcopal Missions were founded, there was scarcely a man among the whole company of persons engaged in these glorious undertakings who ever dreamed of doubting any of the doctrines stamped with the *imprimatur* of the sixteenth century Reformation; but that, now, the theological spirit has recovered its energy in the churches, attention has been devoted once more to biblical criticism and doctrine, and there is a certain separation between the missions of Protestantism and the deeper home convictions of religious Englishmen. This separation is supposed by the writer to be caused chiefly by a change in the popular Christian belief as regards the eternal destination of the heathen. That all the millions who rejected the missionary's message, or who never heard of it, are doomed to endless misery, 'is what may be called the State creed of all the missionary societies. No one is considered at liberty to deny it in a missionary speech or sermon. It is the platform creed of Exeter-hall. The missionary students at the colleges are supposed to believe it. The directors are supposed to believe it. The missionaries abroad are supposed to believe it. No one who openly asserted it would be asked at a missionary assembly or to plead the cause of missions before the people. And yet, it is disbelieved in the churches throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is doubted and denied with varying degrees of confidence. But it *is* doubted and denied almost universally, and most of all by persons of accurate knowledge and spiritual intelligence.' Another reason for the decline of interest in missionary societies is to be found, Mr. White thinks, in the failure of spiritual results; and a third he finds in the refusal of the missionaries to preach what he calls the pre-millenial advent of Christ.

What I have Written. A Letter, Explanatory and Defensive, to the Rev. Henry Constable, M.A., Prebendary of Cork, etc., Regarding the Future of the Human Race. By Henry Dunn. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., Stationers' Hall Court.

'WHAT I have Written' is surely a rather untowardly title, as taking us back to Pilate just after he had permitted the crucifixion of the Lord. But neither Mr. Dunn nor, we hope, any one of his readers will be disposed to desire that any association of ideas, however slight, should be affirmed betwixt the writer of this pamphlet and Pontius Pilate of old. If any should, the most likely person to do so would perhaps be the Rev. Henry Constable, who, it seems, has assailed Mr. Dunn's theological position as regards man's destiny in the future world with some acrimony, and is replied to by Mr. Dunn in the pamphlet before us. What Mr. Dunn believes is, briefly, that Scripture does not teach the final impenitence of any who have not wilfully and deliberately rejected the truth calling them to it; and in this belief thousands

of minds, loving 'judgment and equity,' will certainly be disposed to acquiesce. But with this Mr. Dunn mingles other inferences, wherein, to our thinking, light is largely adulterated with shade. His pamphlet is written in a thoroughly Christian spirit, and is free, therefore, from the wretched bitterness and petty spite that too often sully the pages of disputants in theology.

Prohibition Triumphant. A Short and Popular Explanation of the Permissive Bill, and Seventy-five Objections against it and Teetotalism Answered; Being a Reply to a Tract entitled 'A Blow at the Defenders of the Permissive Bill; or, Teetotalers as a Class Weighed in the Balance and found Wanting.' By James Cavis. Blackburn: Barton and Hargreaves.

THE title so fully explains the purpose of this pamphlet, as to make further description unnecessary. Mr. Cavis meets all the objections fairly and as fully as was requisite, and leaves his opponent no leg to stand on.

Aunt Winnie's Tale. By Miss Glazebrook. Authoress of 'The Lips that Touch Liquor Shall Never Touch Mine.' Bradford: William Draper.

A VERY well told tale, having a 'moral' similar to the burden of the song credited in the title page to Miss Glazebrook's authorship.

The Social and Legal Aspects of the Domestic Service Question. Suggesting a New System of Hiring Servants, and an Amendment of the Laws Affecting the Relations of Employer and Employed. A Social Science Paper. By M. A. B. London: L. Booth, 307, Regent-street.

The 'Man of Sin' Revealed in the Past and Awaiting his Doom in the Future: or, the 'Apostacy,' the Degenerate Christian Church, and the Popes as the Head of the Anti-Christian System, the 'Man of Sin.' An Argument; in which the Objections of Romanist and Protestant Writers to the Application of Paul's Prophecy in 2 Thess. ii., 1-12, *to the Papacy, are Examined.* By the Author of 'Short Arguments about the Millennium.' London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

Topics for Teachers. A New Work for Ministers, Sunday-school Teachers, and others, on an entirely original plan. By James Comper Gray, Halifax, author of 'The Class and the Desk.' Illustrated with over 200 Engravings and eight first-class Maps. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Hive. A Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday-school Teachers. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

Old Jonathan, The District and Parish Helper. London: W. and H. Collingridge, 117 to 120, Aldersgate-street.

The Life-Boat; or, Journal of the National Life-Boat Institution. London: 14, John-street, Adelphi.

The Scattered Nation. Edited by C. Schwartz, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Appeal. A Halfpenny 'Magazine for the People.' London: Elliot Stock.

The Church. A Religious Penny Magazine. London: Elliot Stock.

Meliora.

FIELD SPORTS.

1. *The Fortnightly Review*, October 1, 1869. Art. I. The Morality of Field Sports. By E. A. Freeman.

2. *Land and Water*, November 6, 1869.

3. *British Rural Sports*. By Stonehenge. Eighth Edition. London: F. Warne & Co. 1868.

4. *The Quarterly Review*. Vol. 103. Art. VI. Sense of Pain in Men and Animals.

5. *History of European Morals*. By W. E. Lecky, M.A. 2 Vols. Longmans & Co. 1869.

6. *Man and Nature*. By G. P. Marsh. London: Simpson, Son, & Co. 1864.

IT is impossible to discuss the relations of man to the animal world without being driven back to primæval times. Our present relations are the result of diverse agencies, acting and interacting, through long spaces of time. A settled life, pastoral, agricultural, or urban; special legislation, humanitarian or destructive; and science, leisure, and ethical cultivation, have all had their effect in determining our sympathies and enmities, our hostility and domestication. The extinction of species, their modification and redistribution, are mainly attributable to these various agents, working with or against climatic influences. Man is the head of a series, and as he moves, settles, and progresses, animals, plants, and vegetables are varied in their orders, nourished, changed, or destroyed. This is part of his 'dominion' as 'the paragon of animals,' the wielder of a godlike intelligence. The commencement of these subtle influences is coeval with the faintest tinge in the dawn of civilisation, and

cannot be traced distinctly in any nations save those which seem destined to be absorbed or destroyed by others. In those dim, far-off times we catch glimpses of a unity which speedily perishes to make way for a newer and gentler harmony, which will reach its highest expression when man has attained his loftiest elevation. The difference between the earlier and the later series or harmony will be understood if we compare the character of animal life in a wild and a settled country, say Africa and England. In the one case the dominion of man is uncertain; in the other it is easy and assured. There is a fierceness in the animal relations of undisturbed natural states that finds no parallel in civilised lands. With the direct and continuous intervention of man come a new order and a new spirit. He has to make war on his own account, and his warfare tends to soften the general animosities of animals, even though he may avail himself of natural antagonism in his warfare. When he begins to domesticate, he throws the shield of his protection over beings unable to protect themselves; he lives by the chase, but he comes into direct conflict with all animals of high organisation that do the same; and as he withdraws his energy from the woods and the plains he assumes a still newer relation to the animals that minister to his wants, and a wholly different kind of hostility to those that hinder his settled pursuits. He is first of all a hunter for subsistence, then for protection, and finally for pleasure or sport. The element of sport is present in the two previous stages, but subordinated to other ends.

We should be slurring over this part of the question did we not note the fact that with primitive man, so far as we can trace his feelings in history, names, religions, and precepts, there was cherished a closer kinship with animals than too frequently fails to show itself with civilised races. To begin with the evidences of the Old Testament, scattered and fragmentary as they are, and diversely as they may be interpreted. It was Adam who first named the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air; they shared the displeasure of God; they were saved, in families, with Noah; the firstborn of man and beast alike was sacred; it was not lawful to work either man or beast on the Sabbath; it was pronounced cruel to muzzle the ox when he trod out his master's corn, to yoke together an ass and a heifer, to seethe a kid in its mother's milk, to take the nursing bird with her young or her eggs; and the picture of the new kingdom of love and peace is drawn as one in which wolf and lamb, leopard and kid, shall have forgotten their animosities, and the calf, the young lion, and the little child shall dwell har-

moniously together. In the Institutes of Menu we detect hints of a similar recognised unity. The slaughter of beasts, except for sacrifice, is forbidden, kindness to animals is inculcated, and agricultural pursuits are condemned with a tenderness almost incomprehensible to us, 'for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it.' We have less direct evidence of this in the earliest form of poetic and moral teaching. It is this community of nature between man, brute animals, and plants, says Mr. G. P. Marsh, which 'serves to explain why the apologue or fable, which ascribes the power of speech and the faculty of reason to birds, quadrupeds, insects, flowers, and trees, is one of the earliest forms of literary composition.' It is of Eastern origin, and it is worth inquiry whether the fable proper, as just described, preceded or succeeded the myth, or was found less or more amongst the non-mythological races. We cannot find that the double problem has attracted the attention of Professor Max Müller, who uses the word fable generically. There is a difference, however, between the fable and the myth. The first owes its origin to the fancy, and contains worldly wisdom; the second springs from the imagination, and deals with higher problems. The one appeals to the understanding, the other to the pure reason. One endows beings with speech and reason, the other turns abstractions into persons, and natural chemistries into living thoughts. We are also able to catch this quick sympathy in living, savage races, as the North American Indians, Australians, and others. Tribes are named after animals and plants, and the common belief is that each family has descended from the Totem, Kobong, or genius it worships.* The North American Indian's Totem is familiarly known as medicine, and it descends to all the children a man may have. Thus the Beaver, in 'The Last of the Mohicans,' refused to pass a colony of beavers without addressing them, and called them his 'cousins.' Sir George Grey says, 'There is a mysterious connection between an Australian and his Kobong, be it animal or vegetable. . . . The family belief is that some one individual of the species is their dearest friend, whom to kill would be a great crime.' William the Conqueror signalised his English rule by making laws to protect the stag, the wild boar, and even hares. Various personal and political motives are assigned for these

* See a curious collection of evidence on these points in 'The Worship of Animals and Plants,' by J. F. M'Lennan, 'Fortnightly Review,' Art. IV., October 1, 1869. Sir George Grey says the Australians use the Totem as the family crest or ensign, and expresses the opinion that our heraldic bearings are traces of the Totem stage lingering in civilised nations.

laws, but a contemporary—Thomas Rudborne—gives a moral one: 'This king loved wild beasts as though he had been their father.' We cannot pursue this subject any further, but it was right to touch upon it in passing, as part of the question; and it may serve to show that all our boasted advancement is but an idle tale if we indulge in cruelty to the beings who fill up with man the kingdom of nature. We touch, indeed, something far nobler than a dim pantheism when we can say with Shelley's Alastor:

> '—— no bright bird, insect, or gentle beast
> I consciously have injured, but still loved
> And cherished these my kindred.'

It should be evident, we think, from the foregoing considerations, that we must vary the standard of man's duty towards animals according to the nature of his habitat, his civilisation, and his common ethical notions. We cannot expect the savage to starve because the chase is inseparable from cruelty of some kind, or the civilised being to remain at peace with the objects which endanger his own life or the lives of his flocks and herds. Cruelty to animals, therefore, has one meaning in Africa and another in England, though it would be as brutal for a white man to torture unnecessarily in one country as the other. Where there are natural wilds and woods, animals of all kinds abound, and may be killed in virtue of man's God-given dominion. As much pain may be inflicted, but it is justified by larger ends. The personal gratification of the slayer is only part of the question; the quiet pasturage or settled cultivation, or secure home life, or adequate food and physical comfort, are elements that come in and lift the act out of the range of ordinary cruelty or wantonness. Sport may be had, but it differs in kind from those home field sports which are artificial, kept up at great expense, the pleasures of a caste, or inseparable from torture. 'As we refine,' says Emerson, 'our checks become finer.' Our sport reflects our ethics. When a robust, warlike spirit is common, all amusements are cruel; captives are tortured; life is less sacred; humanity is fortified by valour, not chastened by tenderness. The sports of the amphitheatre, the bull ring, the bear garden, the cockpit, and the chase, will abound. When civilisation becomes luxurious and corrupt, cruelty accompanies the degradation, and 'the choicest luxury of all' will be 'the spectacle of death and torture.' When Christianity is an innovation, there will be martyrs for the wild beasts; when it becomes the State, there will be fires for the

heretics; and when it passes into newer and higher regions, there will be communion with animals, evidenced in the lives of the Catholic saints, and a gentleness and consideration common to an industrial civilisation. Public morals influence private feeling. Cruelty to animals is the natural parent of cruelty to human beings. Montaigne remarks that after the Romans had become accustomed to the slaughter of beasts, they began to take delight in the slaughter of gladiators. Hogarth has pictured out this truth in his 'Four stages of cruelty'—the lad who begins by torturing cats and dogs ending his career by a murder. But there are apparent exceptions to this unquestionable truth, which may deserve to be stated, though we reserve the explanation for the present. We quote Mr. Lecky's convenient summary:—

'To the somewhat hackneyed anecdote of Domitian gratifying his savage propensities by killing flies, we might oppose Spinoza, one of the purest, most gentle, most benevolent of mankind, of whom it is related that almost the only amusement of his life was putting flies in spider's webs, and watching their struggles and their deaths. It has been observed that a very large proportion of the men who, during the French revolution, proved themselves most absolutely indifferent to human suffering, were deeply attached to animals. Fournier was devoted to a squirrel, Couthon to a spaniel, Panis to two gold pheasants, Chaumette to an aviary, Marat kept doves. Bacon has noticed that the Turks, who are a cruel people, are nevertheless conspicuous for their kindness to animals, and he mentions a Christian boy who was nearly stoned to death for gagging a long-billed fowl. In Egypt there are hospitals for superannuated cats, and the most loathsome insects are regarded with tenderness; but human life is treated as if it were of no account, ... On the other hand, travellers are unanimous in declaring that in Spain an intense passion for the bull-fight is by no means incompatible with the most active benevolence and the most amiable disposition. . . The very men who looked down with delight when the sand of the arena was reddened with human blood, made the theatre ring with applause when Terence, in his famous line, proclaimed the universal brotherhood of man. . . Even in the amphitheatre there were certain traces of a milder spirit. Drusus, the people complained, took too visible a pleasure at the sight of blood; Caligula was too curious in watching death; Caracalla, when a boy, won enthusiastic plaudits by shedding tears at the execution of criminals. Among the most popular spectacles at Rome was rope-dancing, and then, as now, the cord being stretched at a great height above the ground, the apparent, and indeed real, danger added an evil zest to the performance. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius an accident had occurred, and the Emperor, with his usual sensitive humanity, ordered that no rope-dancer should perform without a net or mattress being spread out below. It is singularly curious that this precaution, which no Christian nation has adopted, continued in force during at least two hundred years of the worst period of the Roman empire, when the blood of captives was poured out like water in the Colosseum. The standard of humanity was low, but the sentiment was still manifest, though its displays were capricious and inconsistent.'

We may advance one or two other illustrations of this varying moral standard. The Neapolitans were not an extremely elevated people, yet they never encouraged, and do not seem to have enjoyed, the bull-fighting so common in Rome, the Romagna, and Spoleto. The Puritans suppressed bull and cock fighting, not as Macaulay antithetically puts it, speaking

of the former, 'because it gave pain to the bull, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators.' At the same time, they cruelly punished witches, and believed themselves to be doing God a service by their inhumanities. Sir Thomas More was the reverse of cruel or hard-hearted, and yet he was accustomed to boast of his skill in throwing the 'cock-stele,' or cock-stick. With the Restoration, bull baiting, cock fighting, and man fighting, when, as Sir Richard Steele remarks, the combatants cut 'collops of flesh' from each other with their swords, were revived. Nor were they suppressed until, as Mr. Freeman notes, other movements had commenced 'for the lessening of the hardness of our criminal law, and for the removal of the wrongs of the slave, the prisoner, and the lunatic.'

It is now our duty to consider why and in what respect our modern English field sports deserve to be condemned, and to reconcile the fact of their continuance with our growing humanity, as shown in special legislation in favour of domestic animals. The first part to be noted is that they are artificial, with the solitary exception of hunting the wild red deer and angling. We preserve in order to kill, and the enjoyment of a class, and not the feeding of the people, is the main end kept in view. Even vermin, like the fox, would soon be exterminated but for two things; the constant importation of them from France and Scotland, and the care taken to preserve them in the coverts and to brand as *vulpicide* any independent action of a tenant farmer. The artificiality of fox and stag hunting is seen in the preparatory training necessary to make a hunt worth anything. The young foxhound has to have his ears cropped to prevent them catching in the thorns, the dew-claws have frequently to be removed, and a small portion of the tail has to be cut off. To treat cats so would be cruel; to treat hounds so is scientific preparation for presumed scientific sport. 'Hounds,' says Stonehenge, 'may be bought even at a month's notice, horses may be soon got together, if a cheque is only written for their value (real or supposed), but foxes must be bred, if sport is to be obtained.' Cubs must be obtained in the summer, fed until September or October, and then hunted 'in order to prepare for future sport' by preventing the foxes from getting too fat, and by 'blooding' the hounds. 'Without blood,' remarks Stonehenge, 'even the pack in regular work soon becomes slack, and the hounds hang back, instead of getting forward with the true foxhound dash.' Annoyance increases the scent-giving properties of the fox, but it gets fainter and fainter during the run, which is not the case with the deer.

Thus the bagged fox can be best hunted by harriers, and it is sometimes necessary, in a sporting sense, to disappoint the foxhounds in order that they may be 'savage *for want of blood.*' (The italics are not ours.) Fox-hunting may thus rank as a science, inasmuch as foxes, hounds, horses, and men have to be trained for the sport. If extermination were resolved upon, the fox would soon be as extinct as the wolf or the wild boar. Their scarcity is even now a matter of complaint, and we may quote as a singular specimen of the selfishness this sport induces—a matter to be more fully considered further on—the opinion given in *Land and Water* of a Midland huntsman: 'Leicestershire aint what it used to be, and never will, till you alter them game laws, and do away with them p'licemen as gamekeepers. Why, they take up a fellow with a hare or a partridge, and —— me, they let him shoot a fox under their noses! Make hares vermin, and foxes game, that's my notion.' And a very strange one, too, we may remark, since it would justify any outrageous laws for mere sport's sake. There is similar training in hunting the carted deer. A number of them are turned into a high-fenced paddock, and 'they are daily driven round at a moderate pace by men on horseback, or muzzled hounds, or sometimes by hounds trained like sheep-collies, to bark without biting. Without this training they would be wholly unable to stand ten minutes before the hound, but would be blown at once, because they are highly fed in order to get them into good condition, and would become internally fat if this food was allowed to be converted into that material so unsuited to produce good wind.' No special training of this kind is necessary with the hare, but this animal is often trapped in order to give to the sport of hunting a foxy form, the trapped hare from its ignorance of a locality running straight instead of circular. In falconry, heronries have to be kept up or the sport is poor, commoner birds being uncertain and rather despised. A list of a score or more heronries existing in this country is given by Stonehenge, but he notes that the attempt to revive this old-fashioned sport in modern times by the use of pigeons for herons has failed. In training the hawk, the bird is hooded in order that 'temporary blindness' may tame his spirit. Most of our field sports here referred to are, as Professor Bain says, 'the imitation by human beings of the exciting circumstances of the life of the wild beast.'* To lead the life of a dog, Mr. G. H. Lewis reminds us in his exposition of cyniciam, is 'not the vocation of man.' We may add that to imitate the wild beast

* 'The Emotions and the Will,' p. 189. London: Parker and Son. 1859.

is not the highest vocation of a gentleman. Just see, for a moment, how we act. We transform a predatory instinct into an artificial pleasure, and call it a noble sport. Plato approved of hunting quadrupeds because it developed 'godlike bravery,' ending in 'the victory of a soul fond of labour;' but what bravery is there in fox hunting, stag hunting, or hare hunting? The hounds kill, except in the case of the stag, which is generally stuck after being partially worried, and the bravery is limited to taking fences, enduring hard labour, and risking a broken neck to merit a chronicle in the newspaper.

But artificiality alone would not condemn a sport. Cricket is artificial, golf is artificial, croquet is artificial, but none of them are cruel. They do not inflict suffering upon animals, but field sports do. We prefer to quote Stonehenge on this point because he is a sportsman, and writes for sportsmen. He is describing the fixing of fish on the hook as live bait, and declines to proceed to details of some methods which are 'abominably cruel.' He then goes on:—'*All field sports are too much mixed up with an under current of cruelty;* but, *where there is a choice,* no man of any ordinary feeling will hesitate in selecting the least severe modes of taking game.' But men do not make the choice. They hunt the fox because he is not game, but vermin, when they might rid the country of the race altogether, to the benefit of the community; and they hunt the hare and the stag, which are game, when they might be content with shooting the first and stalking the second. We are aware, of course, that we start a difficult discussion when we come to the question of the sense of pain in animals. The animal is indeed, as M. Michelet says, a 'dark mystery! an immense world of musings and dumb sorrows.' But we have some clue in the known qualities of nervous matter, whether found in men or animals, and the action of sensations on the brain. Animals with complex nervous systems have senses as keen as man, though not so long sustained or enveloped by moral feeling. They have understanding, but not reason; they have memory, but little imagination; they have natural antipathies, and endless fears. 'We have no proof, rigorously speaking, that any animal feels,' says Mr. G. H. Lewes; 'none that any human being feels; we *conclude* that men feel, from certain external manifestations, which resemble our own, under feeling; and we conclude that animals feel on similar grounds.'* Though, therefore, it is not true to say the meanest insect 'feels a pang as great as when a giant dies,' it is erroneous to put down similar manifestations of pain in animals to quite

* 'Physiology of Common Life,' vol. ii. p. 327. Blackwood. 1859.

another cause than that which is known to exist in man. In undisturbed natural states, animals do not seem to fear man as greatly as in those conditions under which man is constantly asserting his supremacy or his hostility. When the fox flies before the hounds, it knows it is flying for life, and flight developes all its cunning and ferocity. Its cry, or yelp, as surely indicates terror and anguish as the cry of a beaten hound. The full-grown fox cannot be tamed, and soon sickens and dies in confinement. It purrs or murmurs when pleased, and is a shy, cautious, reserved animal. The apologist for field sports in *Land and Water* remarks that, 'in a life of constant apprehension like that of the fox or hare, fear can hardly assume that agonising form it does in man, and perhaps in domestic animals, or life would be such an intolerable burden that they would have no appetite for their food or leisure to continue their species.' We grant the first assertion here, but deny the two inferences. If the fox or the hare were hunted all the year round, fear would have full play; but such is not the case. They enjoy a respite during the breeding season, and speedily forget past troubles. But they may feel present pain quite as acutely for all that. They may 'enjoy life' during the season of rest, but it is foolish to argue that 'such enjoyment may be set off against the suffering.' Were neither foxes nor hares hunted, what life they had until they were killed would be enjoyment, and death would be speedy. We add to the death by preceding cruelty. Perhaps the hare suffers more than the fox. It is shyer altogether, more sensitive, and less ferocious. It is silent during pursuit, but its occasional doubles, pausings, and acute listening, all betoken alarm and pain, though the latter is for the present passive. 'The kill is generally with harriers, the most painful part of the business,' observes Stonehenge, 'because, in the first place, the cries of the hare are often piteous and piercing in the extreme, *resembling those of a child in agony;* and the hounds not being always allowed to have her, the whip is obliged to be used at a time when they least deserve it.' It is unnecessary to add a word to this fatal admission; but we may just note that the same writer calls attention to the fact that fox hunting is becoming in some districts 'less popular than hare hunting,' owing to low rents, hard times, increase of railways, and arable land, though for his part he cares not which sport 'is triumphant, but one or the other ought certainly to be encouraged for the sake of that country's welfare.' The chase and death of the stag is no exception to any of these conclusions respecting the fox and the hare. He is a nobler animal, and fights with his pursuers

when finally brought to bay. In a late article on the subject of stag hunting in the 'Quarterly Review,' we were calmly told, says Mr. E. A. Freeman, the historian, whose article in the 'Fortnightly' will do immense good, coming, as it does, from a country magistrate, 'in language which savoured a little of the slaughter-house how the hounds were at certain times allowed to "go into" a hind—that is, I suppose, to tear them in pieces, in order to "blood" them. A man who set his dogs to tear a sheep in pieces would at once find his way before the magistrates, and few people would pity him if his sentence were as severe as the law allows. This subtle distinction between one ruminant and another is beyond me.' We do not hold it right to invoke the aid of poetic description in discussing a question of this kind, but there is so much truth in the first Duke's description of the sorrows of a chased stag, in 'As You Like It,' that we give a few lines, by way of a pendant, to what we have already written :—

> 'The wretched animal heav'd forth such groans
> That their discharge did stretch his leathern coat
> Almost to bursting; and the big round tears
> Coursed one another down his innocent nose
> In piteous chase; and thus the hairy fool
> Much marked of the melancholy Jaques
> Stood on the extremest verge of the swift brook,
> Augmenting it with tears.'

A third ground upon which we contend that hunting is logically and morally indefensible is, that it does not materially differ in character, but only in degree, from the sports already condemned and deemed brutal by every one pretending to the designation of gentleman. Bull baiting was sport. The bull was tied to a stake, the hounds were set upon him, and the spectators sat in boxes looking on. It was 'a very rude and nasty pleasure,' says Pepys. Windham, the patron of 'sport' and defender of bull baiting said, 'No one who condemns bull baiting can consistently defend fox hunting;' and Mr. Freeman makes that the text of his able and instructive essay. 'Strip fox hunting of its disguises, and its principle is, as Windham allowed, exactly the same as the principle of bull baiting. To be sure the bull is tied to a stake, while the fox is allowed to run for his life, and has a chance of escape. This, no doubt, makes the cruelty somewhat less revolting, but it does not make it cease to be cruelty. The spectators at a bull bait simply sit or stand and look on, while the fox hunter is an actor, he follows his victim on horseback, and enjoys healthful air and exercise in so doing. This is one of the disguises with which the cruelty is masked, a

disguise which no doubt leads many to join in a fox hunt who would not join in a bull bait, but which is simply a disguise, and which leaves the essential cruelty exactly where it was. A bull bait can be condemned only on the ground that our amusement ought not to take the form of inflicting wanton suffering on any creature. And on that principle a fox hunt must be condemned also.' Bear baiting did not materially differ from bull baiting, only that it was considered a more royal sport. Queen Elizabeth was fond of it, and Sir Walter Scott, in his *Kenilworth*, represents the Duke of Sussex as petitioning her against Shakespeare because his plays distracted the people from bear baiting. In James the First's favourite sport, cock fighting, two animals of the same species were fed for the purpose, and armed with steel spurs in order to make the wounds they inflicted on each others' heads more fatal. In hunting, we train and 'blood' hounds to prey upon animals of a different species, finding in their antagonism the ground of our enjoyment. But if we set a dog to worry a cat we are at once accused of inhumanity, and punished accordingly. The cat, like the stag, can defend itself, but the fox and the hare are comparatively helpless. In hunting the carted deer, however, we have Stonehenge's authority for saying that the animal is 'some time before deprived of his horns.' He is thus deprived of his defence, and his life is spared that he may be hunted again, until he becomes 'so used to the gallop as to show little fear of the hounds.' We are not aware that it has ever been contended there was an essential difference between condemned sports and those now in vogue. The apologist in *Land and Water* simply says that of all ground of argument the one by analogy is the 'most fallacious,' immediately passing to the remarks about a life of constant apprehension, already noticed. But he runs with the hare and holds with the hounds. He argues that constant apprehension diminishes pain, and then goes on to state that the fox has his seasons of enjoyment; so had the cock and the bull, enjoyment in all cases being intermediate repose and natural life. If we inflicted periodical suffering on a human being it would be absurd to plead in mitigation the enjoyment he felt between, and it is precisely so here. Pain is pain, whether it be constant or intermittent, and the vice of hunting is that the length of the run, or the prolongation of the animal's sufferings, is the measure of the amount of 'sport.' The cat would seem to be the only animal, or the home representative of a large foreign species, which wantonly prolongs the pains of its victims. As an old warrener once remarked to us, it kills for 'mere sport' when hunger is

satisfied. We have written 'the only animal;' we forgot the 'paragon of animals—in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a God!'

There is the selfishness of a caste about hunting. Everything must bend to the sportsman. Pheasants must be disturbed in their coverts, and whoever dislikes to have his land hunted over, his fences broken, his fowls carried off by the fox, or dares to shoot the vermin that affords sport to others, is deemed a churl, a brute, a vulpicide. Fox hunting is costly. Stonehenge calculates that a pack of hounds for hunting three days a week will cost £845 per annum; for five or six days, £1,530; and that the annual outlay in the sport is, for all existing establishments and frequenters of the meets, £600,000—a pretty sum, our readers will think, for hunting vermin. Take its effect upon the persons engaged in it. Supposing that cruelty, because it is so disguised and fenced about, does not harden the heart, we must see the force of Mr. Freeman's remark, that though every fox hunter may not be a bad man, yet, '*cæteris paribus*, the fox hunter would be a better man if he were not a fox hunter. A mere fox hunter, a mere bull baiter, a mere amateur of gladiators, can never have been an estimable character in any age.' And yet how many of our country gentlemen grow so absorbed in the pursuit that it seems to 'become like a religion or a political party—a sacred thing, to which all other persons and things must give way, and any interfering with which, by word or deed, is worse than murder or sacrilege.' Consider its ethico-legal aspect. Cruelty to animals is punishable by the laws of the land. In country districts the administrator of law may be a fox, hare, or stag hunter. He fines urchins and grown men who play at his sport with dogs and cats, and the men may be driven into making comparisons if the youths do not. Mr. Freeman tells a story in which a father urged this plea in defence of his son. But the bench did not answer: it is in their power to command silence and be silent themselves. Hence the grumbling about one law for the rich and another for the poor, and the difficulty of making strong moral impressions where the need for them is not urgent. There is a Royal Society to prevent cruelty to domestic animals, and nobly it does its work;* there are royal

* This society was founded in June, 1824, and in 1840, by command of Her Majesty, was honoured with the prefix of 'Royal.' It has done immense good in three ways: First, by prosecution, in which it has enforced respect for the several laws to prevent cruelty to animals, as Martin's Act, the 12 and 13 Vict., portions of 24 and 25 Vict., having reference to the killing or maiming cattle; the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, which promises to suppress the traffic in glandered horses;

licences to inflict cruelty to animals under the name of sport, and the parallel of humanity in the one case is custom in the other.

'An ounce of custom outweighs a ton of reason,' said Hommel. It is certainly so in the case of field sports. We disguise their cruelty, and fashion does the rest. We look upon them as, perhaps, morally objectionable; but when they are not sports in which we indulge, we do not curiously inquire into them; and, when they are, we catch certain words—'noble,' 'glorious,' and the like—and they seem to drug our moral nature. It should not be so, but it is, and for the simple reason that it is mentally and morally easier to accept all the conditions under which we are born and live, than question them or rise superior to them. Pressed by argument to justify anything already existing, the apologist readily says, 'You must convince others as well as me. The sport is practised—humane men do not condemn it—the law sanctions it—what should we do without it? Why cannot you let it alone? Think of its effect on the breed of horses—how much good the money spent on a hunting establishment does the country, and its healthful action on ladies and gentlemen?' But all these are mere hare doubles, and evade the straight line of defence. Are such sports cruel, artificial, wasteful, ungentlemanly, and remnants of a barbarous age and a low state of ethical feeling? Reason presses for

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and for an Act of George III., 1784, regulating knackers' yards, &c. Second, by procuring legislation, as, in 1835, the Amendment of Martin's Act; in 1839, the insertion of a clause in the new Metropolitan Police Act, by which the cruel and dangerous practice of using dogs to draw carts and other vehicles was prohibited within fifteen miles of London; in 1845, an amendment of the law relating to knackers' yards; in 1849, the improved Act for the Prevention of Cruelty cited above; and in 1854, an Act prohibiting the use of dogs as beasts of draught or burden throughout England, as well as an amplification of the term domestic animal, so as to include farm yard birds and swans. And third, by enlisting the sympathies of all persons in the noble work of gentleness and humanity through the press and the pulpit, and recently by a monthly publication known as 'The Animal World.' The society has obtained no less than 14,506 convictions, and justly rejoices that the Dog Act of 1854 has obtained a bloodless victory, not a solitary conviction having taken place under it. In Massachusetts a law has been passed protecting alike domestic animals and *ferœ naturæ;* but in England, as Mr. Colam, the secretary of the society, informs us, the law protects a tame rabbit and pigeon without shielding a wild creature of the same species. Another anomaly is worthy of notice. Hunting the otter resolves itself into a fight, if hunting the fox does not; but it is lawful to worry an otter in a river, or on its banks, when it would be unlawful to hunt or fight it with a dog or dogs in 'any place,' that is, house or pit, into which persons were admitted for money. No animal, whether wild or domestic, can, by Act 12 or 13 Vic., sec. III., be legally baited or fought in such enclosure. It follows that to set hounds upon a stag would, in a small walled enclosure, say a town cricket or racing ground, be an infringement of the law; whereas it ceases to be so in a park, or where the hunters subscribe for expenses but do not pay for admission.

answer, custom twits us with hostility to the game laws, and with a desire to drive country gentlemen into the towns. Custom hides cruelty. When Pepys saw some cock fighting, he did not think it 'a nasty pleasure' like bull baiting. He was struck by the lively interest taken by the common people in the sport, and says of the fighting itself, 'it was no great sport, but only to consider how these creatures, without any provocation, do fight and kill one another.' The cruelty of the thing and its brutalising effect, he does not seem to have noticed. Lord Kames said the bear garden was held in abhorrence by the French and other polite nations; but a writer in the *Spectator* refers to the same place as one to which those 'who show nothing in the human species but risibility' may resort, and 'where reason and good manners have no right to disturb them.' Rabbit coursing is deemed by most persons to be a vulgar sport, as opposed to others practised by gentlemen, it being the delight of mechanics and townspeople. But, in speaking of it, Stonehenge is more logical than most gentlemen are. He says, 'It may be open to the charge of cruelty, but so is every sport depending upon the death of its victims for its existence.' Mr. Lecky enlightens us on the moral effect of custom, both as reflecting a prevailing standard and as exonerating the individual. A man who enjoyed a gladiatorial combat in ancient Rome was less inhuman than an Englishman would be who should take pleasure in it now. The one conforms to a common standard, and the other falls below it. As individuals, Mr. Lecky says we have 'a much greater power than is sometimes supposed of localising both our benevolent and malevolent feelings.' We insensibly make distinctions of time and place, and divide ourselves so that we may be kind and gentle with one species and rude and brutal with another without perceiving the contradiction. Aversions come into play. We fondle a pet dog, but kick a cat out of the room. We are as tender to canaries as Count Fosso, in the 'Woman in White,' but, like him, we may be as cruel to human beings. 'There are many,' said Mr. Lecky, with profound truth, 'who would accede without reluctance to a barbarous custom, but would be quite incapable of an equally barbarous act which custom had not consecrated.' Thus our ethical notions may be exalted, our customs low and grovelling. To bring the two into harmony is the duty of the moral reformer, and he must not and will not mind if he meets opprobrium in so doing.

A few words on shooting. The chief moral objection is a love of slaughter, hidden under the name of sport. Several

kinds of game could only be procured for food in this way. The death of the animals is painless, and does not enter into the question at all as it does in hunting. The main thing to be considered is the sportsman. He enjoys the butchery with less or more of pursuit. He is, as Mr. Freeman says, 'an amateur butcher, a butcher who takes up the trade out of pure love of slaughter. One can hardly fancy a man going out by preference to kill his own sheep or his own poultry; what conceivable difference does it make if the animals slaughtered be deer or pheasant?' Morally none; but special laws have made slaughter of this kind the privilege of a class, and it is thus ranked as gentlemanly amusement without question or thought. Sir Walter Scott was not a mawkish sentimentalist, but he once told Basil Hall in conversation that when he had knocked down his black cock, 'and going to pick him up, he cast back his dying eyes with a look of reproach,' he was quite touched. 'I don't affect to be more squeamish than my neighbours, but I am not ashamed to say that use never reconciled me fully to the cruelty of the affair. I don't carry this nicety, however, beyond my own person.' Modern battues are pronounced by most thoughtful persons to be sickening affairs. Coverts are beaten, the game is driven to the sportsman, attendants load and carry the game, and the sport consists in knocking over the largest possible number. Turnip shooting is similar to the battue in principle; the birds having been forcibly driven to one place. Stonehenge says this is 'more worthy of the butcher than the true sportsman. It is, in fact, the same spirit which leads to the use of the bagged fox or the trapped hare, though not perhaps quite so bad as those unmitigated Cockney tricks. It appears to my unlimited judgment that pigeon trap shooting is quite as good sport as this turnip butchery, and it may be had much more early and at less expense; but, as Colonel Hutchinson says, every Englishman must have his prejudices, and whether this of mine is founded in truth or not, it is scarcely for me to say.' We may, however, congratulate the writer on having hit the truth. Morally, we see no difference between the two, except that it is said, though on doubtful authority, that the pigeons are artificially blinded in one eye to produce a uniform direction in their flight. These pigeon matches are, in truth, an abomination, and the condemnation pronounced upon them by persons who do not equally condemn other sports, is but another illustration of the effect of custom, though it leads us to hope that reasoning by analogy may ultimately have its effect. Until lately, pigeon shooting has

been deemed a low, vulgar pleasure. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, and other able organs, constantly in the hands of educated persons, have commenced a brisk warfare against it, and it must soon cease to be a permissible sport for a refined, intelligent nature.

There is hope for a new crusade against inhuman field sports. Mr. Freeman's example will have a healthful effect, and the discussion he has had the courage to evoke must leave its mark. Mr. Lecky, though less directly, is a warrior on the same side, and Mr. Marsh has done something by a wonderful book, not studied half so much as it deserves, to make us familiar with natural harmonies, primitive and modern, the order man disturbs, and the new order he should create, in which ferocity should be restrained, and he should truly make himself lord of all, and not the copyist or the torturer. A gentler humanity, far removed alike from pantheism and sentimentalism, is growing amongst us. We cannot longer endure the taunt Mr. Henry Taylor has so admirably expressed—

> 'Pain, terror, mortal agonies, that scare
> The heart in man to brutes thou wilt not spare.
> Are theirs less sad and real? Pain in man
> Bears the high mission of the flail and fan,
> In brutes 'tis purely piteous. God's command,
> Submitting his mute creatures to our hand
> For life and death, thou shalt not dare to plead;
> He bade thee kill them, not for sport but need.'

The newspaper and periodical press is a great engine of influence on the right side, much as class organs may apologise, and must of necessity do so to exist, for sports sanctioned by law or custom. The daily press does for the public at large what gossip does for individuals—'it keeps even the angels in their proprieties.' A new conquest of nature dawns on us, as it does with every influx of light, intellectual or moral. When Catholicism would express its belief in a realised blessedness, it pictures its saints as recovering the influence exercised by Adam in Eden. The kinship of man and animals, indeed, owes much to these legends, for they have caught a glimpse of the true ideal of his relationship—the subjection of the animal, and therefore its permissible death—the superiority of the man, and therefore his abstention from torture. 'The beasts of the field and the fowls of the air,' says St. Jerome, 'are included in the primordial covenant of love—and whenever slaughter becomes sport, the sport verges upon injustice, and rushes from injustice to the worst hardening of the heart.'

MODERN TOWN CONVEYANCES.

OUR forefathers found this world a very bad one to move about in. The stubborn materiality of things was sadly too much for their limited ingenuity. Distance was a most solid fact to them; and the annihilation of time and space, whether 'to make two lovers happy,' or for any other purpose, was with them a mere fancy, having its only fitting place in a joke. The art of setting vehicles on wheels, though very old, was indeed yet in its infancy. It has thriven well since then, and now is possibly near its maturity. The still more difficult art of setting wheels on roads, to which is ancillary the great art of roadmaking, was still less advanced when the current century opened; what great advances have been made in it since then we all know pretty well. The human race, in this country at least, was a baby at roadmaking little more than half a century ago; it has cut its eye teeth since then, and even its wisdom teeth are now on the road. Macadam—illustrious name—has won for itself a renown second only to the yet mightier name of Stephenson. Yet the Romans had made excellent roads, some of which still remain as examples of how a lasting, though not a cheap, pavement may be constructed; and in towns and cities the art of paving had not died out, though its extension into the great highroads of the country was unpracticable because too dear, prior to the useful invention of Macadam. The Romans were not the only good roadmakers in old times. Prescott's 'Conquest of Peru' presents a brilliant picture of the immense talent as road-constructors which the Incas displayed:—'Over pathless sierras covered with snow, galleries were cut for leagues through the living rocks; rivers were crossed by means of bridges that swung suspended in the air; precipices were scaled by stairways hewn out of the native bed, and ravines of abysmal depth filled by solid masonry.'

In the absence of vehicles deserving the name, and of roads worthy of such vehicles, people in our own country prior to the last century or so, could but, of course, stop at home 'with might and main.' And they did so. Only utmost necessity made the mass of them personally acquainted with anything above a few miles distant from the villages or towns they lived in; and such utmost necessity happened only to a few. There were legs in those days, of course, and most people used them; and to all the more purpose because they were the only resource available to most people. The popular

'calf' was firmer and better developed than it is now in towns, where omnibuses and cabs have taken much of the strain off the muscles of the lower extremities. In cases of absolute need there were stage wagons and carriers' carts at two statute miles per hour, available for folk unpossessed of horseflesh and private conveyances. For the gentry, then largely resident in towns, there was that narrowest but easiest of vehicles, the sedan chair. Any one whose age entitles him to remember the early years of the century, will be able to recall the frequent spectacle of two humble but useful men, bearing at a light springy speed of three miles or so per hour under favourable circumstances, the quaint band-box with windows in which sat the gentleman in silk stockings and buckled shoes and perhaps a queue, or the lady in whatever happened to be the feminine costume of the period. Setting-down-time was the standing treat of the idle boys and girls of the streets; for then, the sedan chair having been gently lowered upon its base, and the chairmen having relinquished their hold of the long poles they had been walking between, one of them lifted up the roof of the chair like a box lid, and opening one side of the vehicle, let out the highly respectable personage who had been caged in the interior. In taking up, again, this process was reversed; then, all being ready, the chairmen resumed their places between the shafts, one in front and one behind, and, lifting the chair up gently, with measured and equal steps gradually diminished till lost to sight in the perspective, or suddenly vanished round the next corner. Although it is some years since we saw him, we are not quite satisfied that the sedan-chairman is even yet entirely extinct. He may yet linger in or near the close of some small cathedral city—like the specimen whom, only a few years back, we detected at Hereford or Gloucester.

For the public at large, the first important advance upon previous modes of locomotion was made by Macadam and the coach—the flying coach, as its proprietary fondly entitled it, on the strength of its wonderful speed of ten or possibly twelve miles per hour. This appeared to the last generation but one as the very *ne plus ultra* of locomotive improvement. At the close of the sixteenth century York had been at a whole week's distance from London. In 1734 the Newcastle flying coach consumed nine days in its journey to the metropolis—a longer time than is absolutely requisite now for a voyage to America. Before the coach, the only resources for the public at large had been the hired horse, or horse and gig, or for the wealthy the post chaise, with its profuse expenditure for postilions, toll-bars, innkeepers, ostlers, and horses, and for wheelwrights,

too, rendered necessary by universally rutty roads. From Penzance to Inverness the coaching system became prevalent, and Great Britain was proud of it, for it set an example of unexpected systematic fastness and punctuality. For post-office purposes it made Britain the envy of the world. It is true, couriers had been established from of old for kings, governments, and rich nobles; and the horse mails had run as fast as rough or quagmirey roads would let them; but great delays in postal transmission were inevitable. And for personal transit, what were horses or postchaises to the public at large? They were available, as *nisi prius* or chancery was available, only for those who could afford such costly luxuries. The coaches at length brought those middle-class denizens of different towns who were not owners of horseflesh, into possibility of frequent acquaintance with each other. Now for the first time tradesmen in numbers in the provinces made their regular annual trip to the metropolis, or to the wholesale sources of their trades. If they signed their wills before starting, that was the more reasonable because of the stories of highwaymen still rife by the blazing fires of safe hostelries. If they had to sit all night through—and that probably a wet night, and whilst yet Mackintosh had not been born—and if nodding in weary sleep they almost or quite fell off the wire-bordered knife-board provided for their seat; that was yet the best possible state of things, and far superior to any previous circumstances of long travel. We can still see in our mind's eye the look of vexed regret on the face of a poor commercial traveller known to ourselves when we were a boy, in reciting, on his return from town, how a brand-new beaver hat in the height of fashion bought in London in days when silk plush was unknown, and when hats were of real castor and cost from one to two guineas each, had become 'lost to sight, to memory dear,' at some vague and unconscious hour of the night whilst the head wearing it on the coach-top must have been nodding.

From the years 1819 to 1836, or still later, rivalry between coaching firms on several of the leading thoroughfares in the kingdom had become a perfect mania. So far was it carried, indeed, that proprietors sometimes ran themselves into the Bankruptcy Courts whilst running coaches for the public. This rivalry continued long after the year 1813, when Geordie Stevenson's ponderous and slow locomotive was surprising and amusing a limited public in the North of England. Prior to 1828, on the Darlington railway, the first train that carried passenger traffic by steam power had shown the way to the enterprising men of Liverpool and Manchester, whom the Duke of Bridgwater and Brindley had united by canal, but

whose increasing cotton traffic demanded much more extensive and more rapid means of conveyance than the shrewd Duke and his clever engineer could give them. The Liverpool and Manchester line was not the first railway that carried passengers by steam, but it was the first to be built with that object in view. Its success made it, to the world at large, the great mother of all the passenger railways; the first of the lines that have since stretched themselves all over the solid earth wherever civilization has ventured to claim its settled right of way. To the coaching world, the railway project seemed at first to be the height of ridiculous madness; but by and bye it led them to the depth of bankruptcy despair. At first, it was said, the iron horse could never make head against the flesh and blood animal; but soon the cry was reversed, and the almost utter extinction of horseflesh was apprehended. Both predictions were mistakes. There were thirty-six coaches plying daily between Manchester and Liverpool before the railway was opened; and the last of these was soon run quite off the road through the superior speed, comfort, safety, and economy of railway travelling. In a few years the parallel iron lines had become extended from Manchester to all sides of the kingdom, and, saving the canals, had largely superseded almost all the other means of systematized and regular transit for men and things. The great Hargreaves was only one of the owners of well-appointed wagons carrying merchandise to all parts of the kingdom, who had to sell up their establishments and leave the old highways to comparative solitude and grass. Inns, posting-houses, and carriers' quarters, which had abounded in all the leading roads in the country, became deserted of custom, and ultimately closed. The 'Great North Road,' the names of whose hotels were at least as well known to the public as were those of the signs of the zodiac, passed by degrees out of the acquaintance and ceased to occupy the mouths of travellers. A similar blight fell on the animation and prosperity of all the great roads in the kingdom. Leaming Lane in Yorkshire, for example, a portion of the great highway stretching from London to Inverness—once busy with pedestrians, with carriers' wagons having belled leaders and mounted drivers, with stage coaches, with gentlemen's carriages and outriders, with travellers on horseback, and with droves of cattle from the north accompanied by kilted and plaided attendants, is now, as to those its quondam glories, a hopeless thing of the past. The inns that lined it have ceased to offer to entertain the traveller, and in many places the once well-worn ground has covered itself undisturbed with nature's soft green carpet.

So much for the shortness of their foresight who had predicted for the great coaching interest a lasting triumph over the new-fangled invention of the engineer. And no more reliable was the power of prophecy in those who afterwards with alarm, saw, as they thought, the advent of a power fated to reduce to an almost worthless plethora of supply, the oats and hay which no horses' mouths were to be left to consume. The horse-breeder took heart again when he found that the railway system created a demand for subsidiary feeders, requiring a vast increase in the use of live horse-power. In proportion as the railways lengthened, the demand for horses augmented and strengthened. The iron ways created new branches of reproductive industry, and immensely enlarged the whole business of the country; calling into existence, withal, a passenger traffic such as had never existed anywhere in the history of mankind. To ride upon the railways became a pleasure to thousands, a necessity to hundreds and thousands of thousands; and to convey people to the railways a new system of town travelling was required. Prior to the railroad era, neither in the metropolitan nor in the largest provincial towns were there many public conveyances except such as were to be specially hired for each journey from the licensed coach proprietors; and as this kind of travelling was inconvenient, unready, and expensive, only the few availed themselves of it. The old hackney coaches, or 'flys,' of London, had begun to be pressed very hard about the year 1830 by two-wheeled 'cabriolets' of somewhat box-like construction, opening behind, and having a double seat on each side, and a 'box' for the driver in front. These, after having subserved the requirements of the public for some years, were in their turn thrown into the shade by Hansom's patent safety cab, which was brought out in 1837, and still holds its ground in all the principal towns for the lighter and swifter share of the traffic. The short and sharp work with many of the coaches effected by the fiery locomotive, was very different from the slow effect produced on the old lumbering hackney coaches of London. In defiance of lighter vehicles and lower fares, these antiquated machines, with their still more antiquated drivers, were only withdrawn from public service by slow degrees, disappearing one by one, and not quite vanishing till there ceased to be a single enemy to modern improvement found willing to patronize them. The Hansom cabs in London now appear to be largely in the majority over the other coaches and cabs. Since, at a recent date, the total number of both sorts was five thousand eight hundred, it is evident that the cab business in the metropolis, both as regards its service to the public, its

value to the proprietors, and its use to a large body of their servants, is an institution of no small importance; and a similar development of a cabbing business that was but in its infancy before railways were opened, has occurred in all the provincial towns.

Whilst the new cabs did much to supply the requirements of town travelling, the great public that needed to ride, but could not afford to pay much for its accommodation, required a still more economical method of locomotion in towns. The opening of railway stations soon compelled coach masters and hotel keepers to run omnibuses to meet the trains; but only by slow degrees did they awaken to a sense of how the public demand for vehicles would be taught to develope itself so soon as there should be visible a public supply. The year 1829 had witnessed the first appearance of the omnibus,—a new light sort of coach, with accommodation for more passengers in its interior than the old road coach had afforded, but not at first, with all the increased development of external carrying power, afterwards obtained by the introduction and utilization of the 'knife-board' on the top. Previously to this epoch passengers, as in the old coaches, had always sat facing either the front of the vehicle or the back. There was no happy medium between directly fronting either the prospect or the retrospect. Now, the retrospective seat, often so 'sea-sickening' to bad travellers, happily is abolished; and the customer either sits, like the driver, in the front, or takes a side-view of the shops and houses as he occupies his thrifty modicum of space on the knife-board. During the last forty years, the attention and energies of men of capital have been largely thrown into the omnibus service; and the modern vehicle, in every way a great improvement on the primitive omnibus, though less so in London than in many other towns, gives occupation to immense stables of horses prodigiously exceeding in numbers those at which, in the second generation backwards, our predecessors lifted up the eyebrows of their astonished admiration.

Messrs. Mitchell and Menzies, of Glasgow, have the credit of converting the more primitive omnibus into a really commodious convenience, with room up its centre for the conductor to walk without bruising the knees of passengers, and unencumbered with the stupid door boxing up the old vehicles. The new omnibus is drawn, not as of yore, by two wheelers and a leader guided by great and needless developments of rein-ribbons passing through brass hoops affixed to hard hide-wounding saddles, but now with three horses that work fairly abreast, and have no belly-bands, tail-straps, or

other unnecessary harness. Fourpence outside and sixpence in, for even the shortest distances, was still the most lenient charge of the omnibus driver, until Mr. Frame, a gentleman connected with the newspaper press of Glasgow, commenced, January the first, 1845, to run an omnibus between Bridgeton and Anderston (two opposite suburbs of Glasgow), at twopence for the whole two-mile distance, or any part of it. Mr. Frame's scheme was found to be both a profitable speculation and a great public benefit; and, although Mr. Frame, at the end of a couple of years, overtaken by misfortune, was compelled to retire, men of capital followed up the scheme, and the Glasgow omnibus with its cheap fare found great development in all the large cities and towns in the provinces. In Liverpool, even a penny fare was adopted for a while. Ultimately the charge, as it did in Manchester, became fixed at twopence outside and threepence in. The introduction of the improved omnibus system into Manchester was made by a Scotchman named Macewen, about the year 1852. In 1861, in view of the International Exhibition traffic, Mr. Greenwood, of Manchester, sent up a large number of the new omnibuses to the metropolis, to compete with the old-fashioned small boxes that still contented the Londoners, but this effort failed to revolutionise the London omnibus system. The immense traffic of the leading thoroughfares of the metropolis, the narrowness of the streets, and the treacherous character of the pavements, proved too much for the new vehicle with its lightly-harnessed horses. The streets are not only being subjected to immense grind and wear, with consequent ruts and uneven edges, but they have a specially hateful repute for all kinds of drags and their horses. In frosty weather the face of the pavement becomes smooth as polished steel and slippery as oiled glass; and in the summer season, particularly when the stones are denuded of dust by the winds, it is difficult for horses used to the ground and displaying the greatest caution, to keep upon their legs. There is yet another condition of the London pavement that is little less dangerous to horses, and is supposed to be peculiar to the great metropolis:—when the stones are only partially wetted, they seem to be covered with a greasy slime, over which the poor frightened horses will frequently slip and slide the length, it may be, of their own bodies. When a new horse is brought to do duty, either in a cab or an omnibus, in London, if he is not very carefully managed, he is very likely to lose all courage and become useless, and even to die 'broken-hearted' during his apprenticeship. In fact, many cab horses are ruined in the first week of their metropolitan probation.

The streets of London, besides being the most perilous for animals and human beings, are most disgracefully dirty in wet weather; and their mud has cohesive quality almost equal to that of birdlime. We well remember our astonishment when we first went to the metropolis. The mud on the trowser we expected, as usual, to rub off as soon as dry, with a few slight scrapes of the nail and touches of the brush; and the expense of labour and loss of time that proved to be required to get rid of it, were both astonishing and disgusting.

At the present time there are over nine hundred omnibuses in London, five hundred of which are the property of the General Omnibus Company; the rest belong to various proprietors. Nearly all these conveyances ply from two centres—Charing Cross and the Bank—save outside part of the city and its wide-spreading suburbs. Some notion may be formed of the number of human beings continually on the move in the metropolis, when it is stated that the General Omnibus Company alone, in the two half-years ending respectively in December, 1867 and 1868, conveyed forty-one million four hundred and eleven thousand four hundred and eighty passengers. Great as this number is, it does not show the total personal traffic; it must be very largely added to by the travellers in cabs, leaving out of the reckoning the immense numbers carried by the metropolitan railway, the steamboats on the river, and the railways branching off on all sides to the suburbs. During six months ending in December of 1868, the distance traversed by the General Omnibus Company's vehicles, when reduced to measurement, proved to be six million one hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and thirty miles.

So recently as the year 1847 there was not a single two-wheeled cab in Glasgow, then as now the first commercial city of Scotland. So much was the want of lighter conveyances felt, that the town council actually offered a premium of two hundred pounds to any person who would undertake to supply the city with a few two-wheelers, and the prize was never claimed. It was not long, however, before the want of cabs in Glasgow was supplied by the enterprize of citizens, and at the present time her facilities for local travelling place Glasgow about on a level with any city in the empire. Three hundred and sixty-five cabs and one hundred and thirteen omnibuses now prove the highly stimulative effect of the railway system in that city, which had not a single street cab of its own at a period dating back little more than thirty years. To people who are unacquainted with the relative proportions of Edinburgh and Glasgow, it may seem unaccountable that there

should have been recently eighty-five more cabs in the former than in the latter. The disparity in the relative numbers of omnibuses in favour of Glasgow will give a truer notion of the business habits of the respective peoples. Glasgow has omnibus routes in all directions, but in Edinburgh there is comparatively very little travelling by this more popular class of vehicle. A recent return states the number of cabs in Edinburgh at four hundred and fifty, and of omnibuses at thirty-five. There were at the same recent date ninety-nine cabs in Leeds and twenty-five omnibuses. In Birmingham there were four hundred and two cabs and only twenty omnibuses. In Bristol there were one hundred and seventy cabs and forty-three omnibuses, but fully one-half of the latter are kept for special purposes. In the number of conveyances for town travelling, Liverpool stood next to London, having eight hundred cabs and one hundred and thirty-three omnibuses. In 1843 she had two hundred and seventy-eight hackney coaches. Within the memory of living men, Liverpool was haunted by pressgangs, and a few sailing ferry-boats met all the requirements of her people for passing to and from the Cheshire side of the Mersey. The large amount of business done in Manchester would lead to the supposition that the requirements for street conveyances of that city would be little short of those for the town of Liverpool; such, however, is not the case, as her cabs by late returns numbered three hundred and eighty, and her omnibuses one hundred and twenty-nine. Prior to 1828, persons now living knew Manchester when Market-street, her central thoroughfare, was a narrow lane walled in on either side by wooden-framed houses with protuberant upper stories, quaint gables, mullioned windows, and small diamond-shaped panes. Such persons still remember that at that time almost every man in the town in any respectable way of business kept his own town conveyance, and, unless when going a journey at a distance from the town, never used any other. Between sixty and seventy years ago there were numbers of old people in Lancashire who had never seen anything more like a coach than a rude country cart; and there were not a few of the hill-folks who had never tasted wheaten bread in their lives. In the seven cities and towns we have mentioned, exclusive of London, there are two thousand six hundred and thirty-six cabs and four hundred and fifty-two omnibuses. When it is considered that less than sixty years ago there were not three towns out of London in which a hackney coach openly plied for hire, an unmistakable proof is afforded of the great change that has been effected in the locomotive aptitudes and facilities of the people. In London, in one year, the recorded receipts from

the omnibus traffic alone of the General Omnibus Company amounted to five hundred and seventy-four thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight pounds, fifteen shillings, and ninepence.

Both in London and in the provinces the street conveyances are under the immediate control of the civic authorities. Generally speaking the licences of drivers are granted, as in the metropolis, by the police authorities; and in Liverpool the cabs and omnibuses are under the supervision of the Watch Committee of the Town Council. In Edinburgh the licences are granted in the City Chamber by the Depute Clerk. In some of the large towns an officer is appointed under the title of Cab-inspector, whose duty it is to see that these vehicles are in a fit working condition, both as to cleanliness and safety. The local authorities impose a number of regulations on the drivers, intended to prevent them from overcharging or otherwise ill-treating their customers, or from appropriating their lost property. The travelling public and the cab proprietors have often needed mediation of this kind, the one insisting on low prices, the other determining to keep up a high rate of charge. A moderate by-law rate has always been found most profitable. In London many have been the hard fights between the public and the cabmen, and on the whole the result has been little better than a drawn battle. As a rule, it is not to be doubted but that the cab business has been a paying one, but to make it so requires good management, including all the care and economy the proprietors can bring to bear. Extraordinary is the wear, tear, and damage undergone by vehicles and horses when on duty in the streets of London. The cab masters have been hardly dealt with till now, having been made to pay an annual tax of from eighteen to twenty pounds per cab—a most objectionable form of impost. Should they hereafter combine to erect a statue in London, their hero will undoubtedly be the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has won for himself a great name amongst cab proprietors by releasing them in his budget of last session from this oppressive tax. The relief will be great not only to the master but also indirectly to the drivers, and will tend to the better service of the public at large. On February the 1st an entire change in the cab system will be effected under the new Act on hackney carriages, which will then come into force. There will in the metropolis be complete free trade in cabs and carriages for hire. Each carriage is to have painted on its doors the fares at which the owner will convey passengers. It is anticipated that better cabs will be introduced to the notice of the public.

The Biographies of Cabmen, were they adequately written, would often be deeply interesting, and not seldom truly pathetic. Perhaps, apart from the gold diggings of Australia and California, no so heterogeneous a body of working men can be found anywhere in the world as is constituted by the London cabmen. All social grades are represented amongst them, from broken-down aristocrats to exalted crossing sweepers. A cabman was pointed out to us a few months ago who had been a landed gentleman worth his thousand pounds a year only a short time before. Another had once a good business of his own as a carver and gilder. Others whom we have known have fallen victims to their own folly, the drinking customs, and the arts of the liquor traffickers; others have been thrust down from superior social positions by sheer misfortune, and have not touched the bottom in the quagmire of poverty, until the 'dickey' of the cab received them.

The life of a cab driver in London is one of continual danger and hardship. He is necessarily out in all kinds of seasons, and is exposed to a variety of temptations from which it is very difficult for him to escape. The worse the weather, the more certain is he to be out in it; for it is when the general public are deserting the streets to find shelter from storms of rain, snow, or hail, or to secure shade in the sultry and roasting sunshine, that the cabman's services are most indispensable. For him or his horse no human being has any consideration; whether the animal is exhausted with a day's hard toil, no one who wants a cab takes the trouble to inquire; nor does any 'fare' think it unfair that the man who drives the animal should be kept away for any stretch of time from his dinner or his bed. To balance this external disadvantage, the cabman has to struggle internally with an ever-recurring topological problem. How to get from this place to that by the shortest route; how to discover exactly where that place is, even, is often a practical puzzle to the cabman whose memory for streets and routes is not extraordinarily roomy and tenacious. In provincial towns the leading roads are few, and the whole topography is a science quite susceptible of being mastered. Not so with the never perfectly knowable map of the great metropolis. And yet a driver must be somewhat familiar with the large city, its outlying territories, and ever-changing and growing suburbs, before he can be at all efficient in his vocation. Many drivers, it is true, accustomed to ply in some one neighbourhood, often know little that lies beyond, and when required to travel out of their familiar bounds, are as much at a loss as the most veritable greenhorn from the country. Then again, the streets of the most populous provincial town are scarcely

ever inconveniently crowded; but miles upon miles of the leading routes in the metropolis are ceaselessly thronged with vehicles of all kinds, amongst which the cabman has to thrid his perilous way. As many as fifteen hundred journeys are performed daily over one single thoroughfare by omnibuses alone; and thousand of journeys are run by cabs, wagons, lurries, carts, private carriages, business vans, costermonger traps, and hand trucks, all of which are continually travelling about in mutually retarding streams. Here, a confluence of divers rivers of wheeled traffic meets and creates a too durable stagnation; there, the whole movement of vehicles and foot passengers densely crowding a street is brought to a dead lock by the collision or break-down of some machine on wheels, the fall and crushing to death of some pedestrian, or the last dying testimony and kicking remonstrance against its fate of some poor over-worked animal. Accidents like these are of frequent occurrence, and every one of them adds largely to the difficulty of the cabman, whose skill has at all times a hard fight of it, to keep his own vehicle from running over others, or being run over. To men new in the business, whose skill is undeveloped, the difficulty is immense, and the wear and tear of temper is most lamentable.

Of the temptations to which cabmen are exposed there is, as we have said, a copious variety. Valuable articles are accidentally dropped or thoughtlessly left in cabs by passengers, and become very trying to the honesty of the drivers who discover them. Occasionally customers are so-called gentlemen who have left their wits in taverns, and are unable to take care either of their money or of themselves. Very often the 'fare' is, or appears to be, not quite aware of the proper fare to pay, and it is more or less difficult for the cabman to forego the opportunity of imposing or trying to impose on such tempting innocence. Then there are the frequent chances of giving the wrong change in moments of hurry or in circumstances of darkness; of returning no change at all, where the passenger's wits are obviously gone wool-gathering; or of becoming partners in adventures with prostitutes and thieves. Whatever individuals may be guilty of, it would be unfair to accuse of such misconduct the whole body of cab-drivers. To assist them in the course of rectitude many of them prefer, there is a wholesome fear of magisterial visitations of fines, imprisonments, and supensions or withdrawals of licence. On the whole, the life of a cabman in London is not a very enviable one, and, considering all things, it is not a little creditable to the men that so many of them are well conducted and respectable. To add to his difficulties, too often it must be remem-

bered that the driver is 'treated' by thoughtless passengers, and thus acquires or augments drinking habits to the last degree inimical to his welfare. This danger is increased by the fact that as his whereabouts during the day is necessarily uncertain, his arrangements for meals are incomplete, and the public tap is always ready to supply him with something to narcotise and deaden the feeling of hunger when it arises, or to gratify his natural or artificial thirst. In a body of eight thousand men—for such is the numerical total of the London cabmen—there will be, of course, some who make no difficulty in committing all sorts of disreputable actions; but considering their hardships, liabilities, and allurements, their conduct on the whole will compare favourably with that of almost any other equally large class of working men in the kingdom.

Two conditions are requisite for the obtaining of a cab-driver's licence in London. In the first place, the applicant must procure the testimony of two respectable householders to his good moral character; and, in the second, he must pass an examination to prove his sufficient acquaintance with the various routes in the city and suburbs. On his obtaining employment, the driver's name and the date of his engagement are entered in his license by his employer; and when he relinquishes the vocation, his licence paper is made to show on the face of it the cause of such relinquishment. A man who is not somewhat careful alike of his master's property and of his own character, will soon have no property to be in charge of, and no character to be of the slightest service to himself. A large infusion of uncertainty causes the cabman's work to be of a speculative character, as it is impossible to foresee whether he will or will not on any given day find full employment for the horses and cab. If the latter has two wheels, with which a pair of horses divide the day between them, he is expected to pay the proprietor from fourteen to sixteen shillings, and on special days may have to produce as many as twenty shillings. What he earns above the sum thus required by the owner, constitutes the whole of the wages on which he has to live; and if, as sometimes occurs, he has not received a single fare, he must yet pay the owner just the same sum as though he had been fully employed all day. The four-wheeled cabs generally rate at two shillings a day less than the Hansoms; the night cabs, which may be considered to be the last refuges for stiff-limbed horses and aged or otherwise semi-disqualified men, are charged from five shillings to eight shillings per night. The night work is especially trying, exposing men and horses to much suffering and privation; and it is with much difficulty that some of the drivers succeed, if

they do succeed, in keeping their bodies in connection with their souls. If some of the younger men do much more than this, the gain to the body is much more than counterbalanced by the damage to the soul, since success is won by poaching on preserves, dodging round corners in the dark at critical moments, or making the police partners in profits that are unlawful. Although there are five thousand eight hundred cabs in London, there is only authorized standing room for two thousand four hundred—or less than half. A large number of cabs regularly attend on the railway stations, but for the privilege of doing so the proprietors have to pay a handsome percentage to the companies. We are not certain that all of the railways are contracted for, but have been told that the cab contractor for the Great Eastern pays that company fifteen hundred pounds a year; if so, he will no doubt charge the cab proprietors two thousand pounds at the least. To account for the weight of this impost, it would appear that the railway stations afford a much more steady and profitable business than the streets generally.

In the present stage of two-wheeled pedestrianism, it would be premature, whilst treating of street conveyances for the use of the public, to bestow a lengthy notice on the velocipede, that remarkable machine which has astonished the streets of many of the provincial towns during the past two seasons. To mount and to drive a tandem of two wheels is often so arduous a labour, and the gain in locomotive power is so uncertain, that considerable improvements must yet be made in the machine before it will contribute materially to the superseding of bulkier and less dangerous vehicles. The time is no doubt at hand for laying much more stress on street railways, which under the crude management of a gasconading American of the name of Train, obtained a very unsuccessful introduction into this country some few years back. In Salford a street railway on a less objectionable plan than that of the American adventurer has been in existence for some years; it exhibits a line of two flat iron rails level with the pavement, with, for guiding purposes, a central groove between them in which runs a small wheel attached to the omnibus and lifted up from or restored to the groove at the option of the driver. The only advantages obtained by this form of street railway appear to be a somewhat diminished pull upon the horses, and a smoother progress for the ease of passengers. But nothing appears to be gained in speed, as the line is open to interruption from all sorts of slow vehicles; and, on the whole, we are not surprised that this plan has met with no great extension. Recently in Liverpool a fresh experiment with street rails for omnibuses

that are to stop only at certain fixed stations has begun to be tried. We suspect it is this example that has given the sudden strong impulse now visible to street tramway development, not only in Liverpool, but elsewhere. At a recent meeting of the Mersey Dock Board, it was stated that the Liverpool Tramways Company intend applying next session for powers to run over streets within the board's jurisdiction. Powers will also be sought by Messrs. Busby, extensive omnibus proprietors at Liverpool, to form a tramway, about three miles in length, from the Exchange to West Derby, one of the most populous suburbs of Liverpool. The promoters of the Metropolitan Tramways Bill have affixed notices in accordance with the Act on the following thoroughfares on which it is proposed to lay down tramways:—Holborn, High Holborn, Charterhouse-street, St. Martin's-le-Grand, Farringdon Road, Farringdon-street, New Bridge-street, Chatham Place, Blackfriars Bridge, the new street to the Mansion House, Earl-street, Victoria-street, and New Earl-street. It is proposed to extend street tramways locomotion to Leeds, and notices have been given in the usual way that during the next session of Parliament application is to be made for an act to incorporate a company for making tramways. In Manchester three distinct companies are publishing similar notices. For the first scheme for a street tramway in the West of England, powers will be sought in the next session to lay down and work a tramway between the towns of Plymouth and Devonport. Application also is to be made next session for powers to lay down a connected system of street tramways throughout Glasgow and to different points in the vicinity. There will be two tramways on every line of street made use of, and each tramway will be five feet in breadth. It is intended to leave a clear space of ten feet between each line, consequently in a street of the average breadth—say 40 feet—there will be ten feet between the pavement and the nearest line, then five feet of tramway again, and ten feet once more between that and the opposite pavement. The tramways will consist of iron pavements, not unlike steelyard weighing machines, five feet and one inch in breadth, with sunk grooves to fit the car wheels, and ribbed or risen fretwork between the grooves to keep the horses from slipping, and, as the iron plates will be laid exactly on the same level with the causeway, it is said there will be no interruption or impediment to the other traffic. The cars will be low-set, with the wheels underneath, and not unlike railway carriages in outward appearance. They will be alike at both ends, and seated inside like an omnibus, but the passage between the rows of sitters will be much more ample than the

largest omnibus at present affords. Sitting accommodation will be provided for forty or fifty persons, and as many outside. At each end of the car there is a door and small platform, reached by one step, and faced by a 'splash-board;' and passengers can enter the carriage from either end. The horses are attached to this platform, and the driver stands upon it with a powerful wheel-brake at hand, so that he can bring the car to a stand-still by a single turn of the wheel. On reaching the terminus the coupling gear is unhooked, and the horses are shifted to the other end, and this saves the necessity of turning round the carriage. The outside passengers reach their seats by a moveable trap-stair placed behind, and the sitting space is surrounded by an ornamental railing such as is seen on the promenade decks of our finest river steamers. There are, we learn, no fewer than nineteen street tramway schemes, for towns in England and Scotland, now standing to be dealt with in the next session of Parliament. It is evident that our street locomotion is on the eve of great changes.

A novelty in street locomotion is now attracting attention in Paris. One of the road steamers, with indiarubber tires to the wheels, invented by Thomson, of Edinburgh, has been running through the streets of Paris dragging behind it a heavy Versailles omnibus carrying 50 passengers. On the report of the French Government engineers, leave has been granted to the road steamer to pass over two routes, several miles in length, and including some busy parts of Paris. The engineers report it more handy and manageable than horses, and in no way dangerous to the public. The huge indiarubber tires save the machinery from jolting and the road from ruts. The speed is that of a fast omnibus. The steam carriage went up the paved street beside the Trocadero, of which the gradients are one in eleven, and often one in nine, without the least difficulty, and came down again without any brake.

In this country the absurdest restrictions, at which posterity will laugh heartily, have been imposed on the use of steam locomotion in public highways. The foolish act is certain to be repealed, and the present generation will live to see a great extension of steam locomotion upon the common roads, as well as upon that bastard extension of the railway system which is now threatening to occupy our streets so largely.

Underground locomotion has obtained great triumphs in London; and by the cheap Tower subway, now on the eve of completion, as well as by Brunel's costly tunnel, it is promising to hold its own even under water. But it is to America that we turn for the reverse of this burrowing

system. In New York they have travelling in the air. The 'New York Elevated Railroad,' in its first section, on Greenwich-street, between the Battery and Cortlandt-street, is now completed and in running order. The following description is supplied in a New York journal, and would have been better if more lucid:—The first section of the line is run by a stationary engine in a cellar, which propels an endless steel rope, supported on trucks of four wheels, also running inside of rails at an interval of 150 feet. The frame of the trucks forms a triangle on the top, the cone of which is called a 'horn;' this catches a 'lip' attached to a lever worked from the platform of the car, which, when lifted, allows the truck and rope to pass by, and the car remains stationary. In order to start the car again a turn of the lever is necessary, and then the truck catches the lip and the carriage is in motion. The car is about thirty feet in length. It will accommodate forty passengers. It runs on eight wooden wheels, three feet in diameter. Steel flanges one and three-quarters of an inch wide hold the wheels on to the track. On either side of the car are iron bars ten inches wide running the full length of the car within about two inches of the track, on which heavy elliptic springs support the body of the carriage. Should the wheels of the car leave the track, the bars on each side would prevent it from falling to the ground. Between these bars, underneath the floor of the car, are arranged six elliptic springs of two feet span, moving on wheels, which break the shock of the truck carrying the rope when the car is started. While under way there is scarcely any vibration felt; the track is apparently very solid, and the motion of the car very easy. The speed is regulated by the brakes, and the noise the car makes by running is scarcely perceptible. Horses view the moving mass overhead with indifference, and people underneath scarcely look up. The company propose to erect steam elevators to lift persons and baggage to the platform from which to step into the cars.

REPORTING AND REPORTERS.

A RECKLESS anti-State Churchman once divided mankind into men, women, and bishops. The constituents of public meetings are at least equally susceptible of a tripartite division—namely, into speakers, hearers, and reporters. Not that reporters always fail to be hearers also; and, in their

turn, speakers to boot. But their speaking in public is mostly amongst themselves, and concerns itself mainly with the details of their work, the length and order of their respective 'takes,' the comparative importance or otherwise of the speeches from the platform, the length or brevity of the required report of each speech, and the 'person'—whether 'first' or 'third'—in which it shall be couched. As for the *hearership* of reporters, that depends upon circumstances. If the speaker stands well with the public, the party, or the proprietor of the newspaper, he receives most careful attention from the 'gentlemen of the press.' But matters go quite differently if he is a speaker of but average consequence in the reporter's eyes; and nothing can be more trying to the temper of an ambitious orator whose right to be heard fully has not yet been stamped with the popular seal, than the *nonchalance* wherewith the reporters yawn, rest their pens, or converse, whilst he is speaking, or than the ruthlessness wherewith, if the meeting nears its close, they even shut their books and disappear. Reporters are, indeed, a class of themselves. Everybody recognises them, yet few know very much about them. On all public occasions they are to be seen; yet they are not of the public, take no pleasure in what most tickles the public, are usually calm, cool, unsympathetic, even when the public is convulsed, and see with equal eye, as reporters of all, the meeting's hero discomfited, or its sparrow fall. Whilst others are enjoying at their ease graceful turns of eloquence, or luxuriating in the happy glitter of platform wit, the reporters are working like slaves, receiving with serious ears, and poring with wrinkled foreheads over, the speaker's most brilliant displays. No matter how affecting the discourse may be, they remain all impassive to the pathos. When the hall begins to empty itself, and the gas is about to be turned off, the public retires, feeling that all is over; but the reporters go away knowing that much is only begun. For hours, it may be, of rapid and laborious transcription and condensation are still before them; and whilst the public is sleeping in its bed, the reporters are feeding the compositors with 'copy,' and are earning, by continued night toil, half a forenoon's repose.

If Talleyrand's rule against zeal were always good, and if it were as desirable to cultivate the *nil admirari* art as Horace and Pope declare it to be, 'to make men happy, or to keep them so,' perhaps no surer way of effecting these could be found than in undergoing a long apprenticeship on the reporting staff. However decided his opinions, earnest his zeal, or ardent his admiration of a person, a party, or a cause, the

neophyte in reporting must have a mind of unusual strength of fibre if these are not to suffer much abatement in the course of the exercise of his profession. Like a tissue steeped with rapid vicissitudes in things hot, cold, wet, and dry, his mind naturally becomes covered, as with a tough skin, with moral and intellectual impassivity. He who is to-night at a missionary meeting will be early next morning, perhaps, at a prize fight. At one hour he is invoked to rescue the Church and conserve the State from the onslaughts of a semi-demoniac premier; a few hours before he was called on to rejoice in the advent to supreme power of a minister who, above all others, is wise to understand and strong to accomplish the imperative and blessed disestablishing duty of the times. At a licensed victuallers' dinner yesterday, to-day he is seated near the platform of the United Kingdom Alliance. Now he is steeping his soul in a fine flow of Fenian eloquence, against which anon he is reporting appeals to magistrates and the executive for stern measures of repression. At one moment commissioned to record the rivalries of racehorses and the latest betting of the ring; ere long he will be listening, pen in hand, to the solemn harangues of a Dean Close or of a Dr. M'Neile. Just now it is a theatrical notice that he is preparing; his next task will be reporting the outline of a funeral sermon, or the performances of a priesthood with cope, chasuble, and candle. The shrewdest forecasts of practical statesmanship occupy his note-book to-night; on the morrow he must report, as patiently as possible, the doings of a parish vestry, or the harrowing delirations of a Cumming. In the exercise of his *quasi* ubiquitous duties, he was sitting last night where the most earnest appeals to the eternal interests of his soul were pressing upon his ears; to-night he is following the vagaries of a secularist lecturer, and sits *vis-a-vis* with some female atheist who 'talks him dead.' It is at one moment a military review or an election riot that he is watching. In a little while he will be viewing the scorched bodies of a colliery explosion, or writing down the evidence adduced before the coroner and his jury. Again, it is the bursting of a reservoir of which he is collecting the particulars; or he is gathering up the details of a gas explosion, pursuing the traces and consequences of a burglary, or describing the horrible incidents of a murder. No sooner is his mind allured or compelled into one attitude than it is hurried away into another; sympathy and antipathy, rejoicing and lamentation, burlesque and tragic feeling, religious light, superstitious twilight and pagan darkness, philanthropic earnestness, and worse than utter indifferentism, succeed each other

in rapid flow, until in the whirl of a dissipation so varied and incessant, he is too apt to settle at last in the conviction that all causes are equally well or ill founded, all persuasions alike unsound or sound, all events on one level of real importance or unimportance, and the popularity of the day or the sensational value of a deed the only authentic test of the intrinsic worth of events, men, principles, and parties. One compensation for this deteriorating tendency upon its servant is derived by the public at large in the almost judicial coolness wherewith the experienced reporter is able to sit amidst the wrack of political elements or the crash of religious worlds. He is almost always a latitudinarian in theology. His instinct, indeed, is to be intolerant of religious and philanthropic earnestness in all their forms. He is usually intensely bigoted against what he conceives to be bigotry; and this bigotry of his inclines him to report in opposition to all religious doctrine, and in favour of all that fritters life away in aimless indifferentisms, excepting perhaps in the political field. In all other respects he can write with a calm impartiality, and be like a mirror, reflecting, without exaggeration, the most conflicting varieties of opinion. The bias, if not against 'bigotry,' which is sometimes evident in a report, is usually that of the journal in which the report appears, and not that of the mind of the reporter. It is due to him, also, to confess that the hasty or, it may be, the prejudiced pen of the sub-editor is sometimes run through parts of the reporter's work, and that insertions are occasionally made in the editor's room with which the reporter is not in the least chargeable. He has his own personal aversions, but these come out most markedly against the twaddling bore of a speaker who, having nothing at all to say, occupies a full hour in saying it. Him it is the delight of the contemptuous reporter to 'crumple up,' and next morning the public must satisfy itself with the information that the honourable member made some remarks which were inaudible in the gallery, or that Mr. Higgins, at some length, supported the resolution. Truth compels us to say that misreporting has not always been unintentional. A reporter has been known to take revenge in this way. And we once heard a very ungrammatical councilman gravely bring it before the town council as a grievance that a certain reporter had, with malice aforethought, put into the newspaper a verbatim report of one of his speeches. It is well remembered, on the other hand, that O'Connell at one time offended the Parliamentary reporters. They did not misreport, but took a more deadly revenge, and till he made his peace with [redacted] their reports entirely ignored him. We have already

hinted that whilst the reporter is often a very keen discerner as well as a hater of cant, unfortunately he sometimes sees it where it is not, and confounds sincere earnestness, especially if religious, with its most hypocritical simulatives. Very often he is proud of his own intelligence, of which he has an immovable opinion, and sits ludicrously perched in a lofty judgment seat, even over men of the widest executive capacity and the most comprehensive intelligence. Of his professional privileges he is acutely jealous. At a great price of self-assertion, and by slow degrees, reportership has won for itself during the last half century a distinguished place; and conductors of meetings are pretty well aware now that it is important to afford to the gentlemen of the press those superior facilities for seeing, hearing, and recording that the efficient exercise of their profession requires. Any slight put upon them in this respect will probably be both keenly felt and sorely resented. And when, as sometimes happens, they have to deal with some jack-in-office who ignores the respect they deem due to their intelligence and function, they are apt, with a strong *esprit de corps*, to make common cause against him, and to repay the injury in a manner not at all conducive to his comfort or self-complacence.

The art of shorthand writing is of great antiquity. It is believed to have originated amongst the Greeks, and to have been transmitted by them to the Romans. Plutarch, in his life of Cato, tells how Cicero, the consul, had dispersed about the senate-house several expert writers whom he had taught to make certain symbols, and who did, in little and short strokes equivalent to words, pen down all he said. Martial's lines are well known—

> Currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis,
> Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.

The art, however, was lost with the old Roman civilisation, and though re-appearing occasionally in the interval, has only during the last half century come largely into the service of mankind. A knowledge of shorthand to the reporter is highly desirable,—indeed, in these days, it may be said to be indispensable. But this is only one of his qualifications, and not always the most important. There are gentlemen of the press that still remember brilliant instances of reporting competency on the part of professionals who were entirely unacquainted with any kind of stenography. In an abbreviated longhand, but quite legible enough to avail for the use of the compositor, there were men in the profession some thirty years ago who could keep up with a rapid speaker,

though omitting all his mere verbiage, and have ready for the press, when he sat down, a remarkably accurate and long, though, of course, condensed report of his harangue. We knew a gentleman of such powerful and well-trained memory, that he could write at his leisure a wonderfully correct report of a meeting entirely from recollection without a note; and another who, in our presence in an assize court, having been diligently transcribing from notes the report of a previous meeting, was yet able to write from memory a correct paragraph giving the details of the trial of each prisoner immediately on its conclusion. Still spoken of are the days of 'Memory Woodfall,' who, by the aid of hard-boiled eggs, was used to sit out the debates in Parliament, and wrote their substance from recollection afterwards. The famous Dr. Abernethy, when lecturing at one of the metropolitan hospitals, once set his face most resolutely against the reporters. He was so determined that the *Lancet* should not publish his lectures, that he spared no device of espionage or threat to discover which of the students was the culprit; and even, on one occasion, had the lights put out, and lectured in the dark. The excellent memory of Mr. Wakley's reporter defeated all his attempts. It often happens now that a reporter will be, concurrently, writing from notes what a previous speaker had said, and putting into his note book the leading features of a speech then in course of delivery. But the great triumphs of memory or of rapid longhand reporting, once familiar to the press, are no longer to be found. They have been rendered unnecessary by great improvements in stenography effected during the last quarter of a century. From the sixteenth century onwards shorthand has had its English inventors and improvers; but prior to the publications of Mr. Isaac Pitman it was a rude art, difficult to be proficiently acquired, and untrustworthy at the best of times if the reading was not aided by the still retentive memory. Gurney, Byrom, Taylor, and Harding's improved Taylor, were the best systems in use; the two latter being the most popular. It is easy to learn to write these; but the reading of what is written,—in that the art and mighty labour lies. One sometimes sees advertisements of a system of shorthand, which is really Taylor's, and the promise that thereby 'the nature of the art can be acquired in six hours' is fair-seeming enough to those who know nothing of the matter. But although the nature of the art may be learned in six hours, the efficient practice of it on that system requires an apprenticeship of six years. Not so with Pitman's sound-hand, which is easier to be read than to be written, and for all practical purposes is beyond

all comparison superior to any other system. Reporting passed into a new era after the appearance of Pitman's phonography. A remarkable memory ceased to be of much consequence, and the exercise of clever long-hand reporting became limited almost wholly to the writers of Parliamentary summaries. Phonography has brought into the humbler ranks of journalism many hundreds who, but for it, would never have been able to hold a place there, and has enabled newspaper proprietors to obtain a rapid development of reporting assistance at a time when, otherwise, the sudden extension of the newspaper system consequent on the repeal of the taxes on knowledge would have rendered such a supply absolutely impossible. It has led, however, to some serious mistakes and many ludicrous failures. A raw youth has no sooner got its strokes, curves, and dots at his finger ends than he has considered himself competent for reportership on the press; and whilst hundreds who have advanced thus far have vainly waited year after year in the hope of obtaining an introduction to the reporters' room, many who have secured the coveted *entrée* have soon discovered their utter and hopeless inadequacy for the function to which they have aspired. A tale is told of a man of this class, who considered himself quite equal to taking his turn in the House of Commons for the *Times*. Accordingly, a longish 'take' was entrusted to him, and with his book full of notes he returned to the *Times* office to commence the transcription of his notes for the press. Mr. Barnes, the then editor, asked him how much his take amounted to; and finding it was long, directed him to cut it down by one-half. The reporter, dividing his book into two halves with his finger, meekly asked the editor 'which half?' So much simplicity, it is said, would not do for the *Times;* and the ambitious shorthand writer got no second trial. Another story is told of a mere shorthand writer who took a first turn in 'the House' for a London morning journal, but, on returning to the office and seeing the other reporters driving their quills with electric speed across the paper, the spectacle of swift and skilful industry so alarmed him that he disappeared, and was never seen in London afterwards. Rapid speed in transcription is a great requisite in writing for the newspapers. The duties of a shorthand writer are simple, those of a reporter complex and manifold. The one has merely to hear, note, and transcribe; his services are required in courts of law, arbitration rooms, and in other circumstances where the *ipsissima verba* of a witness or a judge may afterwards be required. This function, by long practice, becomes chiefly mechanical; it is possible to take a very

correct note of a long speech, and yet not be able to give, at the end, more than a bad guess of what it was about. In the case of the Government shorthand writers the task of transcription is committed to other hands than those of the note-taker. With the reporter, on the other hand, shorthand is only an occasional requisite; much that he does can be effected without it. Comparatively seldom is he required to produce an exactly literal record of what was said; indeed, however important the occasion, there are very few speakers who can be reported verbatim without damage to their reputation as composers of English. Of course, at times, the power to follow accurately a most rapid utterance with the pen is of signal value to the reporter, who ought to be equal to every emergency.

We have alluded to the variety of the work falling to the gentlemen of the press. There are, indeed, some whose office it is to attend Parliamentary debates almost exclusively; but in the provinces a first-class reporter is expected to discharge a wide variety of duties; and the major part of the profession are all the fitter for their post in proportion as they resemble Dryden's Villiers:

> A man so various that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome;
> Who, in the course of one revolving moon,
> Was statesman, fiddler, courtier, and buffoon.

Nothing in which the public at large is supposed to take interest is out of his sphere. He may justly say, 'I am a reporter:'

> 'Nihil humani a me alienum puto.'

The political or the philanthropic meeting, the complimentary dinner, the flower show, or the agricultural show, would not go on so well without him; he attends at consecrations, ordinations, and cricket matches; he is busy at the hustings and at the polling-booth; he lays every foundation stone, inaugurates everything, and sometimes rides to a conflagration on a fire engine; he visits churches, chapels, hotels, theatres, law courts, inquests, racecourses, mines, regattas, executions; wherever fire, storm, and flood, wherever collision or explosion work scenes of damage and woe, our reporter is immediately upon the spot; he attends the Royal progress, and the exercises of the army; the gala days and holidays of other people bring only extra labour and anxiety to him. The public at large know nothing of what is done in our courts of law except what the reporter communicates; and by his

statements upon men and things public opinion is to no small extent modified and formed. The occurrence of a moment may change one of his quietest into one of his most busy days, may upset the most carefully-revised arrangements, and defeat his most cherished plans. He is no more able to predict where he will be at a given time in advance, or to make a private appointment that shall be binding, than is a fireman or a medical man. By night or day he must set off, by rail, road, or river, in sunshine or in storm, with notice or with none, replete or hungry, exhausted or refreshed, to the spot where inquiries have to be made, events to be traced, or their consequences to be discovered. He should be sound in wind and limb, and have not only all his wits about him, but should know how to avail himself of other people's. He ought to be a man of general information; deeply versed in anything he can hardly be expected to be, but a little about everything he should know by all means, so that he may never be at a loss in his multifarious duties. The *omne scibile* is his domain; happy, if he can in any wise cover it, though only as a smatterer, since no piece of knowledge can be so out-of-the-way as not at some time in his career to give him an advantage over his competitors. He is, or should be, a critic in art, music, the drama, and literature; and, of course, the more he knows in each of these departments the more creditable is his work likely to be. Of late years, it is true, the expansion of the provincial press has necessitated much more division of labour in reporting and criticising; and with all the dailies, the theatre, the concert room, the picture gallery, and books, are now usually remitted to special hands. Yet the general reporter is still all the more valuable in proportion as he can operate, at least in an emergency, in every direction. He should have faculty readily to divine the meaning as well as to catch the words of a speaker, and, indeed, rather the meaning than the words; for the excellence of a report consists in its fairly representing rather what the speaker meant to say, and thought or hoped he did say, than what, in the exigencies of the moment, he actually succeeded in saying. In fact, the reporter should be able, where requisite, to mend not only a halting and clumsy style, but also the very matter of a speech; and where necessary, as most often it is, to compress the gist of a verbose argument or the points of a lengthy speech into a nutshell. Seeing, moreover, that the law of libel is so defective as to fail to protect an honest report of a public meeting, he should have enough legal acumen to know how to keep on the safe side. He should be possessed of some descriptive and narrative power; and the

more grammatical his training the better for the language, which in our day he, perhaps more than any one else, contributes to form or to deform. Newspaper English, indeed, so far as it comes from him, too often presents symptoms of debasement. He will, for instance, record how So-and-So sustained serious injury—which, after all, the sufferer proves not to have sustained, seeing that, unhappily, he died under it. He will substitute a barbarism like *now-a-days* for *in our days*, and will sometimes drag in provincialisms to the utter confusion of the sense. There is in a midland town a street called the Pavement. A reporter we knew, in a paragraph relating the exploits of a thief, astonished the reading public of that town by stating that, having secured the booty, the thief 'took up the Pavement, and disappeared!' The public might well fail to understand so subterraneous a procedure. Another paragraph writer of our acquaintance was sadly apt to flounder in composition through a provoking want of flexibility in his style. He was much teased by the other reporters for having once told the world, through his newspaper, that the legs of a poor man found dead on a lime-kiln 'were discovered, being literally roasted by one of the men.' Almost every newspaper report of inquest or accident shews a slovenly misuse of the word 'when.' 'The boiler exploded, when three men were scalded,' writes the reporter, although in truth the boiler burst not when the men were scalded, but previous to their becoming so. Again, 'The deceased ran away, when the intoxicated prisoner beat out her brains with the poker.' On the contrary, the reporter should have told us that the deceased ran away, and that thereupon, or immediately afterwards, the prisoner beat out her brains with the poker. But we must not expand here into criticism. Reporters' English is often written under very high pressure, and amidst difficulties which make its occasional incorrectness anything but surprising. In hunting out facts, and disembarrassing them of the distortions, screens and disguises superinduced by interested or stupid persons, the reporter is sometimes called upon to exercise the cleverness and astuteness of a detective. Discrimination, tact, patience, and perseverance are all needed; men must be known as well as things. There must be, withal, physical courage to work amidst danger, and moral courage to act impartially in circumstances of bias, and sometimes not a little rectitude to withhold the hand from the taking of bribes. That there are many members of the profession who do not come up to the fair standard is certain, but there are some who do; and on [redacted] whole, comparing the past with the present, the efficiency

and respectability of the gentlemen of the press seems to us to have improved of late years, and it is no longer a matter of course, as it once almost was, that the reporter should be a man whose tastes are low, and whose moral principles are undiscoverable. It must be confessed that the nocturnal habits, and the various uncertainties of occupation, which no reporter can avoid, are unfavourable to the younger members of the staff, rendering unusually easy the fall into moral scepticism and social irregularity. Temptations to drink beset their path on all sides, and too often blight a promising career. At public dinners it is frequently considered a mark of proper attention to see that 'the press' is supplied with wine; and moving amongst society of all grades, and travelling from place to place, as reporters do, invitations to drink recur again and again, and the necessities of their work often throw reporters into hotels or make what the publican provides their readiest substitute for a meal. Many a situation has been lost, many a downward career inaugurated, by a glass of wine thoughtlessly imbibed at a public dinner, and so operating on the brain as to make the reporter's note-taking useless. In one case within our knowledge, the mingled shame and despair consequent upon a dismissal so caused, led to the perpetration of suicide. Independently of any other consideration, the work of a reporter is one that requires the full possession of all his faculties; and if there is any class to whom abstemiousness is more necessary than to others, reporters ought assuredly to consider themselves therein. If once accustomed to work upon alcoholic stimulus, the man may be considered as lost. Thenceforward he can do nothing without his dram or his glass; and in the end he falls a sure victim to an ever-increasing necessity for buying his working efficiency with an unnatural stimulation.

The life of a reporter on an influential and enterprising journal is full of incident, and this fact gives some compensation for the excessive labour he is at times called on to perform, in the opportunities it yields for making intimate acquaintanceship with men and things. The reporter belongs to a privileged order, and is to a certain extent behind the scenes of society. He approaches the popular idols of the day somewhat nearer than most people do, and in some cases, it must be owned, this superior familiarity results in contempt. If he is not so easily excited by eloquence as others—in that respect resembling the countryman who did not cry at a touching sermon, because he belonged to another parish—he has frequent opportunities of being roused by the presence of danger. It is given to few to record death's doings on the

battle field, like Dr. Russell; but there has never been any lack of men ready to step forward at the call of professional duty, and risk to limb and life is run to an extent of which few outside the profession are aware. We have known life saved and property protected at imminent hazard by reporters at a fire; and have seen serious risks encountered for the sake of obtaining information for the press. Of late years signal service has been rendered to the public by newspaper emissaries who have investigated the sanitary condition of our large towns, and conducted inquiries into the nature, causes, extent, and remedies of such wide-spread calamities as the potato famine in Ireland, the cotton famine in Lancashire, and the more recent mining distress in Cornwall. In not a few of our teeming hives of industry or of enforced idleness, the reporter has penetrated, regardless of his own danger, into the inmost haunts of typhus and cholera, to make the public acquainted with the plague-spots in their midst; and we have known him receive the heartfelt thanks of poor people doomed to dwell in such misery, because his exertions have shamed dilatory authorities into grappling with their duty. It sometimes occurs at political gatherings that the reporters share in the favours intended for the real *dramatis personæ*. A rotten egg, falling short of a candidate, is very likely to drop in the reporters' box; and if there be a general row the holders of pencils and note books must take care of themselves. One diminutive reporter of our acquaintance, on account of the lowness of his stature suffered many indignities. He was once thrown bodily over the front of a hustings by a stalwart and excited coalheaver. We have heard an old reporter tell how in his slimmer youth, his light weight and small size obtained him admission to a post of duty otherwise inaccessible. He was recognised by the densely packed and impenetrable mob as the reporter for their favourite journal, and was lifted up and actually allowed to walk all across a large room upon their shoulders to his place on the platform. The natural impulse of most people, on the occasion of an election row, is to make off as speedily as possible, but a way of escape is not always open, and a reporter, for his part, ought to be able to describe the scene. We recollect how on one occasion half-a-dozen reporters stood shoulder to shoulder at the declaration of the poll, and successfully defended their box from the intrusion of a beer-maddened crowd until the police arrived to their succour. We have a vivid recollection of a meeting called in support of the Irish Church about the time of the late general election, and ending in a battle for the possession of the platform, wherein

doctors of divinity, aldermen, ministers of religion, and the general public set to in earnest, and incidentally smashed the reporters' table, chairs, forms, and their own hats, with unparalleled alacrity and completeness. Nothing less than the introduction of a *posse* of policemen availed to restore order.

The reminiscences of a reporter of experience and good memory would contain many things that to the uninitiated might savour too strongly of Munchausen. What would be thought, for instance, of the statement that a town jury, finding a prisoner guilty, recommended him to mercy because they had 'some doubt as to his being the man?' Yet that verdict was given in our hearing. *Primâ facie* it might seem impossible that any man could make such blunders as now and again creep into print. Where these are not due to the influence of alcohol, much allowance should be made. The reporter for the press has to do much of his work against time. When an important meeting is likely to be long this is provided against by sending a staff of two or more reporters; and in the Houses of Parliament relays of reporters succeed each other as the time wears on, from the commencement of the business to its close. At the best, however, the reporter is expected to transcribe his report from his notes hurriedly, often in a badly-lighted and much-jolting railway carriage, sometimes in a post-chaise or a cab, and always when to a certain extent his strength is lowered by his labours at the meeting, or before. It is not wonderful, then, that blunders are made; yet sometimes, it must be allowed, these are inexcusable. It is to the printer, however, that many blunders are due. Not long ago a west country reporter had occasion to refer to the well-known passage in one of Mr. Gladstone's finest speeches: 'We have burned our boats and destroyed our bridges.' In a local paper, thanks to the printer, he was made to say that the Premier informed the House that he had burned his coats and destroyed his breeches. We have known jokes of this kind foisted in by the compositor out of sheer mischief. When drink exercises its influence the most absurd results unintentionally follow, but in such cases they rarely come before the public, thanks to the corrective care of the official reader for the press. We recollect one reporter who, under the effects of champagne at a public dinner, found that he could take notes with most delightful and unprecedented facility, but unhappily discovered the decyphering of them to be quite a different matter. Another, whose intellect had been temporarily marred from a like cause, refused to write a word of the speech of one of our greatest statesmen, on the

ground that it was of no consequence! If it was not drink, it was laziness and worse, that actuated a reporter sent down from a London daily to record the proceedings at the very important trial of a public functionary not very long ago. He remained at his hotel whilst the proceedings were in progress from day to day, merely sending the 'Boots' to ascertain that the court was sitting! His reliance, of course, was on the local papers, from which he copied punctually his own 'special report.' With the story of Mark Supple, one of the early Parliamentary reporters, who electrified the House during a lull in the proceedings by tipsily calling on 'Mishter Shpeaker' for a song, most people are familiar. A story has recently travelled from America, and if not true, may be thought well invented. A reporter is said to have stated of a certain lecture that 'it was a brilliant affair. The hall ought to have been filled, but only forty persons were present. The speaker commenced by saying that he was by birth an ecclesiastical deduction; and gave a learned description of Satan and his skill in sawing trees. Among other things, he stated that the patriarch Abraham taught Cecrops arithmetic.' Next day the lecturer wrote to say: 'You have made some mistakes which I wish to correct. You make me speak of myself as by birth an ecclesiastical deduction. What I said was, that I was not by birth but only ecclesiastically a Dutchman. Instead of speaking of Satan as sawing trees, I spoke of him as sowing tares. I said nothing of Abraham, but spoke of the Arabians as nomads of patriarchal simplicity; and said of Cecrops that he was the founder of Athens, and instructed the people in agriculture.'

Some things, considered rather 'smart,' might be chronicled concerning reporters, especially in regard to the rivalry between different newspapers in obtaining early or exclusive information. But the extension of telegraphy has done much, and the consequent associated press system will do more, in putting an end to contests of this kind, except for matters of merely local importance. In days of yore, when Earl, then Lord John, Russell was member for North Devon, a renowned race took place from Exeter to London, with reports of one of his speeches, between Mr. Dickens, then a reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*, and a gentleman still on the staff of the *Times*. Both posted, but on the way Mr. Dickens gave the slip to his friend, who rode quietly along imagining that he was in advance instead of in the rear, and did not discover his error until he saw the speech in the *Chronicle*. Occasionally such rivalries resulted in what is called 'sharp practice,' which means out-and-out roguery, but for the

most part they were, and, where necessary to be carried on, still are conducted with fair play and in good humour. We do not adduce it as an instance of correct conduct, but we have heard of the exploit of a reporter who had attended a meeting far away from home, and who, having left in good time to catch the return train, found to his dismay that the representative of an opposition paper had by remaining a few minutes later obtained the speech of a gentleman of some position. What was to be done? Personally as well as professionally he did not like to be beaten; so, being well acquainted with the style of the speaker, whom he had heard upon the same subject before, he resolved to write a speech for him, and actually produced what proved to be about as good a report as his rival's. We knew a clever but wayward youth, son of the editor of a provincial newspaper, who, on an occasion of unusual interest, gratuitously invented a long speech for the clerk to a board of guardians, whose indignation on seeing it in print may be imagined. Sometimes reporters have even amused themselves by kindly supplying inventions of this kind to some unsuspecting brother of the press whom accident or necessity has prevented from arriving at the commencement of the proceedings. But jokes of this class are, of course, too serious in their consequences to be often attempted. A reporter who is gifted with ready sources enjoys manifold advantages over his less quick-witted brethren. One of the most annoying instances that occurs to us of the want of presence of mind on the part of a reporter happened at a boat-race in the North, whither a reporter had been despatched on horseback to bring back the name of the winner. He saw the first boat reach the goal, and galloped home at full speed, but when asked who had won, was only able to say that although he had seen the boat pass he had forgotten to inquire its name.

There are few old reporters; either they melt away through dissipation or they subside into some less active occupation. Many reporters have risen to eminence in other professions, and especially have some of them made the gallery in the House of Commons the stepping-stone to the bar, the bench, and even the woolsack. Of one quondam Parliamentary reporter who had left the gallery for the floor of the House of Commons, his erewhile associates were wont to say spitefully that he was not fit for a reporter, and therefore had been made a member. In the ranks of journalism itself, the transition from the composing room to the reporters' office, and thence to the editor's chair, has been frequently achieved.

Our sketch of reporting and reporters would be incomplete did it not contain some reference to the casual reporters,

popularly known as 'penny-a-liners'—though that epithet by no means exactly indicates their scale of remuneration. They are, to the regularly attached staff of a journal, very much what skirmishers are to the main body of an army; or perhaps they may be more aptly described as the guerillas of the press. It is their business to pick up whatever item of unexpected or stray news they can secure, and forward it with all speed to the journals to which they think it will be acceptable; and, as they are paid according to the quantity used, their habit is to inflate and enlarge, by every device of roundabout phraseology, the material at their command. If the 'liner' can get his 'copy' into four or five journals he is well paid, and several of the fraternity, with good connections of this kind, make an excellent living out of it. The 'copy' the 'liner' supplies is technically known as 'flimsey,' being written in manifold on tissue paper, with the help of sheets of carbonised transferring paper, commonly known as 'blacks.' Occasionally, when news is scarce, the 'liner' is suspected of indulging in sheer invention, and a few years ago one made much profit, for a short time, out of an imaginary conference between Italian patriots, the reports of whose proceedings were published day by day in the metropolitan newspapers, until the cheat was discovered. Such cases as these, however, are very rare. The certainty of their detection happily renders the reporter's production of such stuff an act of professional suicide.

THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

IT is one of the 'things not generally known' that there exists on the statute book of this country, thanks to officials connected with the War Office and the Admiralty, 'An Act for the better Prevention of Contagious Diseases at certain Naval and Military Stations,' supplemented with 'An Act to Amend' the said Contagious Diseases Act. What is perhaps even yet more important is the fact that there exists an association for the further extension of the application of these enactments. We propose to inquire briefly, in the following article, into the character of these Acts, and to recite some reasons against their proposed extension.

[redacted], first of all, we have to report that the Contagious

Diseases Act, surprising though this may seem to the public at large, has nothing whatever to do with cattle. Had it been called the Disgraceful Diseases Act, that would have been straightforward, but it might also have been alarming. The association engaged in promotion of the system is little disposed to lose ground through lack of cautiousness, or of skill in entitling. The Shameful Diseases Act would, perhaps, scarcely have been smuggled through Parliament under any such name. Curiosity was kept fast asleep by the use of less precise, and therefore more convenient nomenclature.

The Contagious Diseases Act, as existing prior to last session, was the sequel and successor to a previous Act, passed by Parliament in 1864. Two years afterwards that Act was repealed, but only that this larger and more stringent law might stand in its place. It bears date 11th June, 1866, and forms the 35th chapter of the statutes of the 29th of Victoria. Two successive blows of the mallet were thus applied to the wedge, of which the thin end is now fixed in the legislation of this country; and yet a third blow was dealt last session. The advocates of this peculiar legislation succeeded last year in passing their third bill, as 'An Act to amend the Contagious Diseases Act, 1866,' bearing date August 11th, 1869, and standing as chapter 96 of the 32nd and 33rd of Victoria. By this extension they effected several modifications in the details of the law, and they enlarged the territorial area of its application. The Act of 1866 applied to twelve districts—Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Devonport, Woolwich, Chatham, Sheerness, Aldershot, Windsor, Colchester, Shorncliffe, The Curragh, Cork, and Queenstown. The amendment Act extended the application of this legislation to six other districts—Canterbury, Dover, Gravesend, Maidstone, Southampton, and Winchester, besides enlarging the boundaries of some of the twelve. Thus to Colchester were added the outlying parishes of St. Andrew's, Greenstead; Lexden; and St. Michael's, Mile End. To Plymouth and Devonport were joined on Ivy Bridge; the parishes of Plympton St. Maurice and Plympton St. Mary; and Dartmouth. To Sheerness was appended the Isle of Grain. To Shorncliffe were added Walmer, Deal, Sholden, Mongeham, Ringwold, and Ripple. To Windsor—Datchet and Upton. And to Woolwich—St. Paul and St. Nicholas, Deptford; the hamlet of Hatcham; and St. Alphage, Greenwich. Moreover, the radius of five miles around all these districts was increased to fifteen. It is no secret that the object of the promoters is ultimately to bring the whole nation under the provisions of this Act, wind and weather permitting. The opponents of the Act, who

are likely to become many as soon as its nature shall be generally known, are bestirring themselves busily in London, Nottingham, Bristol, and elsewhere, to make the wind of public opinion contrary, and to turn the weather into a storm.

Before proceeding further we may allude to the fact that the question, whether or not this Contagious Diseases Act should be extended to the civil population, was discussed in the Health Department of the Social Science Association at its latest congress. Much excitement was manifested in the proceedings of the day, and a rare warmth was infused into the debate. Mr. W. P. Swain and Mr. Berkeley Hill read papers in favour of the measure, and were supported by Mr. T. Woolcombe (chairman of the Royal Albert Hospital), Mr. P. H. Holland, Mr. D. Davies, Dr. Symonds, and others; but were opposed by a numerous body, including Dr. Charles Taylor, the Rev. W. Arthur, Professor Newman, Mr. R. Charleton, Mr. T. Worth, and other more or less well-known clergymen or philanthropists. A resolution adverse to the Act was moved by the Rev. W. Arthur, and seconded by Professor Newman; a cautious amendment to this was moved —the reporter does not say by whom—approving of the Act as existing, but adding that the time had not arrived for an extension of it to the civil population. When the time came for the vote great disturbance ensued. The amendment was lost, as also was a more straightforward one, moved by Mr. Davies and seconded by Dr. Beddoe, bluntly approving of the proposed extension of the Act. Finally, the original resolution was carried. The correspondent of the *Times* gave the following partisan description of the scene:—

'There then followed a scene of great confusion and disorder. A large number of persons, many of them apparently clergymen, had come to the meeting for the express purpose of protesting against the Act. In debate the advocates on both sides waxed warm, and the enthusiasm of those who fancied they saw in physical disease a Divine judgment against moral transgression was obviously much in the ascendant over the calmer views of more reasonable men. Excited gentlemen, in white cravats, surged tumultuously over the benches, vociferated, half-a-dozen at once, set the chairman to rights about his ruling on points of order, and loudly applauded whatever seemed to tell in favour of their views. At length, after a time probably without parallel in the history of Science Congresses, and, after resolutions and amendments had been put and stormed over, a resolution in opposition to the extension of the Act was carried by about two to one in a meeting of rather more than one hundred. The proceedings were, of course, not of a character to give weight to the decision of the assembly or to increase the value set by sober-minded men upon the action of the association itself.'

We cannot but note here how very apparent is the bias of the reporter, although we are not prepared to doubt that a state of mind far from judicial was shown by some of the opponents of the Act. Indeed, in some of their publications there is

a vehemence of excitement that positively tends to prejudice men of calm judgment against their cause. Their arguments, we must say, would tell more powerfully if they were urged with less of a shriek.

The opponents of this kind of legislation adduce a variety of considerations. We cannot say that these are always in harmony with each other. The best of the earlier series of arguments against it were advanced in a report on the operation of the Contagious Diseases Act, presented by John Simon, F.R.S. and F.R.C.S., and surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital, and were printed in the Blue Book containing the eleventh annual report of the medical officer to the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council. Probably the most energetic individual agitator against the Acts is Mr. Worth, a surgeon and member of the board of guardians, at Nottingham, and author of several pamphlets on the subject. A *brochure*, entitled 'The Remedy Worse than the Disease,' lies before us, published by the Society for the Rescue of Young Women and Children, 85, Queen-street, Cheapside, London, and entering a very strong protest 'against legislative measures for the regulation (and tending to the encouragement) of prostitution, as exemplified in the provisions and working of the Contagious Diseases Act, 1866.' Mrs. Hume Rothery, a daughter of the celebrated Joseph Hume of Parliamentary memory, has written letters protestant, as also have Professor F. W. Newman, Mr. Robert Charleton, sundry other philanthropists, and several ministers of religion. Professor Newman, besides letters in the *Anti-Vaccinator*, has written, on the whole, the most powerful remonstrance against the new legislation that we have seen. It is entitled 'the Cure of the Great Social Evil,' and is published in London by Trübner & Co. It deals at large with the question of incontinence, and suggests a variety of preventive and deterrent measures. We do not in all the details agree with Mr. Newman's observations. There are certain physiological and pyschological facts that he ignores. It is a deplorable fact, for instance, that by early and long indulgence in impure acts and imaginations, one may utterly cease to possess that 'gift of continence' which is originally at the command of almost all. We say almost all, because, again, it is a deplorable fact that some few are so weighed down by the sins of an impure ancestry—in short, so dreadfully animal in their very constitution, with so little intellect and moral sense to counteract, that the appetite is as imperious and irresistible as hunger or thirst. For these, on the whole, St. Paul's advice is the best in spite of Mr. Newman's protest against it, and notwithstanding one's pity for

the wives. But in the main, Mr. Newman treats the subject so admirably that we cannot but recommend his pamphlet for the widest possible distribution. The 'National Anti-Contagious Diseases Act (Extension) Association' is excellent in everything except its name. *Existence* would be a much better word than *extension*, if a word there were really necessary. This association has published a variety of documents, a list of which will no doubt be gladly forwarded to any inquirer by Mr. Robert Charleton, of Abbey Down, Bristol, to whom, as treasurer of the society, subscriptions may be sent. In one of his letters, Professor Newman accounts for the passing of the Acts, by stating that 'certain physicians have the ear of the Privy Council and indoctrinate it. The Privy Council moves the ministry—if it be not quite the same body—and the whispers of the ministry carry the doctors' bill through Parliament. The newspapers (I conjecture) think the subject too disgusting to argue, and therefore are silent. Thus we are under an insidious despotism.' The silence of the newspapers whilst the subject was before Parliament was certainly remarkable. The reporters appear to have unanimously agreed not to report—their bias, we suppose, being in favour of the Act, and their belief being great in the safeness of the policy of letting the public know as little as possible about it.

We come now to examine what is the precise nature of the Contagious Diseases Act of 1866. And to put our readers in possession of the facts, we think it best to give a copious summary of this remarkable enactment. The first three sections relate to the interpretation of terms, the fixing of time for commencement of operations, and the repeal of the previous enactment. The fourth defines the places wherein the Act is to operate; and the fifth directs the expenses of the Act to be defrayed by the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War out of money to be provided by Parliament. Visiting surgeons and assistant-surgeons are to be appointed according to section 6, by the War Office or the Admiralty; and under section 7, inspectors and assistant-inspectors of certified hospitals are to be similarly appointed. Power to provide and certify hospitals is given in sections 8 and 9; and by subsequent sections the inspection of certified hospitals and power to withdraw certificates are arranged for. In section 12 the certification of hospitals is made to depend on 'adequate provision' being made for the 'moral and religious instruction' of the women detained there under this Act. Very adroitly, and with velvet skill is this, the first mention of the women, wrapped up with their moral and religious

instruction. Moral and religious improvement of women who, under this very Act, are treated like beasts in order to guarantee them clean for the future use of the fornicator! The management of certified hospitals is left, by section 14, in the hands of the hospital managers, subject to the approval of all their regulations by the Admiralty or War Office, as far as regards women authorised by this Act to be detained therein for medical treatment, or being therein under medical treatment for a contagious disease. It is not till we come to the 15th section that we reach the marrow of the Act of 1866; and, although this has been repealed, it will be well to reproduce this in conjunction with the next section verbatim:—

'PERIODICAL MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS.

'15. When an information on oath is laid before a justice by a superintendent of police, charging to the effect that the informant has good cause to believe that a woman therein named is a common prostitute, and either is resident within the limits of any place to which this Act applies, or, being resident within five miles of those limits, has, within fourteen days before the laying of the information, been within these limits for the purpose of prostitution, the justice may, if he thinks fit, issue a notice thereof, addressed to such woman, which notice the superintendent of police shall cause to be served on her.

'Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall apply or extend, in the case of Woolwich, to any woman who is not resident within one of the parishes of Woolwich, Plumstead, or Charlton.

'16. In either of the following cases, namely;—If the woman on whom such a notice is served appears herself, or by some person on her behalf, at the time and place appointed in the notice, or at some other time and place appointed by adjournment;

'If she does not so appear, and it is shown (on oath) to the justice present that the notice was served on her a reasonable time before the time appointed for her appearance, or that reasonable notice of such adjournment was given to her (as the case may be), the justice present, on oath being made before him substantiating the matter of the information to his satisfaction, may, if he thinks fit, order that the woman be subject to a periodical medical examination by the visiting surgeon for any period not exceeding one year, for the purpose of ascertaining at the time of each such examination whether she is affected with a contagious disease; and thereupon she shall be subject to such a periodical medical examination, and the order shall be a sufficient warrant for the visiting surgeon to conduct such examination accordingly.

'The order shall specify the time and place at which the woman shall attend for the first examination.

'The superintendent of police shall cause a copy of the order to be served on the woman.'

In section 17, any woman within the limits of the Act may voluntarily, by a submission in writing, signed by her in the presence of and attested by the superintendent of police, subject herself to a periodical medical examination for any period not exceeding one year. In the following section power is given to the War Office or the Admiralty to make regulations as to time, place, and manner of examination; and in section 19 the visiting surgeon is empowered to prescribe

times and places at which the examinee is required to attend again for examination. If any woman so examined proves to be 'affected with a contagious disease,' she is rendered liable, in section 20, to be detained in a certified hospital, subject and according to the provisions of this Act, at the choice of the visiting surgeon.

'21. Any woman, to whom any such certificate of the visiting surgeon relates, may, if she thinks fit, proceed to the certified hospital named in that certificate, and place herself there for medical treatment, but if, after the certificate is delivered to her, she neglects or refuses to do so, the superintendent of police, or a constable acting under his orders, shall apprehend her, and convey her with all practicable speed to that hospital, and place her there for medical treatment, and the certificate of the visiting surgeon shall be a sufficient authority to him for so doing.'

The detention in the hospital is made, by section 22, terminable by written order of the chief medical officer of the hospital; but by the next section the inspector of certified hospitals may, if expedient, direct the transfer of any detained woman from one hospital to another; and by section 24 the detention under any one certificate is limited to three months, unless the chief medical officer of the hospital and either the inspector of certified hospitals or the visiting surgeon for the place whence she came, conjointly certify that further detention is requisite, in which case the term may be extended for three months longer. Section 25 gives any woman in a hospital who considers herself well, power to appeal to a justice of the peace, who, 'if he is satisfied, upon reasonable evidence, that she is free from a contagious disease, shall discharge her from such hospital.' Section 26 places in legal custody every woman whilst being conveyed or transferred under this Act, even though it be from one jurisdiction to another. Section 27 entitles every woman, on discharge from the hospital, to be sent to the place of her residence, free of cost. The next clause, being a penal one, will be best quoted in full:—

'28. In the following cases, namely,—

'If any woman, subjected by order of a justice under this Act to periodical medical examination, at any time temporarily absents herself in order to avoid submitting herself to such examination, on any occasion on which she ought so to submit herself, or refuses or wilfully neglects to submit herself to such examination on any such occasion;

'If any woman authorised by this Act to be detained in a certified hospital for medical treatment, quits the hospital without being discharged therefrom by the chief medical officer thereof by writing under his hand (the proof whereof shall lie on the accused);

'If any woman authorised by this Act to be detained in a certified hospital for medical treatment, or any woman being in a certified hospital under medical treatment for a contagious disease, refuses or wilfully neglects, while in the hospital, to conform to the regulations thereof approved under this Act;

'Then, and in every such case, such woman shall be guilty of an offence against

this Act, and, on summary conviction, shall be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, in the case of a first offence for any term not exceeding one month, and in the case of a second or any subsequent offence for any term not exceeding three months; and in the case of the offence of quitting the hospital without being discharged as aforesaid, the woman may be taken into custody, without warrant, by any constable.'

The 29th section enacts that imprisonment for the 'offence' of non-submittal to examination shall not free the woman from the liability to be examined under which she lay prior to the 'offence,' unless she be certified as sound; and the 30th section provides that imprisonment for the 'offence' of quitting a hospital without being discharged, or of refusing or neglecting while in a hospital to conform to the regulations, shall not free her from liability to return to the hospital, but that she shall be sent back to that place on expiry of her imprisonment unless she be certified as cured. The 31st section imposes penalty of imprisonment on any woman discharged uncured, who 'is afterwards in any place *for the purpose of prostitution*.' By the 32nd, every order subjecting a woman to examination is made to operate 'as long as and whenever, from time to time, the woman to whom it relates is resident within the limits of the place to which this Act applies wherein the order was made, or within five miles of these limits, but not in any case for a longer period than one year,' nor longer than she remains uncertified as cured. The next three sections profess to give 'Relief from Examination.' They provide that if any woman, not being under detention in a hospital, desires to be relieved from examination to which she had been subjected, she may apply in writing to a justice, who shall appoint time and place for hearing the application; and if then it be shown 'to the satisfaction of a justice' that the applicant has ceased to be a common prostitute, or if the applicant be bound in a recognisance, with or without sureties, as it may please the justice, for good behaviour during three months, she shall be relieved from examination, but such relief shall cease 'if at any time the woman is found in any public thoroughfare, street, or place for the purpose of prostitution, or otherwise conducts herself as a common prostitute,' within the limits of the Act's operation. Penalties for harbouring any woman believed, on 'reasonable cause,' to be a common prostitute affected with a contagious disease, are provided in section 36. The remaining sections regulate the form of procedure under the Act; amongst other things they provide, in section 37, that the justice's court in which proceedings are taken against or by a woman of this class shall, 'unless the woman so desires,' be a secret court with closed doors. In section 40 it is enacted that any document purporting to

be signed by any official, whether legal, medical, hospital, or police, shall be taken as genuine unless proved to be otherwise, proof of the otherwise being thrown on the unfortunate woman, who may thus actually be convicted with a piece of forged paper unless she is in a position to prove the forgery! The last section in the Act—No. 42—is intended to fortify any one putting this Act in motion against a woman from being inconvenienced by action-at-law in consequence. Thus no action may be brought against him except in the county where, and within three months after, the thing was done; nor shall the plaintiff succeed in the action if sufficient amends be made before the action is brought, or a sufficient sum paid into court after the action is brought, by or on behalf of the defendant. The equity prevailing in the breasts of the concocters of this law is illustrated by the provisions that if the plaintiff fails in the action, or is nonsuited, or drops it, the defendant shall have full costs, as between attorney and client, no discretion being given to the judge; but that if the plaintiff succeeds in the action the defendant shall pay no costs, unless the judge certifies his approbation of the action.

Such, in brief, is the nature of the Contagious Diseases Act of 1866. We will now see how far it is modified by the Amendment Act of last session. In this, power is given, in section 3, to the surgeon to detain the woman five days before examining her, if she is 'found by him to be in such a condition that he cannot properly examine her,' and if he 'has reasonable grounds for believing that she is affected with a contagious disease.' If the drunkenness of the woman was the cause of the difficulty, she may be detained for twenty-four hours in any usual lockup. Section 4 repeals section 15 of the previous Act, and in its place substitutes the following:—

'Where an information on oath is laid before a justice by a superintendent of police, charging to the effect that the informant has good cause to believe that a woman therein named is a common prostitute, and either is resident within the limits of any place to which this Act applies, or, being resident within ten miles of those limits, or having no settled place of abode, has, within fourteen days before the laying of the information, either been within those limits for the purpose of prostitution, or been outside of those limits for the purposes of prostitution in the company of men resident within those limits, the justice may, if he thinks fit, issue a notice thereof addressed to such woman, which notice the superintendent of police shall cause to be served on her:

'Provided that nothing in the Contagious Diseases Act, 1866 to 1869, shall extend, in the case of Woolwich, to any woman who is not resident within the limits specified in the first schedule to this Act.

'Section 15 of the principal Act is hereby repealed, and the foregoing enactment in this section is substituted for it; provided that all proceedings taken and acts done under the section hereby repealed shall, notwithstanding, remain of full effect, and shall, if necessary, be continued as if they had been taken and done under this section.'

The next section substitutes for the limit of five miles fixed in section 32 of the previous Act, an extension to ten miles. In section 6, a woman's voluntary submission to periodical examination is made to have all the effect of a justice's order, and to bring her within scope of all the penalties if she repents of her voluntary submission. The six months named in section 24 of the previous Act are extended to nine months in section 7 of the new Act; 'so, nevertheless, that any woman be not detained under one certificate for a longer time in the whole than nine months.' The final custody of orders of discharge is given, in section 8, to the superintendent of police. By section 9, a woman, not in a hospital, craving relief from examination, may apply to the visiting surgeon, who shall then communicate with the superintendent of police, who, if satisfied by the surgeon's report or other evidence that the applicant has ceased to be a common prostitute, shall have power to relieve from examination. This section, in connection with sections 33, 34, and 35 of the prior Act, gives the alternative of application for relief either to a justice or to the visiting surgeon. Section 10 substitutes a new schedule for the one defining the places to which the two Acts apply; and thereby extends the incidence of the provisions of the Act to the extra districts which we have already named. Section 11 provides new forms of certificates, orders, and other instruments, instead of those in the former Act. Carrying out these two changes, the 4th and 38th sections of the principal Act, and the two schedules to that Act, are repealed in section 12. A concluding section provides for the settlement of a child born of a woman whilst detained in a hospital.

Such being the provisions of this remarkable piece of legislation, we will now consider briefly some of the objections that may reasonably be brought against it.

A very rapid glance at this new law reveals its exceedingly one-sided character, as relates to the two sexes. All its artillery is pointed at the woman. The man, though equally dangerous to the public health, is let off scot free. But since the object of the law is to annihilate, as far as may be done, certain diseases, this is obviously defeated so long as only one sex is dealt with. In order to be efficient, it should subject the man to be examined as well as the woman; and it should do this, no less, in order to be equitable as between woman and man. A man who goes about infecting women is as dangerous as a woman infecting men. If the law provided that not only every woman but every man when suspected of prostitution, or found in the society of prostitutes, should be subjected to examination by force, and imprisoned

in hospital if found diseased, we should be able to recognise so far its fairness. We may be certain that had the female suffrage had its fair share in this legislation, men would not have been permitted to be thus monstrously unjust to the weaker sex. It is a man's enactment, and is, we are sorry to say, for its radical injustice, disgraceful to our own sex by which it was made law.

A second objection to it is, that it subjects women to the examination, not of a jury of matrons, nor of a medical practitioner of their own sex, but to that of a person or persons of the opposite sex. It thus gives forcible extension to the purely modern and very unfortunate and objectionable practice of man-midwifery. Future generations will lift up their hands in astonishment at the needless and barbarous indelicacy of their ancestors of the nineteenth century. They will affirm that men have no more fitness for treating the special diseases of women than women have for treating the special diseases of men. Evidently the impropriety is equal in both cases, and if women must be dragged out of the streets or their own houses to be submitted to a distressing and disgusting examination, the examiners should certainly be persons of their own sex.

A third objection to the new law is, that it must enormously increase the demand for hospital accommodation—a very serious matter to the public at large, by whom the money would require to be found. The Association for Promoting the Extension of the Contagious Diseases Acts to the Civil Population of the United Kingdom contends 'that sufferers under any kind of contagious disease are dangerous members of society, and should, so long as they are in this state, be prevented from communicating it to others;' 'that common prostitutes should be subject to a compulsory medical examination and to compulsory detention in hospital as often as they are found diseased and as long as they continue so;' and 'that for the reception of prostitutes suffering from venereal disease, hospital accommodation should be provided in all towns where such persons congregate.' Mr. Simon points out that the plan would require for London alone, if there be in it only half the prostitution and disease affirmed by the association to exist, the erection and maintenance of new hospital accommodation nearly equal to what is now given by the twelve general hospitals of London for all bodily diseases put together. The charge of maintaining such hospitals in London alone would probably be at least £100,000 per annum; and their construction would probably represent a first cost little short of half a million of money. And besides this,

increased police arrangements would have to be paid for heavily, and the medical inspectors must be handsomely provided for. Mr. Simon very forcibly puts the difficulty of providing for such an expenditure:—

'Demands like the above are evidently not likely to be met by voluntary contributions. The result, if to be got at all, can only be got under action of law; and any such law, whether empowering the central Government to defray expenses out of proceeds of general taxation, or empowering municipalities to assign local funds for the purpose, is, of course, in relating to minorities, compulsory. Now, it is quite certain that, rightly or wrongly the proposed appropriation of money would, in the eyes of very large numbers of persons, be to the last degree odious and immoral. *In most municipal constituencies, there are swarms of persons who already find it no easy matter to satisfy the collectors of rates and taxes; they would see the prostitute kept in the hospital at their expense for weeks or months, not necessarily from the exigencies of severe illness of her own, but essentially that she might be made clean for hire, lest any of her users should catch disease from her; they would remember in contrast that for themselves wonderfully little is done by authority to protect them against adulterations of food, or against false weights and measures; and they might regard it as a strange caprice of law which should oblige them to contribute to the cost of giving an artificial security to their neighbour's looseness of life.* It seems to me very important to measure beforehand the degree in which such arguments would be valid, or rather to consider on what principles (if any) the proposed intervention of law is to be justified.'

We find in the pamphlets before us, many allusions to these contagious diseases as being God's punishment for sin, whence is argued the impropriety of attempting to prevent them. With this doctrine we are unable to agree. In the first place, it is obvious that if it were wrong to prevent, it would also be wrong to cure. If this were really the punishment which God provides for the sin of incontinence, the sinners condemned to it ought to be left to suffer under it till God releases them, and physicians would have no business to try to interfere with the amount or duration of the punishment. But none of those who call these diseases God's punishment for sin, object to endeavour to alleviate or cure them after they have been contracted. Their logic, therefore, is lame; and unless they are prepared to protest against curative measures, they have no right to object, on the ground of Divine punishment, against otherwise unobjectionable preventive ones.

In the second place, if these diseases were really God's punishment for this sin, then to attempt either to prevent or cure them by sanitary law or medical skill would be alike impertinent and vain. Stultification is not predicable of the Divine Providence, nor defeat of the Divine law. If it were true that these diseases are the penalties divinely inflicted on moral iniquity, it would not be wrong to interfere with their incidence, only because it would not be possible. Men must 'get up very early' to outwit God. When the Almighty appoints a punishment for sin, He looks after the infliction of that penalty;

He speaks, and it is done. In every case of transgression the punishment falls, and inevitably; but it falls upon the soul, not upon the body of the sinner. There it is that he receives within himself that reward of disobedience which is meet. Loss of mental purity, pollution of wish and thought, increased force of sinful propensity, consequent approximation of soul to infernal forms of existence, augmented difficulty in approaching heaven or in appreciating things heavenly,—these constitute, under different names, the only really divine punishment of sin. In the very act of moral transgression the sentence is pronounced, the sin is visited, the punishment falls; and this can no more be dodged or evaded than God can be mocked, or than a man can fail to be judged according to his works.

But physical disease is largely evitable, and offers a high premium to cleverness in avoiding it, as well as being susceptible, more or less, of physical cure. That it is no divine penalty for sin is evident from the fact that cunning can evade it. With certain precautions, infection is avoidable, and that, too, in cases wherein the guilt may be doubly heinous. The frequent and flagitious sinner may cleverly insure himself, whilst the alleged penalty, in its severest and most loathsome manifestations, may fall on a first and only transgression. The disease comes, a consequence of not knowing, or of carelessly rejecting, feasible physical precautions. If we be still more desperately wicked than the common fornicator; 'having waste ground enough' with him, if we be so far evil beyond him as to 'rase the sanctuary and pitch our evils there,' we may even altogether escape in still more wicked seduction the morbid liabilities of wicked prostitution. This alleged penalty may even impinge on the most careful and the most innocent, through the folly of progenitors, or the untoward accidents of medical practice, or of unhappy matrimonial relationship. These diseases come as scarlet fever or as small pox comes, because the physical laws of health have been violated, first in those amongst whose filth the disease originated, and subsequently in persons to whom the infection, with or without fault of theirs, may have been accidentally conveyed. A blind undiscriminating penalty like this, that goes blundering about, hit or miss, that hurts the innocent and that can be made a fool of by the guilty, has in it none of the characteristics of Divine retribution.

We do not affirm that there is therefore no connection between these diseases and the penalty of sin. What has been taught from very ancient times, that the entrance and increase of physical disease in the world has some inherent relationship with sin as its occult cause, is not proved to be

untrue. The fact is, although these diseases are not the real penalties of lechery, they are yet vivid pictures of that real penalty, painted on skin and in flesh and blood. Rightly regarded, a wretched creature, deeply tainted, half eaten up by the sores and rottenness of syphilis, is God's occasional and physical picture to warn us of what ravages a certain sin actually and invariably works in the human spirit when, by long and unrepented practice, we make it inveterate. Just so is its hideous aspect to all discerners of spirits. Just as deplorable a spectacle, sore for sore, corruption for corruption, is the voluptuary's soul in the sight of the angels and of God.

The case indeed is similar with all sorts of diseases. They are occasional warning pictures of the various maladies of the human spirit, in its different degrees of departure from sanity and God. They come, not in retribution of this or that man's sin, or his parents', but that the power of God (in its retributive action on all sinning souls) may be made (bodily) manifest (or be pictured forth) in him. Hence in the Gospels the display of power to heal physical disease is said to be exercised 'that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power to forgive sins;'—that is, in healing the sick spirit, just as that effect is depictured in healing the sick body. But if the occurrence of the physical malady had been made to be not occasional, but necessarily coincident with that of the spiritual disease, the physical would have lost its character as mere picture, and would have become indistinguishable from the real penalty in the morbid soul. There are other and deeper reasons, besides, for the divorce which we see in this merely probational life, between the occurrence of the physical pictures of God's penalties and the commission of the sins upon which the real spiritual penalties are visited. If, for instance, moral transgression invariably brought its physical punishment, it would cease, for men would be too much terrified to offend. But the virtue thus superinduced would be a virtue of fright, of compulsion, not of free will—not genuine, therefore, and therefore hateful in God's sight, because insincere. Men with hereditary tendencies to evil, and in a probationary state, must be left free to sin if they are to be left free to learn to hate sin and to love purity indeed. And so the incidence of what would otherwise be the physical penalty of sin is dislocated and rendered occasional, and as it were accidental, lest fear of God should defeat the love of Him, and a universally well-founded dread of the physical consequences of vice should make the return of fallen humanity to unadulterated virtue impossible. And whilst we thus account for the evident divorce existing

between the evil diseases that often accompany incontinence and the Divine punishment of that sin, of which they are yet the terrible and admonitory pictures, we ground upon it the right of the sanitary reformer to abate, or even, if he can, to abolish these or any other physical diseases. For whatever may have been the occult connection between the first outbreak of diseases and the sins whose consequences they so vividly pourtray, yet the physical evil, once generated, is self-propagating, extends itself blindly far and wide, may be spread by accidental causes into innocent families, can be immensely augmented by carelessness or ignorance, is susceptible of alleviation, diminution, and cure by medical art, and ought, for pity's sake, to be encountered and checked by every laudable effort of the physician. But whilst we are thus careful to disembarrass the question of a self-contradictory element, and to give fair play to that side of the debate which, as we conceive, justly vindicates the right of the sanitary reformer to adopt every justifiable measure to abate and destroy physical disease, we still claim our own right to reserve judgment in other respects on the justifiableness of any particular measure. For if it is possible that, bad as the disease is, the remedy may be worse, then, of course, it is highly necessary to weigh the character of every proposed remedy. It is here that we again join hands with the opponents of the new legislation, and proceed to allude to further reasons against its continuance.

One such reason is found in the evident inefficiency of the new law. As we have said, it only deals with fornicators of the less numerous sex; the more numerous remain uninspected and free to extend disease beyond all possible reach of legislative control. And when it has done all it can with the one sex, there will yet remain many of them who, evading its hateful provisions, will remain to be prolific sources of the distemper. In other cases compliance with the law in every respect will fail to lead to the discovery of existing disease, and that especially in the worst cases. For, whilst it may be tending to lessen the occurrence of the less serious forms of disease, the system confessedly fails most with the most virulent, these, in their earlier stages, being always least susceptible, and often not admissive, of discovery. It should be known that under the name of syphilis are commonly confounded several distinct diseases; whilst it is only true syphilis that is so terrible in its results as to have any *primâ facie* claim to extraordinary or special legislation. The less serious complaints incident to incontinence are probably (on the whole) of no little service to society, by their power to admonish and deter. For although no amount of

fear could ever produce virtue in the least degree, yet fear can and does conduce notably to the welfare of society by the useful restraints that it inaugurates. Dread of the law cannot make a man honest, but it can and often does prevent both him from stealing and from being therefore punished at society's cost, and some one else from suffering the loss of what he would steal. And fear of acquiring disease in incontince fulfils an equally useful part in society, not indeed by purifying the thoughts and heart, but yet by preventing much disturbance and distress, the interruption or defeat of many serviceable relationships, and the breaking up of many homes. To God, whose end is man's restoration to inward virtue and holiness, it has not seemed worth while to attach physical suffering so invariably to sin that sinning should become impossible, and the acquisition of true virtue be thereby put out of man's reach. But to men, as regards their temporal interests, and the outward peace and good order of society, it may be and is both worth their while and highly important that fear should operate largely to check the outward manifestations of sinful desires. This is why we supplement the punishments of Him who says—'Vengeance is mine, I will repay,' with our social laws. For the sake, not of real virtue, but of social order and external peace, it is well that these deterrent diseases should be suffered to exist. If their occurrence were invariably coincident with the sin, and their severity were necessarily on the same scale with the enormity of the sin in which they were incurred, one might even be inclined to vote sternly against medical aid to such sufferers, and that, not for virtue's sake, but in the cause of the temporal welfare of society. But since the gravity of each case medically is in no necessary proportion to the offender's degree of guilt, pity for the sufferer rightly supersedes that stern regard for the general welfare, whereby otherwise it might be over-ridden. This pity, moreover, cannot, of course, tolerate any violence done to the sufferers, much less the commission of any base outrage upon them. Nor can it consistently invoke the aid of the law in order to utterly suppress diseases on whose existence pity for society at large has now reason to congratulate itself.

Another serious objection to this legislation is in the power to mar the reputation of any woman that it gives to the most rash, or even to the basest of men, and to subject her to physical outrage. 'It is found that, under the 17th section of the Act, practised police spies can bully, cajole, and terrify comparatively innocent, aye, and entirely innocent girls, into enrolling themselves in the ranks of registered prostitutes.

It is in evidence before the Parliamentary Commission that already in free England respectable married women, and at least one virgin, have been thus grossly violated.' 'One of the darkest features of the Act is the power of denunciation which, by it, is placed in the hands of brothel-keepers, procuresses, jealous companions, chagrined swains, anonymous correspondents, and others belonging to a similar lying and slanderous class. Already it is in evidence that respectable women have been denounced out of spite, and that for similar reasons drunken soldiers have accused innocent women of communicating disease—innocence only proved, however, after the grossest outrage.' 'I would appeal,' says Mr. Robert Charleton, 'to the *manly* feelings of my fellow-countrymen, and call their attention to the *cowardice*, no less than to the flagrant injustice of a law which allows the *male* offender to pursue his course without molestation, and reserves all its penalties for the *weaker sex;* which leaves the adulterer, the fornicator, the debauchee, in the unrebuked indulgence of his brutal lust, whilst on the *victim* of that lust it heaps all the horrible indignities which lie concealed under the smoothly sounding term, "compulsory medical examination."' As we have seen, any superintendent of police, on the information of any reprobate, may inform on oath against any innocent woman who, being resident within ten miles of one of the scheduled districts, has once visited it, or who, residing at whatever distance, has been visited by some male inhabitant of it; and everything then depends on the private discretion of a single justice, who may himself have instigated or may connive at the movement, for some revengeful or otherwise evil purpose of his own. Thenceforward the woman is ticketed as a prostitute, and subjected to periodical examinations which she can only avoid by absconding to some distant region, whence she is liable to be dragged back and imprisoned, or by gaining the good opinion and kind offices of the surgeon who examines her, or of a justice of the peace. And, if at all efficient, what an examination this is! No mere cursory glance of the eye, but the manual application of a tube which may, and, where the system is in full operation, most probably will be still warm from use in the body of some other victim.* The necessary rapidity with which large numbers of women are successively inspected where these Acts are in force renders highly probable the communication of infection from one to

* 'It consists in the forcible inspection of the interior of the female body by means of an instrument, in the presence of men in a room set apart and known for the purpose of such inspection, taking place with the knowledge of policemen and other hangers-on of a police-office.'—*Mr. T. Worth.*

another in the horrible process; and thus the very means taken to restrict the disease may be the fertile cause of its extension.

But still more alarming is the prospect held out by these Acts, of a lowering of the moral tone of society at large, in relation to incontinence. 'Nowhere,' says Dr. Guthrie, 'are domestic purity and female innocence less secure than in those cities and countries where this continental system is in full force. The subject is one to which my attention has been carefully and painfully turned, and I have found that seduction is nowhere so common as in those cities where the evil you seek to eradicate is made a matter of police regulations.' Professor Newman in his pamphlet justly lays much stress on this aspect of the question. It is, indeed, obvious that when the State undertakes to guard the health of prostitutes and to make vice more safe, it is felt to be virtually sanctioning the occupation of the women, and to be conniving at their prostitution. Short of prosecution and suppression, its only allowable attitude is entire abstention from noticing the existence of such depravity. Anything more favourable than this, involves promotion of the evil practice, and virtual implication in its guilt. The time will come—a happier day than ours—when the moral tone of society will be so much improved as not only to tolerate but imperatively to call for the suppression of vice by every available implement that the State can take into its hands. But with the Contagious Diseases Acts it takes a deeply retrograde step, and lends sanction and aid to that upon which it ought to fix its severest frown.

We should not find it possible within our limits, if it were desirable, to go over the whole ground requisite to be traversed in a thorough investigation of this question. The case is so well put by Mr. Simon that we are content to refer our readers to his argument; and where that fails to satisfy them, there will still remain Mr. F. W. Newman's very powerfully-written pamphlet. Our object in the present paper is chiefly to call the attention of our readers to the very important innovation that has recently been made, and especially to protest against it, on the grounds of its danger in lowering the moral tone of the community—of its cowardly baseness in thundering penalties against the most helpless sex whilst leaving the other untouched,—and of the monstrous power it places in the hands of any policeman, common informer, discarded suitor, or would-be oppressor of innocence, to intimidate and terrify, and gain his atrocious ends by threatening to inflict base and intolerable indignities even on the innocent and the pure. In fact, there is no lady in the land who, if

devoid of protectors well able to defend her, might not be dragged by this infamous law into the presence of a corrupt-minded surgeon, at the instance of any miscreant, and subjected to the horrors of periodical examination, and permanent loss of character. Our sisters, our wives, our mothers are not safe, except in as far as those who can put the Act in operation choose to let them remain so. We alluded early in our article to the excited tone of some of the denouncers of this legislation: but really, if we write much further, we ourselves shall be in danger of screaming. We will conclude at once, simply adding the expression of our confident opinion that the British public, when once informed of the real nature of the Contagious Diseases Acts, will cry out in thunder for their repeal.

UNDERGROUND LIFE.

1. *Underground Life; or, Mines and Miners.* By L. Simonin. Translated and adapted to the present state of British Mining, and edited by H. W. Bristow, F.R.S. London: Chapman & Hall. 1869.

2. *Mineral Statistics of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the year* 1868. With an Appendix by Robert Hunt, F.R.S. London: Longmans.

THE 'absolute total value of the metals and coal, with other minerals (not including slates, lime, building stones, or common clays), produced in 1868 was £43,525,524.' That is to say, for every working day of the year there is raised mineral produce to the value of about £140,000. This is the worth of the minerals at the place where they are raised. Nearly the whole of it has to be carried for shorter or longer distances by sea or by rail. The weight of these minerals is nearly 120,000,000 tons. From these figures we may form some idea of the immense importance which our mineral wealth is to us, of the prominent part which 'underground life' plays in the life of the nation. The mere money value of our minerals would give a very imperfect notion. If the United Kingdom were, like its antipodal colonies, a gold-producing country, a small yield would give a large value. But as the total quantity of gold quartz raised here was worth but £1,000, and even that of silver only £222,773, it is manifest that a large amount of labour must have been expended in raising the 43½ millions' worth of minerals mentioned above, and

that the distribution of them must have led to an extensive circulation of money. We have spoken of the United Kingdom. But that country contains only a small proportion of the mineral wealth of the whole world. It has been estimated that in our own country there are eighty thousand million tons of coal. The coal fields of Westphalia contain about half of this quantity. Russia possesses immense carboniferous deposits stretching from the White Sea to the Sea of Azof, and along the Ural, hitherto little worked, but whose value Peter the Great was shrewd enough to see, declaring 'these mines will make the fortunes of our children.' Belgium undoubtedly owes much of her prosperity to the coal fields which surround Liège. In France the department of Gard alone yields 1,200,000 tons a year, and is exceeded by those of the Loire and the Nord. The total yield of France is however only one-ninth of that of England, about 12,000,000 tons. We know as yet little of the products of Africa, but Abyssinia and Madagascar certainly contain coal. More than two-thirds of the whole area of China is occupied by coal-bearing strata. There is coal in Japan; unfortunately there is little that is of much use in India; but the precious fuel has been discovered in Western Australia. Greenland contains large stores of coal, but it lies under the ice, and would therefore be awkward to work. There is coal in Chili and in British North America. But the largest coal field in the world is in the United States. It covers an area eight times larger than all the rest put together. It is the great reserve for future ages. It affords the almost certain proof that henceforth as hitherto the 'course of empire' will still 'westward take its way.'

The rapidly increasing consumption of coal in this country has lately caused some anxiety both to our statists and our statesmen. Mr. Stanley Jevons affirmed that if we continued our present rate of increase we should exhaust our supply in about a century. Mr. Gladstone made this formidable contingency an argument for attempting to reduce the national debt. But that is no reason why the increase should continue. A large amount of the consumption is absolute waste. Englishmen consume three tons per head per annum, while France consumes less than half a ton. True, in France, wood is much used for fuel; but even taking that consideration into account, there is ample room for reduction in English consumption. There is really no reason why we need fear that we shall perish from cold, though it is quite possible that as our workings become deeper and therefore more costly to work, we may find it cheaper to import our coal from the United States. At present that country raises only 15,000,000 tons of the 170,000,000 raised throughout the world; only about one-seventh of the quantity raised by England alone. It may be said that to change the position of the two countries with regard to this all-important produce is to transfer the primacy of nations from ourselves to our quondam-colonists. This is undoubtedly true, and as certainly unavoidable unless some fresh source of heat, light, and power can be discovered. It is highly probable that this will be accomplished. It was when our ancestors were lamenting over the

destruction of our forests, and asking where they should find fuel to smelt their iron, that coal was found to possess the needful qualities. Necessity is the mother of invention, and in our strait we shall find some means of escape. Coal after all is petrified sunbeams; for it was the solar heat that fixed the carbon in the plants which formed the coal millions of years ago, and the heat absorbed in doing that work is now liberated to raise steam: or, as Robert Stephenson well said, 'locomotive engines are only the horses of the sun.' M. Simonin, or his translator (it is the only fault in their book that we can never tell which of the two is speaking), believes that we must aim to discover how to utilise and condense the vast heat of the sun which is now lost. We must learn to 'bottle sunbeams.' The most recent discoveries with regard to heat support that idea. 'The sun is the combustible of the future; and the torrid regions, which are now nearly desert, may perhaps some day witness a migration of civilised people in a mass in that direction, like the incursions of the barbarians into Europe in former times.'

The Romans knew nothing of the value of coal. Roman emperors cut their aqueducts through the carboniferous strata, but took no notice of that which, had its properties been known, might have saved the empire. The Chinese were better informed than the Romans. They used coal in the baking of their porcelain, and even collected the inflammable gases which exude spontaneously from coal, and used them for illumination. They sank a borer in the ground and conveyed the gas in pipes to the place where it was wanted. They worked their coal mines in a very primitive fashion. No care was taken to support the underground ways, or to provide a proper outlet for the water, or to avoid explosions of fire-damp. As M. Simonin well remarks in his splendid volume, 'the Chinese have remained in this primitive state in working their mines up to the present time, and it was scarcely worth while to begin so early if so little progress was made.' There are indications that coal was worked in Ancient Britain, for—not to quote other evidence—coal has been found in ancient workings in Derbyshire and among the ruins of the Roman Uriconium, the modern Wroxeter. In 1259, Henry III. granted a charter to the freemen of Newcastle by which they obtained liberty to 'dig for cole,' and subsequently we read of 'sea-cole' being carried to London. There were coal mines in Scotland and Wales before those countries were brought under English rule. In 1615, 4,000 vessels were employed in carrying coal to the continent and bringing back corn. In 1619, Dud Dudley obtained a patent from King James for using coal in the smelting of iron ore. After many failures, he succeeded, and established in South Staffordshire the use of coal in the manufacture of iron. 'From this period,' says Mr. Bristow, 'may be dated that activity in coal mining which has distinguished Great Britain beyond any other country.' Belgium began to work its coal mines about the same time as England. There is an interesting legend in connection with the first workings in the former country. A certain farrier of Plénevaux, Houillos by name, found it impossible to earn enough to keep his family from starvation. It was the

dearness of charcoal that troubled him. He was on the point of committing suicide, when a white-bearded man entered the shop. To him Houillos told his troubles. The old man was moved to tears, and said to the farrier, 'Go to the high burning mountain, dig up the ground, and you will find veins of a black earth suitable for the forge.' Houillos went to the spot, found the earth, placed it on the fire, and forged a horse-shoe at one heating. He did not keep his discovery to himself, but told all his neighbours. A grateful posterity has preserved his memory by giving his name to coal (in French *houille*), and he is still spoken of with gratitude by the miners of Liège.

In dealing with the forces of nature, we find constant action and reaction. A century ago the coal mines of Northumberland were flooded. They must be cleared of water before the coal could be raised. Up to that time nothing had been done to improve the old pump, and that was altogether insufficient. At the other extremity of England, not far from the Land's End, in the copper mines of the Breage and Wendron district, a 'fire engine,' invented by Captain Savery, was clearing away the intruding water. A little later, Newcomen, of Dartmouth, improved upon Savery's invention. His 'fire-pump' was applied to the Newcastle mines, and so water plus coal, that is steam, was made to raise water. A little later the same media were used for a further purpose. Water plus coal was made to raise coal. Then a further development took place. In order to transport more readily this heavy, bulky mineral, rails were used in coal and iron mines, and so water plus coal plus iron were made to raise iron. The combination of forces by no means ends here. Coal is used to smelt the ore which it has helped to raise. Swansea, a little while ago an almost unknown town, is now the copper-smelting centre of the world. South Wales produces 8,000,000 tons of coal annually; the Newcastle district thrice that amount, double the whole supply of France. Ireland contributes but a fractional proportion of our yield—only about 120,000 tons out of 100,000,000. How different would be the condition of that country if the figures were otherwise. Political discontent would not survive the discovery of a coal-field. As it is, a large portion of Ireland has, in lieu of coal, only peat. Both substances are the same element in different stages: both are carbon; but while the diamond stands first in the eight stages of that base, and coal of various sorts occupies the third, fourth, and fifth stages, peat holds the lowest place. Hence it is that, while there are wide tracts of Ireland uninhabited or tenanted by a race of paupers in a chronic state of discontent, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Wales are covered by towns of rapidly-increasing population, seamed by railways and canals, inhabited by thoroughly loyal, because contented and prosperous people.

Coal being thus a source of individual wealth and national contentment, its acquisition has always been eagerly sought. Large sums have been spent in searching for the precious mineral, often without result. A knowledge of geology is, of course, one of the most important aids to discovery. Sometimes even geology leads

astray. For instance, M. Simonin relates that the coal measures in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes having been suddenly deflected, instead of continuing in a straight line, years of fruitless effort were spent in following the missing stratum, and at last it was discovered only by accident. On the other hand, during a search for Artesian springs in the Pas-de-Calais, the borer unexpectedly revealed the presence of coal measures beneath the cretaceous strata.

'Scarcely was the news made known than everybody set to work, and the tool was no longer used to search for water, but for coal. So many borings were immediately made, over a length of about 20 leagues, and an average breadth of four, that the ground was pierced like a colander by a series of borings all accurately laid down on a plan drawn to a tolerably large scale, reminding one of the constellations of stars as they are figured on celestial charts. Success exceeded all hopes. The subterranean beds of watery ground (called *torrents*), which are so abundant in these districts, caused the most various obstacles to the miners; but they ultimately succeeded in overcoming all impediments. The mineral wealth of France became augmented by a hundred thousand acres of coal fields. Twenty-seven companies were formed to work the new concessions. Some forty pits have been sunk through, on an average from 109 to 164 yards of overlying ground, to depths varying from 197 to 328 yards, one pit, that of Ferfay, having its workings at the depth of 503 yards. In 15 years the produce of this basin has steadily increased from less than 5,000 tons in 1851 to 80,000 tons in 1854, while it attained upwards of 1,600,000 tons in 1866, a tenth of the entire produce of France. And all this originated in a search for water!'—('Underground Life,' p. 74.)

When the allies revised the frontiers of France in 1815, they thought it prudent to draw the line so as to exclude the rich coal basin of Saarbrück. They felt certain that if coal existed on the other side of the boundary, it would be at such a depth that it could not be worked. But the French inhabitants of the Moselle district were determined to defeat the kind intentions of their conquerors, and set to work with amazing energy in boring holes and sinking pits. The constant flooding of the works gave them a vast amount of trouble, and caused a more serious expense. When the original capital was exhausted without result, fresh funds were subscribed, and at length, at the opening of the French Chambers in 1858, Napoleon announced that these 43 years' efforts had been rewarded with success, and he proclaimed the discovery of the Moselle coal basin. The greatest depth to which boring has ever been carried is that commenced by Mr. E. Schneider, near Creuzot. It was carried down a distance of 3,020 feet, and then was stopped by an unprecedented accident. The borer broke, and although Herr Kind, the most celebrated boring engineer of the day, was called in, he found himself quite unable to extract the broken chisel. The work had, therefore, to be abandoned, to the intense regret of the neighbouring population. It is by no means certain that there is not coal under London; but, if it does exist there, it must be at a depth far below the 4,000 feet which Mr. Hull has fixed as the limit of profitable working. Hereafter, probably, means will be devised for reaching deep coal at a much smaller expense than is now necessary. When that time comes, it will be for Government to consider if it should not undertake the task of boring, which would

be far too costly for private persons to attempt. The preliminary expenses of opening a coal mine are very great. Frequently the sinking of the necessary shafts and the furnishing them with tackle costs £80,000. In one case, that of a coal mine in Durham, £100,000 was spent upon one shaft. If there seems no limit to the expense, so likewise is there none to the ingenuity displayed in mining. In the coal fields of the Lower Loire, it became necessary to sink through submerged sand, and to establish the shaft in the very bed of the river. To pump water out from such a soil as this was as hopeless a task as that laid upon the Cornish Giant Tregeagle, when he had to empty Dosmary Pool with a pierced limpet shell. M. Triger sank iron cylinders, excavated from them the sand and stones, divided the apparatus into three air-tight compartments, forced compressed air in the lower one, and enclosed the workmen in that, as in a diving-bell. The compressed air being carried against the bottom of the shaft, prevented the water from rising. 'Imagine an army of mice,' said M. Triger to M. Simonin, 'and a cat suddenly to make her appearance, you would have the picture of the water reaching the bottom of one shaft by a thousand holes in the ground if the pressure of the air is lowered, and returning suddenly to the sands as soon as the air recovers its tension.' The rubbish and running sands are removed in buckets. Trapdoors communicate from one stage to the other, and so an approach to an atmospheric equilibrium is maintained. Most of the workmen carry on their operations in the compressed atmosphere with as much ease as in the open air. Two classes of men are exceptions—those who have the drum of the ear very delicate, and those given to the use of strong drinks. Some workmen actually derive comfort from an air thus made rich in oxygen. The ability to whistle is lost in it, but the deaf recover their hearing for a time, and lamps burn in it with greater brilliance. This application of compressed air was used in building the Royal Albert Bridge, which spans the Tamar between Devon and Cornwall, and also in building the bridge across the Medway at Rochester, and that across the Rhine at Kehl.

A coal mine which has been worked for any considerable period is well worth visiting. In many of the continental mines it is usual to offer prayers before the miners descend; and even where this is not done, they cross themselves, and whisper an invocation to the Virgin, or to Saint Barbe, the great patron of miners. A stranger descending the shaft for the first time is apt to crouch down in the cage, fearing a collision. The miners, having learnt confidence by experience, often descend in a manner that seems utterly reckless. Arrived at the bottom, galleries are seen stretching out in all directions. Some are wide, long, and high, and form the principal streets of the mine. Others are low, narrow, tortuous, ill-ventilated, and in bad repair, suggesting the back alleys of a large city. This underground town is inhabited night and day, for the miners relieve each other in shifts of eight hours each. It is furrowed by railways, upon which trucks of coal are constantly running. Sometimes the roof is so low that the trucks have to be drawn or propelled by men. But

horses are largely used, and these, when they have once descended, rarely see the light again; nevertheless, they thrive and grow fat. The galleries are so numerous and intricate that it is absolutely necessary to have maps of them. These are obtained by means of the graphometer, the theodolite, and the chain. It is of the highest importance that the maps should be accurate. Sometimes a level is driven from several points at once, and should a trifling deviation be made from the proper line, there will be an imperfect junction. The miners are so fully aware of this fact, that they are always on the look-out to prevent what they would consider a serious calamity. They not only adhere faithfully to the orders that are given them, but before meeting they knock with the pick and hammer, and judge by the way in which the sound is transmitted through the solid ground between them, whether the two working places are in the right direction for meeting. Upon the accuracy of the surveyor depend important rights of property. If he blunders, one coalowner may seriously encroach upon the land of another, and so open the door to future litigation. The plan and its accompanying sections shew also the various levels, the dip of the seam, the chances of infiltration of water-courses, the amount of coal which ought to be left as a wall to separate old from new workings, and one property from another. The plan, in fact, is an exact copy of the mine, and reveals its condition as truly as though the eye could see at a glance all the different levels. It is for this reason that coalowners are often indisposed to show their plans to visitors.

The pitman's life is a battle with the four 'elements,' to retain our old schoolday phraseology.

'Fire menaces him in blasting, in the firing of the coal and in explosions of fire-damp; the air, by becoming rarefied, or mixed with mephitic or explosive vapours; the earth, in falls of roofs, &c.; the water, by inundations. The collier opposes to all these (often invisible) enemies, the calm stoicism, the approved courage, and the practical science which tend to make the brave and skilled miner. And the underground soldier is the more meritorious, in that he is encouraged neither by the certainty of advancement, nor by the hope of honourable recompense in this contest in which he risks his life at every moment. He has only the satisfaction of observing discipline, and of faithfully doing his duty.'—('Underground Life,' p. 146.)

The blasting of coal gives rise to many accidents, which, however, are often due proximately to the carelessness of the miners. Spontaneous combustion is more formidable, because less under control. It is produced by the heating of the small coal, from the decomposition of the iron pyrites which the coal contains in contact with moisture. When the small coal of certain seams is left in the mine it speedily undergoes this chemical decomposition. It is accompanied by a great development of heat. The coal soon ignites, and the fire, finding in the coal seam a natural aliment, spreads rapidly through the mine. In such cases dams of clay are built up to isolate the conflagration, which, being deprived of atmospheric air soon goes out. If the fire is only a slight one, the use of steam and of carbonic acid is sometimes adopted to extinguish it. The recently

invented *extincteur* is also successful in attaining the same result. But if the conflagration is serious, there is no alternative to the dams. Erecting these is one of the most trying tasks that the miner has to perform. He is compelled to remain in an impure air of very high temperature, and has to hold under the nostrils and over the mouth rag soaked in lime water or ammonia in order to neutralise the mephitic vapours, which otherwise would render him insensible. In some cases the fire will not yield to any exertions, and it is necessary to close up the mouth of the shaft. There is one mine in England where a fire is still raging after many years. A last resource is to flood the mine, and in one instance, near Charleroy, it was found necessary to turn the river Sambre into the raging underground furnace. There was formerly a coal mine on fire near Dudley. The effect was visible on the surface. The snow melted as soon as it touched the ground. The gardens yielded three crops a year, and a constant spring prevailed. In another district of Staffordshire a similar phenomenon was observed, and the inhabitants determined to establish a tropical garden on the spot. They imported colonial plants at a heavy expense, and for a time cultivated them successfully in the open-air conservatory. One day the fire went out, the soil resumed by degrees its natural temperature, and the plants died. But these underground fires are almost harmless when compared with fire-damp. This foe of the miners is vividly described by M. Simonin, and an accompanying illustration gives some idea of the fearful nature of the ruin which is wrought by it:—

'The moment the mixed gas comes in contact with the flame of a lamp a tremendous explosion takes place, resulting from the combination of the components of the fire-damp, hydrogen and carbon, with the oxygen of the air. The two former separate to combine with the oxygen, with which they have the greatest affinity. The double phenomenon only takes place at a high temperature; without flame it would not arise. The reaction produces an effect like the most brilliant lightning, and makes itself heard by a clap of thunder. The explosion spreads instantly into all the galleries of the mines, a roaring whirlwind of flaming air destroys everything it encounters, overthrowing trains and brattices and trap-doors, mounts into the shaft, and lifts from its foundation the staging which covers its mouth, through which it discharges thick clouds of coal, stone, and timber. The men are blinded, thrown down, scorched, and sometimes burnt to a cinder; often their clothes take fire, and not unfrequently they are buried beneath the ruins of the fallen roofs. When an attempt is made to fly to their assistance, there is not time to rescue them: there are only corpses left, which are scarcely recognisable. . . . The air doors are thrown down, the ventilation of the mine is reversed, the underground atmosphere is vitiated by the combustion of the fire-damp, and the stalls are filled with steam and carbonic acid. Sometimes the temperature rises so much that the coal is converted into coke at the sides of the galleries, and the commotion is so great that the dams have to withstand both fire and water, and the wallings raised to resist the thrust of the measures are themselves overthrown. Then to a scene of already indescribable desolation are added the horrors of inundation, falls of the ground and fire, when the explosion has already made only too many victims.'—('Underground Life,' p. 157.)

Before the invention of the safety-lamp, it used to be the custom in some continental mines to light the fire-damp every night, in order that it might not accumulate to a dangerous extent. To do

this was a perilous task, and many a time he who performed it never returned. He was called the *cannonier*, and if he fell a victim to the fire-damp, it was said that he had died at his post, and on the field of honour. In other mines he was called a penitent, on account of the resemblance of his dress to that of certain religious orders. Wrapped in a covering of wool or leather, the face protected by a mask, and the head enveloped in a hood like a monk's cowl, he crawled on the ground to keep himself in the layer of good air. In one hand he held a long stick, with a lighted candle fixed at the end of it, and he went alone lost in this poisonous maze, causing explosions by advancing his lamp, and thus decomposing the noxious gases. Returning he walked upright, for the fire-damp had, by combustion, been changed into carbonic acid, which, being heavier than the air, fell to the bottom. Davy's discovery led to the abolition of the 'penitent' or 'cannonier,' and to the saving of innumerable lives. Indeed it would have been impossible for our coal trade ever to have reached its present enormous dimensions but for this discovery, and its subsequent application in the invention of the safety lamp. The discovery arose in this wise. Davy was engaged on a series of researches on flame, and he noticed that small metal rings reduced the size and the illuminating power of flame. By reducing the size of the rings he found that the passage of the flame was entirely prevented, and that a gauge composed of very fine metal wire would not allow the flame to pass through. All the heat of the combustion is expended in raising the temperature of the metal, which is a good conductor of heat, and the flame does not retain heat enough to burn on the outside of the gauze. The explosive gas would pass through the wire gauze and be exploded at the flame within it; but the ignited gas could not pass back through the gauze, and hence could not communicate with or explode the gas on the outside. The many explosions which took place in coal mines about the year 1815, induced Davy to apply this discovery by the invention of his safety-lamp. George Stephenson made a similar invention almost simultaneously, and, indeed, claimed a priority over Davy. But at a meeting of coal-owners it was decided that the honour of the discovery belonged originally to the Cornishman. The two first Davy lamps used in a colliery are now preserved in the museum of practical geology, in London. Doubtless they are a trophy of more lives saved than the Belgian lion at Waterloo is of lives lost. Doubtless, too, most of the explosions which have taken place since this discovery are due to the recklessness of the miners who, rather than forego the pleasure of the pipe, will expose themselves and hundreds of their comrades to the risk of a terrible death. Only less useful, because less frequently used than the safety lamp, are the various apparatuses which have been devised for supplying miners with a store of fresh air. M. Rouquayrol's invention consists of a reservoir of sheet-iron, made strong enough to resist the pressure of from 25 to 40 atmospheres, and which is filled with compressed air forced into it by pumps. The reservoir is fastened on the miner's back, as

a soldier's knapsack, and a pipe passes from the reservoir into the mouth of the wearer. By a contrivance, consisting of a kind of bellows, the air is made to enter the lungs at only the ordinary pressure. The nostrils are closed by a spring. This invention will enable a man to breathe under water.

Fire and air are more dangerous and destructive than earth and water, because less easy to guard against, and less easy to combat when they have made an attack. When an explosion takes place there is small chance of saving the inmates of the mine; but when the ground gives way it is sometimes possible to dig through the ruins and extract the prisoners; or when a mine is flooded it is often possible to pump out the water sufficiently to rescue the men, who in the meanwhile have taken refuge in one of the higher levels. These deliverances are generally terribly exciting. They are a race with death. The prisoners can do nothing for themselves, but have to wait in silence, darkness, and hunger, the approach of their liberators. These work with super-human strength and energy; and M. Simonin mentions an instance in which a thickness of coal was dug through in 70 hours that under ordinary circumstances would have required a month. The same writer tells a series of the most stirring adventures which there is no space for us to repeat in full. In one instance miners who had been overtaken by a sudden inundation, and had taken refuge in an old working, were rescued alive after 13 days' imprisonment. The temperature, and the pressure and the composition of the air were favourable to life. Moreover they had the means of quenching their thirst. To assuage their hunger they first devoured their leather belts, and then ate the rotten wood of the strutts. Even the place of refuge to which they had fled seemed at one time likely to fail them. The water rose until it wetted their feet, but it then began to fall. Seeing it gradually subsiding a boy, who was one of the party, resolved to go in search of an outlet. Swimming or holding on by the walls, he groped his way along the level, but soon fell into a hole and laid hold of a rail. Exhausted and chilled with cold, he returned to his comrades, who lay close to him to warm him, and then covered him with small coal. In that position he was found.

Sitting by our snug fire-sides hearing the wind howling without, we sometimes cast a thought of compassion towards the storm-tossed mariner, who may at that very moment be gulfed in the raging waves, or dashed to pieces upon the cruel rocks of some iron-bound coast; but we seldom think of the poor collier who has supplied us with the means of warmth and light at the expense of his life. In the year 1866 no fewer than 651 deaths were caused from explosions of fire-damp in English coal pits. It was an exceptionally disastrous year. It was the year of the Oaks Colliery and the Talk-o'-th'-Hill Colliery catastrophes, both of which occurred in the same week, and the first of which had no fewer than 361 victims, the largest number ever known. Happily this high figure is much in excess of the average. This gives one death for every 68,484 tons raised. Some coal fields are much more subject to fire-damp than others. In the Midland field,

extending through Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, and Notts, the average is low; and it is to be hoped that the just discovered coal measures in the last-mentioned county may maintain the character of the district for comparative freedom from disasters. Scotland is much more fortunate in this respect than the greater part of England. In the eastern portion of the Northern Kingdom 190,625 tons are raised for every life lost; while in Yorkshire the proportion of deaths is just six times as large. In that terribly fatal year, 1866, there were 1,484 lives lost among the 320,663 coal miners in Great Britain. These miners were at work in 3,192 collieries, and they raised 101,630,544 tons of coal. Large as was the proportion of lives lost through explosions of fire-damp, they were much fewer than those sacrificed by falls of roof, the proportion being as 169 to 446. The two bear much the same relation to the death list that is occupied by cholera and fever. The one slays its thousands all at once, and the world stands aghast; the second slays its tens of thousands one by one, and the world takes no heed.

For encountering this double risk—the risk of wholesale slaughter and of isolated death—the miner ought to be well compensated. The wages vary greatly. In Somersetshire a pitman gets lower wages than an agricultural labourer in the North of England, only 15s. and six cwt. of coal a week. In South Wales 22s. to 25s. is the average; in Lancashire 24s. to 28s.; but then the pitman has to pay for his own hauling. In South Staffordshire the pay is 4s. 10½d. a day, with an allowance of two quarts of beer daily and a ton of coals monthly. The best hewers get as much as 12s. per ton in the Newcastle district. In the Forest of Dean and in many parts of Wales the payment is by the ton. These figures are liable to variation. At a depressed time like the present, when, in consequence of the dulness of trade and manufactures, less coal is consumed, the coal owners naturally wish to stimulate consumption by lowering their prices; but if they do that they must persuade the pitmen to take lower wages. This condition is the most fertile source of disagreement. The employed look upon the employer as their natural enemy, against whom they must be continually prepared to make war. Hence frequent disastrous strikes. A remedy for this most unsatisfactory state of things has been devised, and, so far, has worked with great success. Messrs. Briggs having £80,000 invested in collieries, and finding that, in consequence of incessant disputes with their men and the resulting strikes, they were earning only four per cent. on their capital, determined to close their works, and to transfer their money to a more remunerative investment. Before carrying out their intention, it was suggested by one of the younger members of the firm that, as a last resource, the men should be taken into partnership with their employers, and receive a definite share of the profits. The result was to raise these almost immediately to 17 per cent. It was found that the men ceased to haggle about wages, because they knew that if they did not get paid in one way they would in another; hence there were no more strikes. They also became diligent con-

servers of their master's property, the machinery, the timber, and the candles, because all these were their own property. It only remains to see how they would stand the strain of a loss instead of a profit in order to determine if this 'partnership of industry' is the solution of the great problem of labour *versus* capital which some persons declare it to be. One thing is certain, a loss is much less likely to occur where hundreds are interested in making a profit than where it is only the units who are interested, and the hundreds are indifferent. This being so, it is remarkable that the principle of co-operation has not been extended more widely. There is still a powerful motive for extension, since strikes are abundant and frequent. True, the principle of arbitration is spreading; but, as prevention is better than cure, it is wiser to remove the causes of dispute than to heal the dispute after it has arisen. Unfortunately France and Belgium, which used to be free from strikes, have lately witnessed several; and one in the former country last summer led to a serious collision between the miners and the soldiers, which was marked by a lamentable loss of life. In one respect the continental miners are superior to our own. M. Simonin declares that the French collier is seldom drunk. He has a great love for his house, and will, if possible, become the owner of it. The employers generally let the houses at rents yielding less than 5 per cent. interest; or, if the miner wishes to build for himself, they supply him with lime, stone, and timber at cost price. Attached to the house is a garden, in which, when not too weary, he loves to work. In Belgium, unfortunately, as in England, the public-houses are a curse to the collier. The American colliers have a peculiar fondness for their tools. The German colliers form a sort of caste with peculiar costume, dress and manners, as well as freemasonry traditions, and even superstitions. There is a Teutonic proverb, 'Proud as a miner.' The Spanish colliers almost live on cigarettes, yet are energetic and industrious. The Italians have to work in the poisonous Maremma. So fatal is the exhalation from the marshes in this district that an emigration of miners takes place every summer; and when the cold weather and the colliers return, it is generally found that a large amount of work has to be done in order to repair the ravages made by the subterranean floods during the interval.

We have written thus fully upon the coal mines, because it is these which are really the most important economically, and which in their working offer the greatest number of interesting incidents. We could do without gold, for we could devise some other medium of commercial circulation. We could do without diamonds, and the majority of us would not know that the world had sustained any loss if every diamond were reduced to carbonic acid by the blow-pipe. There is only one of the metals whose absence would cause a serious retrogression in civilization—iron. That metal makes all the difference between civilization and barbarism. Fortunately for England iron is usually found in close neighbourhood to coal, and so the metal which is so infinitely more precious to us than the 'precious metals' so-called, is accompanied by the mineral which is necessary

to work it. The total iron ore production in the United Kingdom in 1868, was 10,169,231 tons, valued at £3,196,600. More than one-third of the whole amount was, according to Mr. Hunt's mineral statistics, produced by Yorkshire; Scotland yielded, 1,250,000 tons; Staffordshire, only a little less; Lancashire, 767,625 tons; South Wales and Monmouthshire, nearly the same amount. It will, we think, surprise our readers, as it has certainly surprised us, to learn that Northumberland and Durham, in spite of their large iron shipbuilding rivers, yield far less iron (125,000 tons) than Lincolnshire, which is commonly supposed to be an essentially agricultural county, but which, nevertheless, yields 205,699 tons. Derbyshire and Northamptonshire were a long way a-head of both counties, and Cumberland yields nearly as much as all four put together, viz., 926,628 tons. Ireland also is far in the rear, and contributes but 41,469 tons, worth £10,492, too small an amount to increase materially the prosperity of the people. Iron requires, not only much labour to raise it, but much more to convert it into use. The hull alone of the Great Eastern required 10,000 tons of iron. Assuming that the ore yielded 50 per cent. of metal, this would involve the raising of 20,000 tons of ore, and from 40,000 to 50,000 tons of coal, the whole year's produce of a very rich iron and coal mine. England at present stands far in advance of other countries as to this produce.

The total yield of iron, cast iron and steel, throughout the world, was in 1865, 9,500,000 tons, of which our own country produced just over one-half, 4,900,000 tons. France and the United States followed next, but *longo intervallo*, with 1,200,000 each. Belgium and Prussia were next with 500,000 each; all other countries yielded less than half a million tons. The total amount reckoned at the mean price of £8 per ton would give a value of £76,000,000, while that of coal is nearly £89,500,000. The price of iron varies much more than that of coal, and therefore there is more room for speculation and therefore for larger fortunes, and also for heavier losses in the iron than in the coal trade. One of the most remarkable discoveries connected with the first was that the Cleveland hills were a mass of ironstone. It is discoveries like these which have led to the sudden springing up of large towns like Middlesborough and Barrow-in-Furness, both of which were, about thirty years ago, unknown villages. An invention of another sort, that of converting iron into steel in large masses by a cheap process, has brought the inventor, Mr. Bessemer, an enormous fortune which, so long as his patent lasts, yields him, it has been said, about the same income as the Marquis of Westminster's. During 1868 the number of works using Mr. Bessemer's process and paying a royalty to him was 17 in England, 7 in the United States, 10 in Austria, 12 in Sweden, and 8 in other countries, or 61 in all.

South America was, until lately, the chief source of our supply of the 'precious' metals. But the mines of Bolivia and Peru, as well as those of Mexico and Central America, have been in great part abandoned. The depth of the works, the influx of subterranean water, and constant civil wars have combined to bring about this

result. The mines of Potosi, in the first mentioned country, during the two centuries from the Spanish conquest to the emancipation, yielded to Spain silver to the value of £240,000,000. Just as the silver mines seemed to be exhausted the discoveries of gold in California took place. These were followed by others in Australia, and later still in New Zealand. The gold deposits of Australia may be said to have been discovered by a man who never saw them, who has always lived at their antipodes. It is one of the triumphs of science that Sir Roderick Murchison, reasoning from the nature of the rocks which he was told were in Australia, and finding that they were precisely similar to the auriferous rocks of the Ural Mountains which he had just visited, announced confidently that there was gold in our great colony, and so soon as search was made it confirmed his bold statement. In New Zealand the discoveries have been more recent, and quite lately some 240 companies have been started to work the gold fields. All have done well. In some instances £10 shares have, in the course of a few months, become worth £15,000, and among the lucky speculators is the Duke of Edinburgh, who has made £200,000. This great influx of gold seriously alarmed our financiers and political economists. It seemed as if the standard of our gold currency must be considerably altered. The money market was embarassed by its riches. A cure soon offered. At the close of 1859 there came word of a great discovery of silver in the State of Nevada, which is separated from California by the snowy chain of the Sierra. A French engineer was sent to report upon the discovery. He confirmed all that had been reported, and at the present time the silver mines are producing metal to nearly twice the value of that raised in the gold fields. About 16,000,000 dollars are raised annually from the Comstock lode, which is among the richest and most productive metalliferous deposits ever encountered in the history of mining enterprise. In fact, the yield from this one vein was very nearly one-fourth of the produce of all the silver mines in the world. The mines of the Pacific slope of the United States yield annually 100,000,000 dollars of the precious metals, or more than four times as much as the total produce of the world less than 30 years ago. When it is remembered that the United States contain also immense stores of coal and iron, that in Minnesota forty men were, in 1854, engaged for a whole year in cutting up a single mass of native copper weighing 500 tons, that zinc, nickel, and lead are also found in the States, it is clear that that country must hereafter take the lead of all other nations. Our patriotism may make us slow to believe this, and yet if we doubt it we have only to examine the condition of our own metalliferous mines. A visit to Cornwall at the present time will convince us that the ancient glory of that famous district has departed. Mine after mine has been closed. A large number of the most skilful miners have emigrated to North and South America, or to Australia. In the old country the metals have to be raised at a heavy cost from great depths; in the new they are on the surface, or but a little way below it. The tin of the Dutch settlements in

Asia is driving our own tin out of our own markets; the copper of Chili is in like manner competing with the copper of Cornwall. Thus does Providence draw men from the districts which are overcrowded to the wastes which have to be peopled, for in the eyes of the Divine ruler of the earth the whole world is but one country, its inhabitants but one race. We, if we are wise, shall assent with cheerfulness to this arrangement, and not suffer any narrow local prejudice to obscure the wisdom of the plan which, though it may diminish the prestige of England, increases the happiness of mankind.

It is worthy of note how often discoveries which are of lasting benefit to the race bring only disaster to the individual. Godoy, the discoverer in 1831 of the richest vein of silver in Chili, was a hunter among the Andes. One day, while resting, he remarked the singular colour and brightness of an overhanging rock. He found that he could cut it like cheese, and, taking it to the mineralogists of Copiapo, they declared it to be chloride of silver. By the Spanish law the discoverer of a mine becomes its owner, and Godoy entered into partnership with an experienced man for working the new-found treasure. It proved most productive, but Godoy, being of a roving disposition, determined to seek new mines, sold his share for £2,800, started in his search, and, after having squandered his money in dissipation, died penniless. Marshall, a Mormon labourer, was one day early in 1848 digging a race for a saw mill in California, when he found some pieces of yellow metal which he believed to be gold. He entrusted it to a friend, who, on showing it to an expert at San Francisco, at once confirmed the supposition, and the expert returned with the messenger to the place where the metal was found, and in a few months thousands of persons were pouring into the gold field, so that in three years the population of California rose from 15,000 to 100,000. Though millions sterling were raised, Marshall in 1859 was quite forgotten, and was poorer than before. This rule of *sic vos non vobis* has its exceptions. The shepherd who, while lighting a fire in Peru, was struck by a shining stone, and, taking it to Lima, found it to be silver, and so led to the discovery of the most famous mines in Peru, became a millionaire. The poor Irishmen who some fourteen years ago discovered one of the richest gold mines in Nevada, amassed princely fortunes, built splendid mansions, but retained their original simplicity. Sometimes both good and evil fortune are experienced. The Brothers Bolados who discovered an enormous block of silver ore in a crevice opened by some earthquake, made £140,000 in two years, squandered it in dissipation, and when it was gone learnt too late that their mine was exhausted.

We have not space to speak of other metals, nor of gems. Much interesting information respecting them is given in M. Simonin's work. For that book we must say a word of commendation. It is a magnificent volume, a real *livre de luxe*. The manner in which the tints of the most variegated metals are represented in the coloured engravings is really marvellous. Altogether the volume would be a most valuable addition both to the shelves of the library and to the drawing-room table.

STATISTICAL DATA FOR SOCIAL REFORMERS.

1. Prohibitory Parishes in the Province of Canterbury.

Many of the readers of *Meliora* have read the admirable Report of the Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury upon the Causes, Extent, and Remedies of Intemperance. One large edition of that invaluable document has already been disposed of, and another is in course of preparation. One of the most interesting features of that volume is a list of parishes, townships, and chapelries in the Province of Canterbury, where no sale of intoxicating liquors, whether ardent spirits, wine, or beer, is licensed. Referring to this social phenomenon the committee say (and these weighty words are the last of their Report), 'Few, it may be believed, are cognizant of the fact—which has been elicited by the present inquiry—that there are at this time, within the Province of Canterbury, upwards of 1,000 parishes in which there is neither public-house nor beershop; and where, in consequence of the absence of these inducements to crime and pauperism, according to the evidence before the committee, the intelligence, morality, and comfort of the people, are such as the friends of temperance would have anticipated.' The number of these places is underrated by the committee; and if any one is in doubt concerning the effects described, let him turn to the appendix of the Report, where under the letters J. J. they will find twenty-nine pages filled with testimonies from local observers upon 'the good effects of having no public-house or beershop.' The list of these favoured parishes follows this long line of evidence, and occupies another eleven pages. We are now in the position, by favour of the editor of *Graham's Temperance Guide* for 1870, to present a classified summary of places, according to counties, with a statement of the proportion of the population in each county thus shielded from many forms of evil to which their neighbours are still exposed.

The Ecclesiastical Province of Canterbury comprised in 1861 a population of 14,071,164, residing in 33 English counties, the Principality of Wales 12 counties, and the Channel Islands.

Name of County.	Population in 1861.	No. of Places reported without a drink-shop.	Population of Places without a drink-shop.	Places reported but population not known.
Bedfordshire	135,287	11	1,240	—
Berkshire	176,256	11	1,769	1
Buckinghamshire	167,993	35	4,540	2
Cambridgeshire	176,016	8	1,172	—
Cornwall	369,390	25	4,471	1
Derbyshire	339,327	19	4,256	—
Devonshire	584,373	22	5,101	—
Dorsetshire	188,789	107	18,073	4
Essex	405,851	35	5,034	1
Gloucestershire	485,770	84	14,053	6
Hampshire	481,815	8	1,867	—
Herefordshire	123,712	96	16,418	3
Hertfordshire	173,280	2	170	—
Huntingdonshire	64,250	8	861	—
Kent	733,887	37	3,533	2
Leicestershire	237,412	79	10,150	3
Lincolnshire	412,246	113	19,156	—
Middlesex	2,206,485	—	—	—
Monmouthshire	104,633	27	3,096	—
Norfolk	434,798	127	16,663	5
Northamptonshire	227,704	57	5,165	2
Nottinghamshire	293,867	52	7,451	1
Oxfordshire	170,944	8	1,380	—
Rutlandshire	21,861	14	1,368	3
Shropshire	240,959	61	9,777	2
Somersetshire	444,873	14	2,724	1
Staffordshire	746,943	23	2,341	—

Name of County.	Population in 1861.	No. of Places reported without a drink-shop.	Population of Places without a drink-shop.	Places reported populati not kno
Suffolk	337,070	6	1,178	—
Surrey	831,093	7	1,086	—
Sussex	363,736	13	1,812	—
Warwickshire	561,855	41	7,180	5
Wiltshire	249,311	54	8,595	5
Worcestershire ...	307,397	39	6,417	—
	WALES.			
Anglesea	54,609	31	7,197	—
Breconshire ...	61,627	3	459	—
Cardiganshire ...	72,245	15	5,222	—
Carmarthenshire ...	111,796	2	584	—
Carnarvonshire ...	95,694	15	4,238	—
Denbighshire ...	100,778	9	107	8
Flintshire	69,737	7	—	—
Glamorganshire ...	317,752	16	1,854	1
Merionethshire ...	38,963	15	4,511	—
Montgomeryshire ...	66,919	7	2,143	2
Pembrokeshire ...	96,278	40	6,946	1
Radnorshire ...	25,382	—	—	—
	13,979,962			
Part of Chester (St. David's Diocese) ...	224	—	—	—
Channel Islands ...	90,978	—	—	—
Population of Province of Canterbury	14,971,164	1,397	222,258	70

Some curious inferences are deducible from this return. For one thin appears that in the Province of Canterbury one in every sixty-seven persons l in a prohibitory district; and if the counties not blest by a prohibitory dist are excluded from the calculation, the proportion will be one in every fifty-se persons; and if, further, the whole metropolitan district is excluded, the popula will be one in every fifty-three. The Province of York though smaller in a and population than that of Canterbury, would probably show still more stril results: and we trust that, officially or unofficially, the inquiry will soon be car ont and the facts published to the world.

II. CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, IN THE YEARS 1865–6–7–8.

A recent Parliamentary return, moved for by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, M.P., enable to see at a glance the consumption of each kind of ardent spirit in each of three countries making up the United Kingdom during the four years end December, 1868.

The British spirits (gin and whisky) may be taken first:—

	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
England, gallons	11,238,105	11,717,111	11,323,713	11,327,223
Scotland „	5,198,607	5,463,465	4,983,009	4,901,710
Ireland „	4,374,443	5,036,814	4,892,654	4,773,710
U. Kingdom, galls.....	20,811,155	22,217,390	21,199,376	21,002,643

The Colonial spirits (rum) follow next:—

	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
England, gallons	3,414,782	3,777,404	3,861,291	3,486,731
Scotland „	203,073	252,259	345,152	359,713
Ireland „	80,483	97,457	106,379	103,640
U. Kingdom, galls.....	3,698,338	4,127,120	4,312,822	3,950,084

The Foreign spirits (brandy, Geneva, &c.), bring up the rear:—

	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
England, gallons	2,645,304	3,104,392	3,300,105	3,643,836
Scotland „	219,437	337,420	475,257	551,160
Ireland „	169,627	228,538	249,015	253,737
U. Kingdom, galls.....	3,034,368	3,670,350	4,024,377	4,448,733

Adding the whole spirit tribe together, the result is this:—

	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
England, gallons	17,293,191	18,598,907	18,485,109	18,457,790
Scotland „	5,621,117	6,053,144	5,803,418	5,812,583
Ireland „	4,624,553	5,362,809	5,248,048	5,131,087
U. Kingdom, galls.....	27,543,861	30,014,860	29,536,575	29,401,460

It thus appears that comparing the totals of the four years, the unenviable supremacy was borne off by 1866, but that 1868, while less than both 1866 and 1867, witnessed an excess over 1865 of 1,857,599 gallons, to which the various countries contributed—England, 1,159,599 gallons; Scotland, 191,466; and Ireland, 506,534. The principal increase (1,414,365 gallons) has been in foreign spirits, the use of which, under the French treaty has risen very considerably; and as the purchasers of brandy are not usually the very poor, the well-to-do classes have not much to boast of, in these figures, in evidence of that growing sobriety among the higher classes, concerning which so much is affirmed and so little proved.

III. The Cost of Intoxicating Liquors in 1868.

The 'Companion' to the 'British Almanack for 1870' contains a paper by Dr. S. Smiles, under the title of 'Self-imposed Taxation—National Expenditure on Drink and Tobacco.' Dr. Smiles enters into a careful consideration of the expenditure in intoxicating liquors in 1868; and, as ignorant opponents of temperance are fond of railing at statistics, 'cooked,' as they say, by temperance writers, it will be well to compare Dr. Smiles's conclusions with those already published in 'Meliora,' and other organs of temperance and social reform.

	'Meliora' Estimate.	Dr. Smiles's Estimate.
Ardent spirits	£30,253,605	£30,568,232
Wine	11,363,805	12,987,927
Beer	59,768,870	43,749,556
British wines, cider, perry, &c.	1,500,000	1,500,000
	£102,886,280	£88,805,715

So that the difference between the two computations is only fourteen millions sterling. An examination of the causes of this difference will not only show how it arises, but will make it evident that the higher result is a nearer approximation than Dr. Smiles's total to the actual drink expenditure of the British nation in 1868. In regard to both spirits and wine, Dr. Smiles's sums are in excess of those presented in 'Meliora,' in the aggregate proportion of £43,556,159 to £41,617,410. On the contrary, in regard to beer, the 'Meliora' estimate is greatly above that of Dr. Smiles. There is no authentic measurement of the amount of beer licensed and consumed within the United Kingdom; and Dr. Smiles, in grounding his calculation on the malt used for home consumption, takes 3½ barrels as produced from each quarter of malt. The Excise computation, however, gives one barrel to two bushels, or four barrels to every quarter; and hence arises the difference in the quantity of beer brewed, which Dr. Smiles places at 749,983,824 gallons, and 'Meliora' at 896,533,056 gallons, or 24,903,696 barrels. Again, Dr. Smiles supposes each gallon to cost the revenue 1s. 2d. = 42s. a barrel, whereas we have estimated it to bring the retailer 48s.; and that this estimate is not excessive will appear if it be remembered that the retailer pays for each barrel 36s., and that according to the testimony of witnesses before the Public-house Select Committee of 1853-4 a profit of 35 per cent. is obtained, in some way or other, by the vendor. Dr. Smiles, indeed, freely admits that a much higher sum is derived from this source, for, he observes, 'if

the dilution and adulteration of the beer as sold over the counter and in the beer-houses be taken into account, and it is considered that by far the largest proportion is sold to the working classes at 4d. and 6d. a quart, it will probably be admitted that this estimate is very considerably within the probable actual expenditure.' We conclude, therefore, that our own estimate for 1868 is very moderate, and that if it err at all it does so by underrating the money lavished by the British people on intoxicating drinks—a sum equal to £3. 6s. 8d. for each person in the United Kingdom, or £16. 13s. 6d. for every family of five persons. Taking into account the number of persons and families who are abstainers, the average for persons and families who use alcoholic liquors will reach a still higher amount, showing that on the drink, which produces no sensible good but much terrible evil, as much money is annually expended by the people of this country as would go far towards lodging and clothing them the whole year round.

THE STOKER'S REVENGE.

'Do say you love me, Maggie.'

'Love you, Arthur! how much?'

'What a tease you can be, Maggie!'

'So you want me to say I love you, eh, Arthur? Well, then, of course I do; I'm not a heathen, and its the duty, you know, of every Christian man and woman to love their neighbour, so I love you, Arthur. How much, you would say? Well, you see that saucy little bird on the twig there, with its smart red waistcoat and pert black eye; I love you, Arthur, just as much as, and understand me, no more than, *perhaps*,' *sotto voce*, 'that little bird. Isn't he a pretty little fellow?'

And her sweet, joyous laugh rang out, half vexing, half charming her admirer.

So they walked on through the pleasant wood, bare, as yet, with the ravages of winter. A few brown, dry leaves still clung on the trees like the rags of a once magnificent royal robe hanging from the shoulders of a deposed and exiled king; and here and there, where the spring sunshine had coaxed the young buds forth to meet him, the lamb's tails, as the children call them, hung thickly on every bough, looking as if not only little Bo Peep's flock, but thousands of little lambs besides, had run home and *left* instead of *bringing* their tails behind them. Beside the path on which they trod murmured and roared the never-ceasing river—here breaking over stones with indignant haste and fury, there quietly gliding on its smooth course to the sea—here sparkling and foaming in the sunshine, there green and cold in deep, deep pools, strangely typical of the two young hearts that wandered on so carelessly beside it. Amongst the grass the starry primroses peeped forth, with fair, sweet faces, to look at them; the bluebells and orchids showed their long green leaves amongst the copse-wood; and over head the birds twittered, and whistled, and warbled with the gay joyousness of early spring.

Maggie Symons was the prettiest girl in Meryton. She had lived a petted, healthy, happy country life up to this, her twentieth summer. She was the only daughter of a small farmer, whose fields skirted the woods and river, brought up amongst plenty and comfort without a care—the idol of her indulgent father and group of brothers, and the pride even of the mother who found fault with every other member of the house for spoiling her, and insisted on her working diligently towards her maintenance.

Her rich profusion of black and glossy hair, her bright colour, her merry brown eyes, her gay smile, her regular features and finely rounded figure, and her saucy demeanour brought her hosts of admirers, and she sported amongst them like a chased butterfly amongst its pursuers, now giving hope to one, now to another, and then to a third, and at last flying entirely away from them all to give occupation and excitement to a new group somewhere else. She toyed with men's hearts quite carelessly, not from malice, but from the feminine love of power which some women calculate upon possessing for only a limited time, and accordingly make the most of while youth and beauty last, and partly, too, because her own heart was still untouched, and an unbounded love of fun made her enjoy to tease the 'poor doting creatures.'

'Maggie,' said Arthur, after a silence on his part which had lasted some minutes, while his companion had been singing 'My love she's but a lassie yet,' 'Maggie, do you care about anybody at all?'

'Don't I,' said Maggie provokingly, pouting her rosy lips; 'anybody at all! I should think so; why, if you could have seen me and Luke Weston here in this wood last week by moonlight, you might have thought I liked somebody then.'

'Luke Weston!' exclaimed Arthur Coles, drawing himself up to his full height, and growing pale with passion, 'how *dare* he? let me know that he comes here again with you in that style, and by heaven I'll have my revenge.'

Maggie was almost frightened. 'Nonsense, Arthur, I'm not bound to you, and you've no right to order me or Luke to obey you,' she said seriously; and then, laughing again, 'I'll keep my freedom a long time yet, Arthur; you mustn't expect to have me pledge myself to anybody for half-a-dozen years at least; twenty-six! that's the age my mother was married at, and she says its plenty young enough to tie yourself to the best of men, and none of you boys can come up to father.'

'Did you come here alone with Luke by moonlight?' asked Arthur in a hollow voice. He did not appear to have heard what she had been last saying.

'Come, come, Mr. Arthur Coles, you've no business to ask me questions in that fashion, and what is more to the purpose, a jealous man would never suit me; if you can't keep your temper, Arthur, we'll say good-bye at once.' She turned with a mocking curtsey, and ran off towards her home, but she was no match for the fleet footsteps of Arthur Coles; he was presently by her side again.

'Oh! Maggie, I can't *play* about it; tell me you love me; give me a right to take care of you; promise to be my wife.'

He held her hands in his, and gazed into her eyes; his voice trembled, his lips quivered, and his face was very white.

'Don't you remember the little bird, Arthur? I love you and I love Mr. Redbreast, won't that suit you?'

Maggie laughed again, but her laugh was somewhat constrained. Arthur's appearance moved her, as it must have moved any woman.

'I see how it is, Luke has made you care more for him than you do for me.'

'You are silly, Arthur.'

'Can you deny it, Maggie?'

'I don't *choose* to give *you* an account of my actions and thoughts.'

The girl arched her neck and curled her lip.

'Then you wish me never to come near you again, Maggie?'

Arthur's voice was half choked with sorrow and passion.

'Nonsense, Arthur, I don't want to lose my friends; at the farm they all think you're a favourite with me, but you frighten me when you talk of marrying.'

Arthur heaved a deep sigh. 'Bless you for those kind words, Maggie.' I felt almost mad just now, with Luke and with myself too. May I go home with you.'

'Yes,' she said, half slyly, 'if you want to.'

Arthur, still holding her hands, bent low over her face, and kissed her sweet lips; she tossed her head back from him, a rich warm blush mantled her face and neck, and she gave him a reproving tap on his shoulder, and then without another word he drew her arm within his, and at a quick pace they returned to the farm.

Arthur Coles and Luke Weston were stoker and engine driver on the same line. They were not always together, but generally both went on the engine of the night express to London, which leaving Meryton at 11 p.m., reached the metropolis about seven on the following morning.

But though both the young men were suitors for the hand of Maggie, they were extremely opposite in their characteristics; Luke was singularly gentle, affectionate, and trustful; Arthur, as we have seen, passionate, jealous, and suspicious. Every advantage that he imagined Luke to have gained over the heart of Maggie was the occasion of an outburst of angry feeling either to the girl he loved, or the more successful rival. These outbursts Maggie laughed at or pretended to grow offended. Luke bore them with kindness and patience. And still Maggie tantalised them both, and held in her hand, as it appeared, the fate of three or four more with equal *nonchalance*. Her conduct cannot be defended. In the lighthearted happiness of her life she did not dream of the real

misery she was thus creating; it was such fun to reign as a queen over Arthur to-day, Luke to-morrow, and Bob and Harry and Dick the days following, to see the rough, rude fellows trying to be as attentive to her least wish as the greatest gentleman born. And who knew if, after all, the old gipsy words would not prove true, and her husband be a rich lord with his coach and six, and golden guineas in a golden purse, and not one of these poor, half-educated fellows after all?

* * * * * *

Through the darkness of a moonless night at the end of March, in blinding rain and howling, blustering wind, the night express from Meryton to London dashed along. The gleam of the fire flashed up into the darkness amongst the thick smoke, and the red lights of the engine glared like the eyes of some wild beast amidst the storm.

Before setting out on his journey that terrible night Arthur Coles had entered the 'Dragon' public-house in Meryton, called for a dram, and swallowed it eagerly.

'We shall have a rough journey to-night, landlord.'

'Yes,' said the besotted old man to whom he spoke, 'that you will, Coles; I don't envy engine drivers and stokers, poor devils, such a night as this.'

'That's a pretty name to call your customers by,' said Coles, in an irritated tone.

'No offence, Mr. Coles, no offence, it's only my way; why 'twould be a chance if I met an angel, but what I'd call him devil before I'd done with him.'

'Devils are more in your line, are they?' remarked Arthur ironically. 'What do you call Luke Weston, for instance, is he angel or devil?'

The old man grinned. 'Young men are apt to be jealous of each other when pretty girls are in the way.'

'Fool!' muttered Arthur, 'who said I was jealous or had any reason to be jealous of Luke Weston? What girl that had any spirit would prefer a poor, cringing, meek fellow like that to a man who was head over ears in love with her, and not afraid to tell her so.'

'Oh! it's come to that, is it, Mr. Coles?'

'Come to what, landlord?'

'Why a *bonâ fide* match.'

'I never said so, and I'd thank you to hold your tongue on that and every other matter concerning me. Here fill me this flask, best brandy mind; I shall have need for it to-night.'

'You will truly; if ever a man wanted the good stuff to keep his soul within him, 'tis to-night.'

'Luke doesn't give you the favour of his custom, landlord?'

'I don't believe he favours anybody; he's a mean, careful fellow, and latterly he's been more stingy than ever.'

'Saving, eh?' asked Arthur.

'Yes, saving for housekeeping,' chuckled the landlord, 'but you'll stop that business I reckon, Mr. Coles.'

'Did you ever see the girl with him?' demanded Arthur, talking more freely now that the dram was coursing through his veins.

'Come into the parlour, Mr. Coles, it's comfortable in there, and no one in yet, it wants nearly two hours to your train, and we'll have a snug glass and a little confidential talk; no harm meant to any party, you understand?' The old man winked one of his small eyes.

'I don't mind if I do,' said Arthur, 'I want to get warm before I leave, and the station's a cold place to wait about, and I don't mind telling you that Luke and I will have hours enough to spend together to-night, without talking beforehand.'

'Missis,' called the landlord to his wife, 'bring us some hot water and sugar and a lemon, will ye? Sit down by the fire, Mr. Coles; throw on some wood, missis, and make it cheery.'

The pleasant fire crackled and burned brightly, and Arthur sat very close to it, his feet on the fender, and his arms folded, and over his face a dark cloud hovering. 'Now, then, landlord,' he said, when the door was shut, and the old man was busy at the manufacture of the grog, 'now, then, tell me what you have seen.'

'Girls will be girls,' said the old landlord philosophically, tasting the grog to ascertain its sweetness, 'and Maggie Symons, bless her pretty face, hasn't a mind to shut herself up in a corner.'

'That's nothing here nor there,' cried Arthur, impatiently kicking his foot against the fender, and thereby upsetting the fire-irons with a loud noise, 'tell me, landlord, have you ever seen Luke and Maggie alone together?'

'More than once,' replied the old man slowly, as if to add a sting to this intelligence, 'more than once, they've

walked up into the wood together of an evening, taking a bit of an airing, you know, when its been moonlight; the old farmer is partial to Luke, 'cause of his canting ways, and they trust Maggie with him, and no mistake.'

'You're sure of this?' exclaimed Arthur, springing to his feet, and going close to the landlord, 'answer me, man, turn round, look me in the face, and answer me.' A fierce grasp was on the landlord's shoulder, and he turned obediently.

'I'm telling the truth, Arthur Coles, and what harm is there in it? Next moon maybe she'll go with you.'

'I swear,' said Arthur solemnly, 'that Maggie Symons shall NEVER enter that wood again with Luke Weston. Curse him, he has taught her to make a fool of me.'

'Come now, come now, you are going too far, take a glass of my grog, Mr. Coles, and you'll feel better, there's more than one pretty girl in the world, isn't there?'

Arthur sat moodily by the fire, and did not speak. The old man put a chair between them to rest their glasses on, handed him a tumbler of the steaming beverage, and sat down on the opposite side of the fireplace. The wind whistled down the chimney, puffing the smoke every now and then into their faces, and a scowl rested on Arthur's brow, growing more settled and intense every moment, for the devils, drink, jealousy, anger, and revenge were holding their black carnival in his heart.

'Do you smoke, Mr. Coles?'

Arthur started. His mind was far away on the engine half-way to London, just at the long run between the towns of Atherley and Greystone; he came back with an effort to the 'Dragon' bar parlour, 'No, landlord, it makes me ill.'

'You don't object to a pipe for me, perhaps,' said the old man, to whom this *tête-à-tête* with the stoker was not the jolly affair, spiced, perhaps, with a little anger, that he had expected it to be.

'No, do as you like,' answered Arthur, coolly emptying the tumbler of grog, 'only pour me out another glass,' and then he relapsed again into moody silence.

'How long does it take you to walk to the station, Mr. Coles?' said the landlord after ten minutes, when the only noises had been the occasional clinking of the glasses and the puffing he made from his own pipe.

'A quarter of an hour, landlord. What is the time?'

'Just past ten.'

'Then I'd better be off. Good night. Stop; where's the flask? How much do I owe you? A pint of brandy fills it, doesn't it? What have I had? One dram, three glasses of grog, and a room to sit and think in. I've not been good company, old fellow; maybe I'd do better next time. Give me the change.'

He threw half-a-sovereign on the table, pocketed the brandy flask, picked up the silver, and with another 'Good night, landlord,' left the house. He walked through the storm at a furious pace to the station, and was there in good time, and in less than an hour afterwards was whirled along the line towards the metropolis. He had hardly spoken to Luke, and then in a snappish, ungracious manner; but the latter appeared absorbed in some pleasant thoughts, for Arthur noticed by the glare of the engine fire that he smiled to himself and whistled gaily amidst the storm. A slight circumstance added to the stoker's fury. Once as Luke drew near the fire behind the screen to warm his benumbed hands, Arthur observed that he wore a pair of scarlet thick cuffs around his wrists. They seemed to show a woman's thoughtfulness for his comfort, and the young man remarked bitterly, 'You take precious good care of yourself, Luke Weston.'

'Rather; I've people kind enough to take good care of me, Arthur.'

'That's it, is it? I thought so. Maybe you like a confounded little flirt to work for you, who'd make a pair of scarlet cuffs for the devil himself if he coaxed and kissed and asked her for them.'

'Arthur,' said Luke, kindly, 'I'm not speaking of Maggie. It was old Mrs. Symons, Maggie's grandmother, who gave them to me. She's a kind old lady, as you know, and would have made you a pair with just as much pleasure. Don't let us quarrel, man. The wind and rain are enough to be at war with to-night. I can hardly see a few yards before me for the biting hail-showers.'

Arthur did not speak aloud, but he muttered a curse against Luke as the latter went back to his post.

On and on! How little the first-class passengers, sheltered and warm, thought of the sufferings of the engine driver and stoker that night, not so bad either

for Arthur as for Luke, for he was constantly by the warm fire. On and on! flying past the little stations in the country, where sleepy station masters hoisted the signal of safety. On and on! only pausing to take breath at the larger towns and cities. And now Atherley was reached, and as they waited here for ten minutes, the two men got off the engine and walked about a little. Luke had a cup of hot coffee, and Arthur took a long draught from his little flask, and the fiery liquid rushed into his brain, filling him with the excitement that he desired to feel. The passengers bustled about getting refreshments and hurrying again into their snug carriages. Gentlemen curled themselves up in their rugs, wrapped the few ladies who travelled at night comfortably in their warm shawls, and brought them tea and coffee, or a few drops of brandy to keep out the cold. The fresh arrivals took their places; the few who alighted at their journey's end made their way speedily with their luggage to the cabs outside; the engine screamed its note of warning, the guard whistled, and on went the train again. This was at two a.m., and there was no stopping again for an hour and forty minutes, and then they would reach Greystone. Arthur hugged himself in an ecstasy of mad delight, and muttered, 'Now I've got you, old fellow, and I'll have my revenge.' He waited like a tiger in his lair, sipping at the flask till Luke came once more to warm himself. 'Tis good to get near fire such a night as this and no mistake,' he said good temperedly, glancing up at Arthur from his stooping position over the fire. The stoker's face was full of terrible passion, the big veins on his forehead were swollen, his brow knit, his lips compressed, his teeth set, and his eyes glared under their shaggy eyebrows. The animal nature had asserted its empire, the Godlike seemed banished utterly.

'What's the matter, Arthur, are you ill?'

Luke could not understand that dreadful face.

'Ill? why should I be ill? what odds is it to me if Maggie Symons is a little fool, and chooses to throw herself away upon a pale, spiritless coward, who cares nothing about her, more than to get what other men want.'

Luke coloured to the roots of his hair. Hot, indignant words came from his lips, but he understood and pitied Arthur, and he struggled to conquer himself.

'Hush, Arthur, don't let's quarrel to-night, the people in the train won't thank us if we do. Maggie's a bright, beautiful girl, you know it and I know it, but I'm afraid she'll not make up her mind to have either of us just yet; so we needn't quarrel till she refuses you or me.'

'Don't gammon me, Luke, I'm not in a temper to be soft-soaped to-night, the girl goes with you alone to take moonlight walks in the old wood; and she's refused me to do that. Not once or twice, Master Sneak, but many times you've gone there with her, don't suppose nobody sees you, can't I employ watchers if I will?"

'You can,' replied Luke gravely and calmly, 'but you would hardly be so mean.'

'Mean! mean!! mean!!!' cried Arthur passionately, with an oath, 'how dare you call me mean, Luke Weston? you shall fight for this.'

The brandy and the passion rendered Arthur furious, his eyes glared, his nostrils were distended, and he stood before Luke like a madman as the latter still stooped over the fire. Now Luke raised himself; thanks to his sobriety and his good temper, he was able to estimate their position, to dread the consequences of any rash word on his part, and to feel kindly towards his rival. 'Come Arthur, if we must fight about it, let us choose a larger ground than a railway engine. We're not our own masters till seven in the morning, and then we'll talk about it.'

'Coward,' exclaimed Arthur, 'you're afraid to fight me.'

'I am on a railway engine, and you should be afraid too, Arthur.'

'I'm not afraid, I have justice on my side; you've stolen my Maggie from me, Luke Weston—the prettiest, sweetest girl that ever lived till she knew you.' The poor fellow's voice faltered. 'She'd almost told me half-a-dozen times that she loved me till you came round, sneaking round; and now I've found you out man, and here is your battlefield, and I swear you shall fight for her before we reach Greystone.'

Luke glanced nervously round, to judge whether he could make his way to the guard's van; he might have tried, but how leave the engine? And might not Arthur follow him? Duty and

read both forbade, and he could not take care of the lives entrusted to him, could not watch the line for signals, if he attempted thus to insure his own safety. Perhaps it would have been wiser to risk this, but his sense of honour made him hesitate, and in another moment the grasp of the infuriated Arthur was upon him, and dear life was to be fought for on that narrow field. On and on through the night the engine pursued its way; and fiercely upon it the battle raged between the two lovers of beautiful Maggie. If she could have seen them, what terror would have shone forth from those bright eyes! But she lay peacefully upon her snowy bed, and pleasant dreams, not, alas! of Arthur nor of Luke, but of one she was beginning to feel dearer than either, made sweet smiles flit across the rosy lips, and warm blushes suffuse the cheeks, and fond words escape her tongue.

And now, after many thrusts, and many dreadful blows, and many near escapes from falling over the edge of the engine, Luke has Arthur in his power, and with a firm grasp he holds him down. The firelight gleams on the foaming lips and staring eyes; shall he kill him in self-defence? Would it be murder? An intense longing to be free from this mad companionship, this fearful death struggle, makes him feel for his only weapon—his pocket-knife; but he pauses as his hand seeks it in his pocket, and, taking the opportunity, Arthur, with a mad leap, is on his feet again, and in another moment they have changed places.

'Coward,' cried Arthur tauntingly, 'there you lie, my prisoner; no knife is needed to finish you; I have but to thrust you into the burning flames, and you'll be a martyr to your love. Or better still, get up, man, and I'll hurl you from your engine. How can I help it if you've thrown yourself off?'

'For God's sake, Arthur Coles, if you will murder *me* remember the other lives against whom you have no grudge, and who are in this train; conduct them safely to Greystone, and then ask for another driver, and may God have mercy on you.'

'God!' shrieked Arthur, 'no, talk not to me of God; I'm the servant of the devil, and I'll have my REVENGE!'

He glanced around the engine, dragged Luke to one side, and pushed him violently over. A man's despairing death-cry rose to heaven as Luke fell under the wheels, and Arthur grinned as he heard the crunching of his enemy's bones. When the train had whirled past, he looked back beyond the line of carriages, and in the faintest streaks of the grey dawn he saw something white upon the rails, and chuckled and grinned and shouted with triumph as he gazed and gazed until it was lost to sight.

He glanced then upon his bloody garments, and felt, with a dread instinct more than by any effort of reason, that they would condemn him. Greystone was soon within sight; he made no effort to stop the engine, and it went quickly past the station, though all the brakes of the guard's van were applied. The guard, in terror at the event, came cautiously along to the engine to have it explained; he found Arthur alone, and the stoker's garments bore witness to a deadly fray.

'What has happened?' cried the guard, backing the engine at once to the station with a determined air.

'I've had my revenge!' cried the stoker, in a hissing whisper, coming close to the guard, and speaking in his ear.

'Your revenge! upon whom? why, where's Luke Weston? Coles, you've murdered him.'

'I've had my revenge.'

'What's the matter with you, Coles? you've been drinking, confound you; you're drunk now, I do believe; we'll soon put you off this engine; what have you done with the body?'

Arthur trembled and shivered. 'I've had my revenge on him; Maggie Symons shall never walk to the wood again with him alone by moonlight.'

'You're cracked about that girl, Coles, and if you've murdered Luke, I can tell you I wouldn't like to stand in your shoes for a pretty penny. It will be a case of hanging, Coles; collect yourself, and prepare for the worst. What have you done with the body?'

The train was in the station by this time, and the facts became known with lightning speed. The blood and hair on the wheels of the engine revealed the truth which Arthur could not or would not tell, and he was detained in custody while an engine and carriage went to search for the dead body. They found a mangled corpse on the line; it was difficult to recognize in the crushed head and limbs the fine stalwart young engine

driver who had left Meryton in full health and spirits the previous evening, and whom the guard and some of the passengers had seen and spoken to at Atherley; but there was a sight more terrible still in the drunken madman his murderer, who muttered continually in one unbroken sentence, 'So! I've had my revenge on Luke Weston, and Maggie shall never walk with him to the wood again, alone in the moonlight.' Of course the guard was right; there was the gallows at the end of Arthur's career, and to that he would ere long arrive, for the law, though it licenses men to supply brain poison to the victims of a degraded appetite, does not shield these from the consequences of the dreadful acts to which they are tempted in their madness.

The news of the tragedy reached Maggie the same day that it happened. Coming in to supper, her father met her with a grave face, and told her of the dreadful occurrence, and that her name was on the murderer's lips.

'How well 'tis, father, that I never thought seriously of either of them poor fellows! I should blame myself, but I never gave either of them any real reason to think I cared more for one than the other. Tom, did you ever hear of such a horrible affair?' and she turned to the young farmer who sat beside her at that evening meal, and with a few tears and sobs repeated the story to him.

In a few weeks more her hands and thoughts were busy preparing for her wedding; and if the ears of poor Arthur Coles had been acute enough, he might have heard on the day of his execution, just as the noose was round his neck, the bells of Meryton church, fifteen miles away, pealing forth merrily for the wedding of Thomas Prince, the well-to-do farmer, and beautiful Maggie Symons, and the sweet 'I will' was uttered before the altar just as the heavy thud of his descending body electrified the eager crowd. Stimulated by jealousy, wrought to frenzy by alcohol, he had lost for her his peace and life, and caused good, true-hearted Luke Weston's death, of whose unselfish love Maggie would never have been worthy.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Recent Discussions on the Abolition of Patents for Inventions in the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the Netherlands. Evidence, Speeches, and Papers in its Favour, with Suggestions as to International Arrangements regarding Inventions and Copyright. Pp. 342. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer.

Mr. Macfie, M.P., makes a strong attack in this volume on the existing system of patents. He has collected speeches, papers, or other evidence, by Sir Wm. Armstrong, M. Benard, Count Bismark, M. Chevalier, M. Pock, M. Godefroi, Sir Roundell Palmer, the present Earl of Derby, James Stirling, Esq., and other authorities—in short, a mass of testimony, British or foreign, with comments from the daily and weekly newspapers; and he uses these and all other available ammunition, in order, as he says, to contribute to 'the emancipation of British productive industry from artificial restraints, which is the needful accompaniment and the complement of free trade, and in hope that public attention will now at length be turned towards procuring such a solution as will satisfy at the same time all just pretensions of meritorious inventors and men of science.' The disadvantages of a patent system are obvious; what remains to be shown is, that invention would continue to be stimulated as much as it is now, if patents were abolished. The glittering dream of successful patentee wealth,—generally unrealised even by the most meritorious inventors, and only now and then coming true as in the case of an Arkwright, or a Bessemer, is yet sufficiently vivid to set invention on the rack, and to make men live laborious days and toil through long years of uncertainty, in the hope of being enabled to secure to themselves such brilliant financial results in the end as are only possible under a patent system. We have not been satisfied that the power of patenting could be dispensed with, without more loss in this respect than there would be gain in entire emancipation of manufacture and trade; nor does Mr. Macfie even yet convince us. But as a repertory of all that can be said on that side of the question which he so energetically and ably advocates, we commend this volume to the attention of our readers.

National Sobriety Discussed in a Dialogue between a Publican, a Clergyman, and a Physician. By the Rev. Dawson Burns, A.M., Joint Author of the Temperance Bible Commentary. London: Alliance Offices, 28, King William-street.

With his customary acuteness and skill, Mr. Burns conducts in this fourteen page tract a conversation between the characters named in the title, and makes the contests which arise conducive to a sound temperance and prohibition conclusion.

Onward: The Organ of the Band of Hope Movement. Volume IV., 1868-9. Pp. 286. London: Tweedie. Manchester: Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union, 43, Market-street.

Nicely bound in cloth, this handsome volume contains all the numbers of 'Onward' for the last eighteen months. Prose articles, recitations, songs, hymns, and music form its various contents, and are of such a character as to justify and account for its popularity amongst conductors and members of Bands of Hope. A good photographic portrait of Mr. William Hoyle, Honorary Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union, and Author of Hymns, Songs, and Recitations for Bands of Hope, &c., forms an appropriate frontispiece to the volume.

Methods of Teaching Arithmetic. A Lecture, addressed to the London Association of Schoolmistresses. By J. G. Fitch, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. London: E. Stanford, Charing Cross.

The Science of Arithmetic: a Systematic Course of Numerical Reasoning and Computation. With very numerous Exercises. By James Cornwell, Ph.D., and Joshua G. Fitch, M.A. Twelfth Edition.

The School Arithmetic, formerly called Arithmetic for Beginners. By James Cornwell, Ph.D., and Joshua Fitch, M.A. Tenth Edition. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

Mr. Fitch lays much stress in his lecture on arithmetic the science, as distinguished from arithmetic the art. The importance of arithmetic as an art has, he thinks, been commonly overvalued, and its value as a science insufficiently recognised. He holds that pupils, before entering upon a rule, should be made to look well into the nature of the problem to be solved, and to join the teacher in the search for the right method of working it. He would have an illustrative example worked out before the pupil by the teacher solely with a view to the demonstration of the theory of the rule; in doing which, every axiom and general principle should be stated in plain language, so as to account for the reason of every step of the process. Nothing should ever be taken for granted. There being a reason for every step, that reason should be supplied. 'In life,' he says, 'sums are not presented to us in the shape of sums, nor in the concise language employed in school-books; but in questions of more or less complexity which require to be disentangled, resolved into their simpler elements, and translated, so to speak, out of the language of common life into the language of the arithmetic book. But then it is this kind of exercise of which pupils get too little in schools. The teacher is apt to do all this preliminary work of interpreting the question for them, and to be content, if after the sum is set down as a sum, it is correctly worked. Whereas it is this very work of thinking out the meaning of a sum and setting it down which is most difficult, and in the business of life most important.' Apart from the merely calculating value of arithmetic, Mr. Fitch pleads especially for its use as a scientific training for the mind; and he and his partner have constructed the arithmetics named above, holding this leading principle distinctly in mind all through. The patient fulness of explanation manifested in the larger work is remarkable, and seems to have commended it to a wide public already, as the title page bears on its face the words 'twelfth edition.' The smaller work of later issue, seems to be rapidly attaining to similar favour, not, we think, without sufficient reason.

The Sunday-school World: an Encyclopædia of Facts and Principles, Illustrated by Anecdotes and Quotations from the Works of the Most Eminent Writers on Sunday-school Matters. Edited by James Comper Gray. London: Elliot Stock.

The intelligent and pains-taking author of 'Topics for Teachers,' 'The Class and the Desk,' and other similar publications, has projected another work, to

be completed in eighteen monthly parts, containing the sort of matter indicated in the title. It is designed to be a reference book for all who are connected in any way with the Sunday-school, to contain condensed and classified practical information and counsel on all matters concerning the Sunday-school and its work,—to be, in short, 'a digest of all that is worthy of notice that has been written concerning the Sunday-school.' A very copious index is promised.

Is It True? A Protest Against the Employment of Fiction as a Channel of Christian Influence. By the Rev. George Wm. Butter, M.A. London: W. Macintosh, 74, Paternoster Row.

MR. BUTTER would burn up the best works of fiction without mercy. We do not at all sympathise with him in his headlong destructive zeal. There is fiction and fiction; the worst is bad in every way; but the best is a precious casket curiously wrought, and most eminently fitted to contain the priceless truth which is always within it.

Lectures and Sermon. By the Rev. T. Ashcroft, Parkgate, Rotherham. London: William Tweedie, 337, Strand.

A 'PEEP' into Mr. Ashcroft's 'Album' reveals a series of 'portraits of real life.' The characters shown up are 'John Sneeze,' 'James Smoke,' 'Timothy Sip,' 'Samuel Flirt,' 'Charles Soft,' 'Simon Sloth,' and 'Henry Start'—the last being the model youth, and the others marked by faults or vices confessed in their names. The portraits are drawn with vigour and dash, and are both amusing and instructive. The sermon is entitled 'Our Lads: A Plea for Sabbath Schools,' and points out in earnest language sundry serious evils to which youths are exposed.

Topics for Teachers: A New Work for Ministers, Sunday-school Teachers, and others, on an entirely new plan. Monthly. By James Comper Gray. Halifax. Illustrated with over 200 Engravings and eight first-class Maps. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Hive: A Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday-school Teachers. Monthly. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

Old Jonathan, the District and Parish Helper. W. H. and L. Collingridge, 117 to 120, Aldersgate-street.

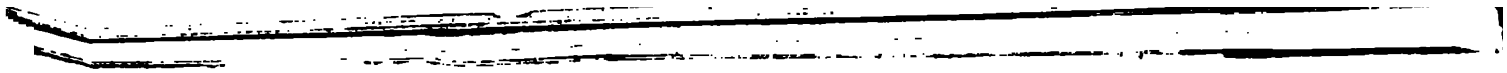
The Scattered Nation. Edited by C. Schwartz, D.D. — *The Church.* A Penny Monthly Magazine. — *The Appeal.* A Magazine for the People. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Lifeboat, or Journal of the National Lifeboat Institution. Quarterly. 14, John-street, Adelphi, London.

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Council of the City of Manchester on the Working of the Public Free Libraries. Manchester: Tubbs and Brook.

DISCONTINUANCE OF 'MELIORA.'

THE Proprietors have decided that after the present number, completing the Volume, 'Meliora' shall be discontinued. Originated in 1858—one of the earliest of the low-priced magazines which have since then become so numerous—'Meliora' has, during eleven years, presented a large mass of valuable information on matters connected with social science to a considerable circle of readers, and whilst advocating the cause of prohibitory legislation, has extended the knowledge of the Alliance movement in quarters in which otherwise it might long have remained unknown. It is now felt that the time has come when service of this kind is no longer necessary. The economical, social, and moral calamities inevitably resulting from the liquor traffic are now acknowledged on every hand, and the existence and claims of the Alliance are a secret to none engaged in social or political reform. Literary organs like 'Fraser,' 'The London Review,' and other high-classed periodicals, as well as a large number of daily and weekly newspapers, are now from time to time putting before the public the facts and arguments on which the Alliance relies. Aid of this kind is sure to be rendered with increasing readiness now that the movement with such long strides is progressing in popular estimation. With hearty thanks, therefore, to all the friends who have so steadfastly supported this Review, we announce its discontinuance after the issue of this number.



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